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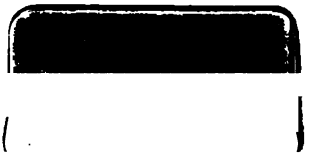

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

JANUARY, 1847 . . . . APRIL, 1847.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. LXXXV.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND HUGHES,
FOR LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMANS, LONDON;
AND ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, EDINBURGH.

1847.

P. 3977.C.19

Pc. 3977.c.19

then no place for a man of letters—or humanity. The provincial government of the Stuarts proved as intolerable to Leighton as to Burnet. Leighton at last threw up his bishopric in despair, and withdrew to England; after having declared that he could not concur in planting the Christian religion itself, by such instruments; much less a form of Church government.

Such was the inheritance to which the eighteenth century succeeded. Andrew Fletcher, a classical republican (of the Virginian and Carolinian caste,) was for reducing the body of the people into slavery, as an indispensable foundation for better times. Instead of this administrative experiment, political necessities gave us, providentially, a union of the two kingdoms. The social advantages which have followed in its train, were probably little thought of at the time: But as soon as Scotland had become an integral part of the British Empire, she appears to have at once discovered her latent capabilities and powers; and to have perceived that the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* (their ancient character) might carry them as far in the arts of peace as in those of war. In spite of two Jacobite rebellions, and of the occasional longings, more national than patriotic, of a few impracticable politicians, for a separate parliament, Scotland sprang a-head. During the following century, she not only got far in advance of Ireland, (which lagged behind, swamped in claret and jobbing,) but turned all the great elements of civilization to as fortunate an account as England herself. Hume, when a child, might have gazed, as it spread its sails for its first voyage, on the first Clyde-built vessel ever sent across the Atlantic by Glasgow merchants. But before his death, Glasgow had become one of the first commercial cities in the empire; and a second capital was rising at Edinburgh, to which Hume invited his friends to come and see him, in 'our New Town,' and challenged a comparison with any thing they had seen in any part of the world. An improving agriculture, a rapidly extending trade, and good parochial schools, were converting the serf-population of Andrew Fletcher into useful citizens. Under the encouragement of men ike Lord Kames and Oswald, (both of them Hume's intimate friends,) the progress of agriculture and of trade was watched and aided by the higher intelligence of the country: while a literary circle, of which Hume was the centre figure, made the period they adorned the Augustan age of Scotland.

A slight set-off, for a time, is not at all inconsistent with these immense advantages. The air and manners of its now untravelled gentry may have fallen off a little,—something of the sort is said to have been observed by Marshal Keith on his return to Scotland: But the breeding which he missed had been all exotic—as

foreign as the scholarship of Buchanan—and had taken as little root. The cultivation which now replaced it was striking deep; being native to the soil—in kind, in training, and in growth. Those natural developments and growths, which are the greatest of all social revolutions, are seldom noticed until they are accomplished. The corn-fields and gardens of the south did not, for long, expect to be put in charge of Scotch bailiffs and Scotch gardeners: And English scholars were scarcely less surprised when they were sent to metaphysicians, historians, and political economists, born and bred in Scotland—to learn from them the laws which regulate thought, and politics, and the wealth of nations. Thomson and Smollett had done a little—the one by his imagination, the other by his humour—towards warming and enlivening the dulness of the reigns of the two first Georges: But even, after Hume and Robertson and Adam Smith had drawn upon themselves the eyes of Europe, and Gibbon had borne testimony to the splendour of their light, ancient prejudices were slowly overcome. Johnson had the courage to persist in the faith in which he had been brought up; and died maintaining that Scotland had produced no man of genius except Buchanan. In due time came the Scotch Novels, and carried every thing before them: Yet the author of the *Man of Feeling* still hesitated to trouble the great British public about the author of *Douglas*, and about the men of letters with whom the Scottish dramatist had lived. In consequence, however, of being assured that the literature of his country was attracting some attention in the south, and that its details might be interesting to English readers, Mackenzie timidly ventured to publish his Life of John Home, in 1822. At so late a day, himself one of the patriarchs of our polite literature, he was able to tender himself to another generation, as a witness 'who had known it almost from its first dawning.'

The Scotch, in the mean time, it must be owned, cannot be reasonably charged with overlooking the merits of their countrymen, alive or dead. Among the contemporaries and compatriots of David Hume, sundry names, once more or less distinguished, are obscuring or obscured; but none through want of a biographer. There are lives of Hutcheson, Leechman, and Oswald; lives of the two Homes, lives of Blair and Beattie, as well as of Reid, of Robertson, and of Adam Smith. The three last biographies were grateful commemorations, by Dugald Stewart, of the masters at whose feet he had almost sat. In all justice, their literary history should have been accompanied by that of Hume; for Hume was some ten or twelve years senior to Robertson and Smith. As an author he was older still. Without saying that he was their teacher in history and political economy, he was something more than simply their predecessor. Hume, it is true, was a

year younger than Reid; but we know, on Reid's own authority, that it was as a pupil in the metaphysical school of Hume, that he had first learned to dispute the principles which he was studying, and to try conclusions with their author. To the *Treatise on Human Nature* we owe the *Enquiry into the Human Mind.*

Two causes will perhaps explain why Dugald Stewart abstained from undertaking the life of Hume. Of these, one would be the difficulty of the subject. The times in which he drew up his biographies, were awkward times:—so much so, that he did not venture in them to speak his mind fully and freely, on the much simpler case of Adam Smith. The other cause, however, was of itself sufficient. Hume's nephew and namesake, afterwards Baron Hume, had possession of his uncle's papers. It would have been absurd to write the life without them. And Baron Hume (timorsome and jealous) might have refused the use of them to a Philosopher and a Whig.

Along with his name, (which he had no doubt would bring him friends and credit, if his father would only let him wear it without disguise,) Hume had left his nephew an embarrassing bequest; this was the 'Dialogues on Natural Religion.' As far back as 1753, he had been prevailed upon, though with some difficulty, by Sir Gilbert Elliot, to suppress them. 'Is it not 'hard and tyrannical in you, (he remonstrated) more hard and 'tyrannical than any act of the Stuarts, not to allow me to pub-'lish my Dialogues?' His testamentary injunction, directing their publication, was declined by Adam Smith: But it was too peremptory not to be obeyed by a kinsman, whom he had in some measure adopted. The publication produced at the time (as we learn from Beattie) a strong sensation: And, satisfied with obedience in this instance, the nephew appears to have resolved to commit himself personally no further. He was laudably careful, however, to preserve his uncle's manuscripts, and whatever correspondence he could recover. The entire collection he left, at his death, to the Royal Society of Edinburgh: and, the Council of the Society placed it in the hands of Mr Burton. These materials were indispensable to a Life of Hume. No former biographer had had access to them; and it is highly improbable that any addition will ever now be made to them. They have been invaluable to Mr Burton; and have enabled him to gratify a literary ambition which he had long cherished. By their means, he has presented us with a much more complete picture of Hume, than Dugald Stewart had it in his power to give us of Reid, Robertson, or Smith. From the industry, the good sense, and good feeling, which the present biography displays, the Council, we are persuaded, will not repent their choice.

The really important part of these Hume papers is the Cor-

respondence. It consists of upwards of five hundred letters. Those written by Hume are interwoven into the present narrative; those written to him, or a selection from them, are to be published in a separate volume. It is not universally true, that a man's letters give a good idea of his conversation. For instance, the few letters we have of Samuel Johnson, are as unlike his conversation as his more formal writings were, and are as much below it. But there are many persons whose letters are just their written conversation; and such, evidently, are Hume's. They answer completely to Adam Smith's account of that constant pleasantry—that genuine effusion of good nature and good humour, of which his friends were frequently the object, and which, they all agreed, contributed to endear his society to them fully as much as any of his great and amiable qualities. Hume's conversation, whether spoken or written, lay far beyond the range of Swift's national reflection on the matter-of-fact narrations which, he said, he had observed more frequently among the Scots than any other nation—'who think, 'they sufficiently acquit themselves, and entertain their com-'pany, with a kind of discourse, which, were it not a little re-'lieved by the uncouth terms and phrases, as well as accent and 'gesture peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable.' A Scotchman's letters must necessarily trust entirely for relief, to the first half of the peculiar graces here assigned to him. But none of these will be found in Hume—he has more Gallicisms than Scotticisms—and yet his letters are most agreeable. Among them, those which would have been read with the greatest interest are almost all missing. We mean his correspondence with Robertson. Should over-zealous friends have put it out of the way, in the foolish hope of destroying evidence of an intimacy the thought of which annoyed them, they plainly ran into a far greater peril—by destroying the best and most natural contradiction of unfounded rumours on the nature of their correspondence. Dr Hill, when he wrote the life of Blair, believed that Hume's correspondence with Blair had shared the same fate; fortunately this was not the case. It had been lodged by Blair himself in the nephew's hands: and fuller demonstration cannot be desired, that in order to live with Hume and to love him, it was not necessary to agree with him in opinion. There exists, we believe, among the Hume papers, the letter, with which Blair accompanied the delivery over to Baron Hume of the letters in his possession. Unless we have been greatly misinformed, it bears testimony to the character of Hume, in language almost as glowing as the celebrated letter of Adam Smith to Strahan. Mr Burton will surely let us see this letter in his promised volume. Bishop Horne put in a protest, on behalf of the people calling themselves

Christians, against the testimony of Adam Smith. We should like to see how much of it can apply to the testimony of Blair.

David Hume was the youngest son of a small Border Laird, (Home or Hume,) of Ninewells, in Berwickshire. They were (of course) connected, though they had to go back for their branching off to the reigns of Henry Vth or VIth., with the Earls of Home. He was an infant at the death of his father; but he appears to have set up betimes for the character under which he afterwards described himself—that of a 'friend to doubts, disputes, and novelties:' Since his patronymic had no sooner come into his hands, than he chose to, what he called, restore its ancient spelling. His friends, Henry Home, and his cousin John, both stood out: he failed to bring over to his side even his own elder brother. Still he persevered to the last: expressed as much astonishment as the twelfth man on a jury with the obstinacy of his fellows, and was predetermined, at the worst, to found his family anew. A lucky house—whose family differences were to wear no graver form than a controversy about their name! It was a controversy, however, as much after Hume's heart as that of the more famous Nominalists. His playful nature made the most of it; and kept turning the coat of the ancient jest long after it was threadbare, through an endless variety of shapes and colours, to his dying day.

More serious questions, and which could less afford to wait, wanted settling even sooner. The questions were nothing less than, what was to be his course of education; and what his profession and means of living. A father is sometimes sadly missed, as adviser and controller, in the case even of a studious and reflective son. It was so here. After his removal, the family consisted of a mother, a sister, and an elder brother. The brother is said to have been a great rural economist; and one of the earliest Scotch improvers. It is mentioned as one of his peculiarities, (few landlords, we fear, will now think it looks like being a great improver,) that he was unwilling to raise his rents. The singular merit of their mother has been gratefully recorded by her historian son: Young and handsome, she devoted herself entirely to rearing and educating her children. Hume loved to think that, if she had but lived, he might never have had any other home than Ninewells; and we are told of the agony of tears (among the few tears the philosopher ever shed,) in which one of his friends surprised him, when, on his return from Italy, he met in London the news of that mother's death! Of the sister little more is said, than that they joined together their humble means on removing from Ninewells to Edinburgh; that she had L.30 a-year; and that she brought to the husbanding of their common stock a frugality and a contentment equal to his own.

There is nobody in this small household likely to have possessed much influence over the studies of an aspiring boy. The early course of education, which, he says, he passed through with success, before he took to literature on its own account, must have been wonderfully immature, as far as regards external training, according to present notions. All that can be ascertained of it, is furnished by the simple entry of the name of 'David Home,' in the matriculation book of the University of Edinburgh, February 1723, in the Greek class. He was then not quite twelve years old. Nothing more is known of his intellectual discipline or habits, either at this period, or for the next ten years, beyond what he has introduced into the strange hypochondriacal account of himself, on which, in the year 1734, he appears to have consulted Dr Cheyne. This, however, abundantly shows that things were much in his own hands; and that he had soon begun, in all senses of the word, to be his own master. 'Our college education 'in Scotland, extending little further than the languages, ends 'commonly when we are about fourteen or fifteen years of age. 'I was after that left to my own choice in my reading, and found 'it incline me almost equally to books of reasoning and philo-'sophy, and to poetry, and the polite authors. Every one who 'is acquainted with the philosophers or critics, knows that there 'is nothing yet established in either of these two sciences, and 'that they contain little more than endless disputes, even in the 'most fundamental articles. Upon examination of these, I found 'a certain boldness of temper growing in me, which was not in-'clined to submit to any authority in these subjects, but led me 'to seek out some new medium, by which truth might be estab-'lished. After much study and reflection on this, at last, when 'I was about eighteen years of age, there seemed to be opened 'up to me a new scene of thought, which transported me beyond 'measure, and made me, with an ardour natural to young men, 'throw up every other pleasure or business, to apply entirely to 'it. The law, which was the business I designed to follow, 'appeared nauseous to me, and I could think of no other way of 'pushing my fortune in the world, but that of a scholar and 'philosopher. I was infinitely happy in this course of life for 'some months; till at last, all my ardour seemed in a moment 'to be extinguished.'

He imagined this to be laziness, and read the harder. Another particular contributed to disturb him. He undertook the improvement of his temper and will, along with that of his reason and understanding. His spirits sank lower and lower. He sought for refuge in peevish reflections on the vanity of the world, and of all human glory—sentiments which he found could never be sincere, except in those who were already in possession of the

honours they despised. He was told that he had the disease of the learned! Poor relief for an ambitious scholar—that, while he had been collecting the rude materials of many volumes, he had incapacitated himself from putting them into words and order! 'I lost,' he says, 'all hope of delivering my opinions with such 'elegance as would draw to me the attention of the world; and 'I would rather live and die in obscurity, than produce them 'maimed and imperfect.' Such were his meditations and proceedings up to twenty-three.

Can there be a more perfect picture of a visionary student left to his own mismanagement? His family, on both sides, had of late been connected with the law. It may probably be true, that he was as little fitted for the contentions of the bar, as for moss-trooping with his forefathers on a border foray: But for a lad of seventeen, who had his bread to get by his wits, to have thrown away his law books in disgust, because he had not found the first few pages of Voet and Vinnius pleasant reading, was to take a childish and perverse advantage of his unlucky independence. It was doing all that was in his power to keep up the vulgar contradiction between genius and common sense—to ruin himself, and mortify his friends.

But the penalty of self-pleasing was not long delayed. Solitude, over-excitement, and over-reading brought on a violent reaction. After struggling in vain against it for three or four years, change of scene became absolutely necessary. The form in which the experiment was tried, appeared to combine the advantage of employment with the chance of a provision. He tore himself from his books and Ninewells; and, now twenty-three years old, found himself, to his own no small surprise, clerk or shopman to a considerable Bristol trader! He arrived there a confirmed valetudenarian, out of health and out of spirits. If his employer could have looked into his mind, he would have seen in it as little hope of making a man of business of him, as could possibly be foreshadowed in his appearance—since we know from himself that he went to Bristol, resolved 'not to 'quit his pretensions to learning, but with his last breath—'willing, however, to lay them aside for some time, in order 'more effectually to resume them.' But this is not the way in which merchants are made, any more than lawyers. If the fastidious student did ever betake himself to the literature of the ledger, he soon abjured it, as even more intolerable than the literature of the law. He cultivated it at most only a few months—just long enough for a tradition, that some happy customer lived to remember having been served by the great historian, from behind a Bristol counter, with a pair of gloves! Some of the readers of his History may probably recollect his description of

the entry of Nayler the Quaker into Bristol, as Jesus Christ; and, how the poor enthusiast entered upon horseback, instead of on an ass, 'probably from the difficulty of finding an ass in that 'city!' It is difficult to suppose that this incongruous impertinence can have honestly found its way into a grave historical composition: But, after reading his letters, we can enter into his malicious pleasure in avenging, in a parenthesis, the indignities of his youth. It is quite in character with the satisfaction, which he avowedly felt, in making every revision of his History of England a fresh occasion for punishing 'the villan-'ous Whigs,' for the slight which they had put upon his History of the Stuarts.

The singular letter, from which we have quoted a few paragraphs, is all that we know of the youth of Hume. It was written in the despondency of a long illness, and shows his mind in its weakness more than in its strength. Still, though morbid, it is characteristic. We cannot help, as we pass on, recalling another and a very different letter, which represents, also, the feelings of its writer at exactly the same age. The original of this other letter is in Trinity College, Cambridge. It is Milton's answer to an admonition of a friend who had been warning him that the hours of the night were passing on; (for such, said the poet, he might call his life, as yet obscure and unserviceable to mankind;) and that he was giving up himself 'to dream away his years in the arms of studious 'retirement, like Endymion with the moon, as the tale of Lat-'mos goes.' In phraseology which Hume undoubtedly would have regarded well fitted to the sentiments, Milton proceeds to a solemn disclaimer of the endless delight of speculation, 'weighed against that great commandment in the gospel, set 'out by the terrible seizing of him that hid the talent.' He was, however, something suspicious of himself, and had taken notice of a certain belatedness in his manhood; he made bold, therefore, to sanctify the letter 'with some of his nightward thoughts,' and he sent along with it to his friend the reverential dedication of his future life, offered up in those immortal verses:—

> 'How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
> Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year!'

Notwithstanding the protection of the 'great Taskmaster's eye,' so violent were Milton's prejudices, that had he been the historian of the Stuarts, he would have sinned against truth as much, perhaps, as Hume—only not as wilfully. But, judging of their respective characters, we see nothing in their after lives, to belie the spirit which spoke thus early in these two letters.

To our ear, the voice we catch in Milton's musings is of a far higher mood; though Johnson would certainly be equally contemptuous at the thought of making a hero out of either.

But to proceed with our narrative. Before the year was out, Hume had broken away from the servile oar; crossed the channel, and hid himself in France. He took 'the rude materials' of his new philosophy along with him; and remained there for three years, principally at La Flêche; having little enough to live upon, except his metaphysics and his dreams of fame. He had now deliberately chosen literature as his profession; and was resolved not to show himself again among his old acquaintance, until he should have done something towards justifying his choice. On his return to London in 1737, with the *Treatise on Human Nature*, ready for the press, he told Henry Home that he had a great inclination to go down to Scotland to see his friends, and have their advice concerning his philosophical discoveries; 'but 'I cannot overcome a certain shamefacedness I have, to appear 'among you, at my years, without having yet a settlement, or 'so much as attempted any. How happens it, that we philoso-'phers cannot as heartily despise the world, as the world de-'spises us?' To talk of philosophy on this occasion, is to take its name in vain. Hume was not long in learning, that the world was in the right; and that he should never have left an honest home, at his tender years, with scarcely a penny in his pocket, to attack windmills—or the tower of Babel. From the language in which he afterwards dissuaded Gilbert Stewart against 'going out of the common track,' he might be suspected of having passed over to the opposite extreme.

A terrible disappointment was now at hand. To understand from what a visionary height he had to fall, we must think how long he had been living alone among his own transported thoughts, and how high he had been accustoming his hopes to soar. Philosophy was a subject, which, at sixteen, he was already much thinking upon, and upon which he tells his boyish correspondent, that he could talk to him all day long. From his letter to Dr Cheyne, when yet only eighteen, views of his own had got entire possession of him; and, by the time he was three-and-twenty, he had made considerable progress in developing them. At this early age he resolved to make human nature his principal study, and the source from which he was to derive every truth, in criticism as well as morality. 'I believe,' he says, 'it is a certain fact, that most of the philosophers who 'have gone before us, have been overthrown by the greatness 'of their genius; and that little more is required to make a man 'succeed in this study, than to throw off all prejudices, either for

'his own opinions or for those of others. At least, this is all I 'have to depend on for the truth of my reasonings, which I 'have multiplied to such a degree, that within these three years 'I find I have scribbled many a quire of paper, in which there 'is nothing contained but my own inventions.'

His residence at La Flêche must have encouraged him in his enterprise, by the glory of Des Cartes' name, and, perhaps, by reminding him of the resemblance in their age and projects. The French philosopher, however, postponed to future years the application of his methods. Unfortunately, Hume's impatience, presumption, or necessities, hurried him to the press. A capital mistake; which made the recovery from former mistakes still more difficult; and which, the longer he lived, he only the more regretted. Alas! for all whose winged intellect, buoyant and proudly feathered, lifts them from the nest, and carries them abroad, before nature, even the rest of their own nature, is ready for the flight!

Of the many forms which adventure, project, and speculation take, none is more above advice and fears, than that of the youthful author. Hume came from his abstractions to the realities of life—and to John Noone of Cheapside, bookseller—as one from Fairyland or Cloudland. He informs his friend Michael Ramsay, on his arrival, 'that he would not aim at any thing, until 'he could judge of his success in his grand undertaking, and see 'upon what footing he was to stand in the world.' As the hour of publication approached, his tranquillity became disturbed 'by 'the nearness and greatness' of the event. The *Treatise on Human Nature*, was born into the world in February 1739. The world went on as before notwithstanding. No comet welcomed it from the sky; no howl even from the Warburtonian kennel. He sent a copy to Bishop Butler: But it was not a child which any Bishop (even a Butler or a Berkeley) could safely acknowledge. The awful and unnatural stillness of London seems to have alarmed him; and he thought it best to await the result at a distance. During the fortnight that contrary winds kept the Berwick ships from sailing, he had time to summon to his defence the comforting reflection, that, if the success of his philosophical discoveries should be long doubtful, the very greatness of them might be the cause! 'My principles (he wrote to 'Henry Home, by way of preparing him) are so remote from 'all the vulgar sentiments on the subject, that, were they to 'take place, they would produce an almost total alteration in 'philosophy; and you know revolutions of this kind are not 'easily brought about.' Six months later brought him word, that the heir of all these hopes had been all along still-born:

had been never heard even to cry! He appears to have submitted to the intelligence much more graciously than he afterwards put up with lighter mortifications. He humbly confessed, that his fondness, for what he imagined to be new discoveries, had made him overlook all common rules of prudence: And so he returned to nestle under his mother's wing at Ninewells; and set about turning his mind to other projects, in the assurance that there is a harbour of refuge with posterity, for all unsuccessful truths.

Youth was now over, and the severe student had passed into the ranks of unsuccessful authors: Not, however, to be so put down, and quietly disappear in that interminable crowd. The philosophical reformer continued to believe in his revolutionary doctrines. He was not likely therefore to surrender his confidence in his own capacity, to the ignorance or indifference of any existing public. The second five-and-twenty years, upon which we are about to enter, were almost entirely years of authorship. Reducing his pretensions only a little lower than his original ambition, he bestowed the first half of the remainder of his literary life upon completing and recasting his Treatise; and upon some most original investigations of many of the finest questions relating to society and politics,—the last half of it upon English history.

He returned to Ninewells, with his disappointment, in 1739. He was now twenty-seven years old; and was soon busy over other literary projects, with the view both of diversifying his studies and trying anew the public taste. The first fruits of this experiment was a small volume of miscellaneous essays, 'moral and political,' which was published in Edinburgh in 1741. They were so favourably received, that a second volume, and a second edition of the first volume, came out the following year. In 1748, there was a third edition of the whole. Hume heard, that Bishop Butler went about everywhere, *recommending* the first volume, as soon as it came out. This must have been an occasion, discreetly taken by the author of the 'Sermons on Human Nature,' for encouraging indirectly the author of the 'Treatise:' For he must have been a prophet rather than a critic, who could have then foreseen what that volume was destined to become. Eight of these early Essays were afterwards weeded out; of which one, upon love and marriage, was meant to be gallant and Addisonian: But unless his conversation had been in a very different tone, he never could have boasted that he had been always fond of the society of modest women, and always favourably received. By successive revisings and enlargings, these two volumes grew into the first part of that delightful book, 'Essays, Moral, Literary, and Political,' the

only one of his works so instantaneously triumphant, as to answer his own exorbitant idea of success. They are indeed perfect specimens of this species of composition. Adam Smith's first lectures had been delivered in 1748; but the 'Wealth of 'Nations' was not published till 1776—only just in time for Hume to read and admire it, in his last illness.* No previously existing work can have contributed so much towards the 'Wealth 'of Nations' as the 'Political Discourses:' And Adam Smith must have taken a most austere view of the moral duty of a dedication, when he did not allow either this consideration, or personal affection, to make up for some differences of opinion. But he considered the system of the French economists to be the nearest approximation to the truth yet published; and he told Dugald Stewart that if Quesnay had been alive, he should have dedicated the 'Wealth of Nations' to him. Hume certainly would have looked for another patron: Since, in a letter to the Abbé Morellet (1769,) he calls on him to thunder on the Economists —'Crush them, and pound them, and reduce them to dust and 'ashes. They are the set of men the most chimerical and most 'arrogant that now exist—since the annihilation of the Sorbonne.'

The 'Discourses' were translated immediately into French: And his translator writes him word that they were read like a romance; and that nothing which had been published, since the *Esprit des Loix*, had produced so great a sensation. To this period, also, must be referred the composition of the 'Dialogue on Natural Religion.' It was a posthumous publication; but the manuscript had been submitted to Sir Gilbert Elliot in 1751. Writings of this kind are now so little read, that it is scarcely worth while saying, that, in point of ability, it is at least equal to any thing Hume ever wrote; and superior, perhaps, in point of composition. Hume was an author to the backbone. The few pages, which he calls '*my own life*,' are little

* It is interesting to read in this deathbed acknowledgment the kindly summons addressed to its author, to repair to his fireside—'where,' he says, 'he would dispute with him some of his principles.' It is singular, too, that one of the heads which he proposes to discuss, should not have induced Smith to make a little alteration in the language in which he has spoken of the component parts of price, and of the monopoly of landlords:—'I cannot think,' says Hume, in words which afterdiscussions have made remarkable, 'that the rent of farms makes any part of the price of produce; but that the price is determined altogether by the supply and the demand.' The merit of the French Economists must have been another of the points of difference reserved for this fireside conference, which unfortunately never took place.

else than a list of his writings, and an account of his own impression of the manner in which the public had received them. To that statement, and to Mr Burton, we must refer our readers; observing only that the speculations, on which for ten or twelve years he was chiefly occupied, have formed an æra in more than one science.

Mean time, while he was working out his various views, and striving to put them in the most acceptable lights, he was in want of all the comforts with which literature ought to be supplied. His boyish dream of literary fame was in a fair way of coming true. The airy column was slowly rising. But his incredulity about it was as much a disease as his other incredulities. At the same time his circumstances were in a desperate condition. The most painful frugality could not save him from the indignities of present dependence; nor from the phantom crowd of melancholy apprehensions, incident to an uncertain future. In the order of nature, grown-up members of a family are thrust from the parent stock, by a pressure as uniform and necessary as that which forces the acorn from the tree. A man must have some other home than the house even of an elder brother; unless he can submit to live there, as gamekeeper or tutor. Accordingly, the plunges which, at this time, Hume kept making to reach at something to which he could hold fast, were those almost of a drowning man. Often, when he saw Lord Kaimes, Lord Hailes, and Lord Monboddo, reconciling literature and law, and rising to affluence and honour, he must have bitterly repented having trusted himself, out and out, to literature alone—the reed, which is almost sure to break when it alone is leant on. Often, too, when he was longing for a Professorship at Edinburgh or Glasgow, or offering himself as travelling governor, to apparently any laird who would trust a son with him, must he have felt conscious that, in his despair, he was asking for situations which he ought to have recollected that he had already renounced. Hutcheson had warned him from the first of the imprudence of sundry passages in the 'Treatise.' Most of them he agreed to alter, though with some reluctance—saying, that he did not think, as the world was now modelled, that a man's character depended on his philosophical speculations, 'except he were in orders, or immediately concerned in the 'instruction of youth.' Experience ultimately convinced him, that the world was not exactly modelled as he supposed. That conviction, however, was the work of time; and, in the interval, he only damaged his friends as well as himself by calling upon them to come to his aid in a hopeless struggle against his own exception. If Smith's wishes had been gratified by having him

for a colleague, would he also have looked back upon the days when he had been a Professor at Glasgow, as having been by far the most useful, and, therefore, the happiest period of his life?

In the critical year of 1745, the Ethical Chair at Edinburgh became vacant. Hume's friends threw themselves into an obnoxious conflict in his behalf. The charges of scepticism and heterodoxy, together with other hard names, were flying about in all quarters, (even Hutcheson declining to support him,) when their candidate privily disappeared—and the next thing heard of him was, that he had engaged himself as company-keeper to Lord Annandale, a literary lunatic, then residing in the neighbourhood of St Albans! Under a commission of lunacy, subsequently issued, Lord Annandale was found to have been a lunatic during the whole time that Hume was with him. Hume, nevertheless, drank out this twelvemonth of ignominy and misery, to the very dregs. The same pressure which had driven him to such an office, made him cling to it through every kind of contumely. He grew gloomy and unsocial, and mourned over his way of life 'as more melancholy than any submitted 'to by any human creature who ever had any hopes or pre-'tensions to any thing better:' Yet he still hung on; till my lord, in the most offensive language, ordered him to be gone. What a spectacle! We should not have been more astonished, had we tracked him out, this unlucky year, in the company of his Highland countrymen on their march to Derby! When Burke, twenty years afterwards, threw back the terms, which single-speech Hamilton had presumed to offer him, and called them terms, which had never before been offered to a man born out of Africa, he little knew what Hume had undergone.

So much for his first civilian engagement! It makes us wonder less, that two months after, he should have been thinking of the army. Yet again; into what straits must he have been run—at the age of thirty-five, to be asked, whether he would enter into the service? and to have no answer to return, but that, at his years, he could not decently accept of a lower commission than a company. There was no time to lose, however, on either side; for his new patron, General Sinclair, was on the point of setting off on an expedition. It was intended against Canada; but ended in a ridiculous descent on Brittany. Upon this, the pair of colours, which had been talked about, were suddenly changed into the office, first of Secretary, and afterwards of Judge Advocate. Mr Burton intimates, that a greater proportion of his countrymen than of any other people, consider themselves qualified for the public service—in other words, for place,—and look to it, accordingly, as their natural

provision. This comes, it may be charitably presumed, from their better general education. Hume has recorded his aversion to Voet and Vinnius; that is, to the first elements of jurisprudence; and it is plain that he never opened a law book. No matter; he was, we dare say, as good a Judge Advocate as their caricature of an expedition needed. But it would have been as well, if he had spared himself a long heart-burning, at not having got half-pay for life, by this six months' service. After a break of a few months, he was off again with General Sinclair, as his Secretary, on a military mission to the courts of Austria and Piedmont. This was the time when Lord Charlemont saw him at Turin—as droll a figure as ever represented us at a foreign court.

Hume was away, on these two occasions, between two and three years. It must have been a serious interruption to his studies; but it was his only one; and its disadvantages were amply compensated to him—in some degree, perhaps, in the way which the future historian had expected—by some little insight into courts and camps; but much more, by the friends and fortune it had enabled him to make. His friends smiled when, on his return, he talked of his fortune. 'I was now master of near a thousand pounds!' The rich may smile. But in all Hume's knowledge, there was nothing which he knew better, and which is more worth knowing, than what money is really worth—what it can do, and what it cannot; how much may be secured by a very little, and how very little there remains to be afterwards accomplished, by thousands upon thousands more! After all Hume had gone through, a thousand pounds to him *was* independence: And in hands, which can wisely close and wisely open, (which we are assured was the case with his—though a master in political economy,) they answered most of the purposes of larger means. It was an invaluable thousand pounds also for the public: Since the historical pursuits, which Hume had from the first postponed for his riper years, had been lately waiting only for leisure and opportunity; and these, in their turn, had been only waiting for a little money which he could call his own.

His new means were soon put in requisition. Upon his return from abroad, he had had the misfortune to find his mother dead. He staid, however, with his brother nearly a couple of years; and might probably have staid on, only that his brother married. It was time to look out for new quarters. These were naturally Edinburgh, which henceforward became his home. The apparition of a new mistress at Ninewells can have only a little quickened his discovery, that town was the true scene for a man of letters. He could hardly have finished the first chapter of his History, without wanting more books than are to be met with in

a country-house or a provincial town. He must have found himself soon as ill-off in Berwickshire as Gibbon would have been twenty years ago in the United States; where Mr Justice Story says, in a literary discourse of so late a date, that there did not exist perhaps a single library which would have enabled the historian of the 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' to have verified his authorities.

Hume had been settled only a few months in Edinburgh, when the Faculty of Advocates (after a hot opposition on the old objections) appointed him their librarian. The appointment was a considerable addition to his small income. But, soon afterwards, on being, as he conceived, insulted by the curators, he magnanimously gave up the salary to Blacklock, the blind poet; in order that his motive for retaining the situation might not be misunderstood. The situation placed 30,000 volumes at his will and pleasure; ample materials these for the History of the House of Stuart—on which, accordingly, he immediately began. His own account, at the time, to his friend Ramsay, of these changes, and his sense of security in his humble competency, are very innocent—and, we may say, touching also: 'I might pre-'tend, perhaps, as well as others, to complain of fortune; but I 'do not; and I should condemn myself as unreasonable if I did. 'Whilst interest remains as at present, I have L.50 a-year, a 'hundred pounds' worth of books, great store of linen and fine 'clothes, and near L.100 in my pocket; along with order, fru-'gality, a strong spirit of independency, good health, a con-'tented humour, and an unabating love of study. In these cir-'cumstances, I must esteem myself one of the happy and fortu-'nate; and, so far from being willing to draw my ticket over 'again in the lottery of life, there are very few prizes with which 'I would make an exchange. After some deliberation, I am re-'solved to settle in Edinburgh. As my sister can join L.30 a-year 'to my stock, and brings an equal love of order and frugality, 'we doubt not to make our revenues answer.' [1751.]

For a time the expectations of his sober nature were realized. Two years pass, and his position is still new to him. A frolicsome letter to Dr Clephane presents us with as happy an interior (allowing for a touch of levity,) as Cowper could have drawn and peopled. There is the same infantine humour in exaggerating his felicity, and in dwelling with mock importance on its details:—'I shall exult and triumph to you a little, that I have 'now at last—being turned of forty—to my own honour, to that 'of learning, and to that of the present age,—arrived at the dig-'nity of being a householder! About seven months ago I got a 'house of my own, and completed a regular family: consisting

'of a head, viz. myself, and two inferior members, a maid, and a 'cat. My sister has since joined me, and keeps me company. 'With frugality I can reach, I find, cleanliness, warmth, light, 'plenty, and contentment. What would you have more? Inde- 'pendence?—I have it in a supreme degree. Honour?—that is 'not altogether wanting. Grace?—that will come in time. A 'wife?—that is none of the indispensable requisites of life. 'Books?—that *is* one of them, and I have more than I can use. 'In short, I cannot find any blessing of consequence which I am 'not possessed of, in a greater or less degree; and, without any 'great effort of philosophy, I may be easy and satisfied.' [1753.] In due time, however, he got accustomed to all these comforts; and was ready for his last transition—from competency to superfluity, and to the hospitalities of a retired and wealthy *diplomate*. His picture of himself and of his dinners, and his political ill humour, is not unlike Swift. It will be sixteen years before his Edinburgh guests are to be partakers of the new learning which he brought back with him from Paris. But that picture may be properly introduced here; as it is a kind of *pendant* to the former one; and represents what some people may look forward to as the *euthanasia* of a successful author:—'I live still, and must for a 'twelvemonth, in my old house in St James's Court, which is very 'cheerful, and even elegant, but too small to display my great 'talent for cookery—the science to which I intend to addict the 'remaining years of my life! I have just now lying on the 'table before me a receipt for making *soupe à la reine*, copied 'with my own hand. For beef and cabbage, (a charming dish,) 'and old mutton, and old claret, nobody excels me. I make 'also sheep's-head broth, in a manner that Mr Keith speaks of 'it for eight days after; and the Duc de Nivernois would bind 'himself apprentice to my lass to learn it! I have already sent 'a challenge to David Moncrief: you will see that in a twelve- 'month he will take to the writing of history (the field I have 'deserted), for, as to giving of dinners, he can now have no 'further pretensions. I should have made a very bad use of my 'abode in Paris if I could not get the better of a mere provincial 'like him. All my friends encourage me in this ambition, as 'thinking it will redound very much to my honour. I am de- 'lighted to see the daily and hourly progress of madness, and 'folly, and wickedness, in England. The consummation of 'these qualities are the true ingredients for making a fine narra- 'tive in history, especially if followed by some signal and ruin- 'ous convulsion, as I hope will soon be the case with that per- 'nicious people! He must be a very bad cook indeed who 'cannot make a palatable dish from the whole. You see, in

'my reflections and allusions, I mix my old and new profes-
'sions together.' [1769.]

Hume had early commenced author: he ended proportionably early. In 1752, another ten years of work lay spread before him; after which he was to have a holiday for life. The space between our fortieth and fiftieth year is perhaps (for the rational part of our nature) the very pick of our threescore years and ten: and it was this decade which Hume appropriated to History. The undertaking was one for which, from his natural turn of mind and his previous studies, he was, in many most important requisites, eminently qualified. We cannot wish, therefore, that he should have devoted his last literary labours to any other service. Still less, if he was to choose history, can we fall in with Mr Burton's wish, that he should have chosen some other history, (ancient history, for instance,) instead of the history of England. What would have been the use of anticipating Mitford in a Tory history of Greece? In one respect, he certainly would not have interfered with either Mitford or his successors: for, 'concise, after the man-
'ner of the ancients,' on suggesting the subject to Robertson, he thought it ought to be brought down to Philip of Macedon in a single volume quarto. Our readers will see in time, that we are fully sensible to the objections against leaving the History of England exclusively in the hands of Hume. He frequently provokes us quite as much as Mr Burton or Mr Brodie can desire. His craving after theories, or pictures which were to produce effect,—his political prejudices,—his want of sympathy with the beneficial influences of Christianity on modern Europe,—and his unfortunate ignorance of mediæval antiquity and English jurisprudence, amount at times, and on certain questions, almost to a disqualification. They make it absolutely necessary, at all events, that Hume's history should not be our only history; or, at least, that it should be accompanied by some copious and authoritative commentary, as a check. We are afraid too, that Hume had at no time that austere reverence for truth, which is the only safety for an historian: while the accidental causes by which his worst tendencies were made worse than they might otherwise have been, lie on the surface of the correspondence published in the present volumes.

But before we begin upon any ground of quarrel, it is much more agreeable, first to look at him sitting down to his great work; and to see, that among all the pleasures which greeted him on taking up his abode at Edinburgh, far from the least were the sanguine spirits with which he entered on his historical career. Smith had been giving him good advice, (as he afterwards acknowledged.) The following letter is his answer. It is the earliest letter to Smith which has been preserved:—'I confess I was

'once of the same opinion with you, and thought that the 'best period to begin an English history was about Henry the 'Seventh; but you will please to observe, that the change 'which then happened in public affairs was very insensible; and 'did not display its influence till many years afterwards. 'Twas 'under James that the House of Commons began first to raise 'their (its?) head, and then the quarrel betwixt Privilege and Pre-'rogative commenced. The government, no longer oppressed by 'the enormous authority of the crown, displayed its genius; and 'the factions which then arose, having an influence on our pre-'sent affairs, form the most curious, interesting, and instructive 'part of our history. The preceding events, or causes, may 'easily be shown, in a reflection or review; which may be art-'fully inserted in the body of the work; and the whole, by that 'means, be rendered more compact and uniform. I confess 'that the subject appears to me very fine; and I enter upon it 'with great ardour and pleasure. You need not doubt of my 'perseverance.' [1752.]

What a pity that this complacency could not last! But the spirit of authorship, by which he was possessed, was a perturbed spirit; feeding more on literary fame than on the simple love of letters. The opposition, which the first volume of the Stuarts met with, seems to have taken away from him almost all heart and pleasure in the rest; except the bitter pleasure of confounding his opponents by making falsehood look like truth, and the worse appear the better reason. He thought the second volume of the Stuarts much inferior to the first; at least, he says so: and he accounted for it 'by the infinite disgust and reluctance' with which, after a long interval, he had returned to it. The effect of this, he was sensible, appeared in many passages. On the failure of the Treatise, he had been willing to take part of the blame upon himself. Not so now. The whole blame of the evil reception of his History, rested with the public. Religious prejudices were so natural to all mankind, as to be entitled to some respect: But for political prejudices he had no indulgence. Whatever knowledge he pretended to in history and human affairs, he had not had so bad an opinion of man as to expect that their want of candour and humanity would have exposed him to the treatment he had received! (1757.) It is true, he did not lose a jot of confidence in his powers: but the fire was extinguished in him, he thought; and with it the security, and almost the wish to please.

By the time he got to the reigns of the Tudors, his spirits had in some measure returned to him; and were kept up by the passion of an advocate pleading a cause, on which he had staked his character. On going back to the early part

of English history, we observe in the Correspondence only one notice of it, while he is engaged upon it. It is in a couple of lines; and merely speaks of the infinite labour and study which it costs him; coldly adding, that he does not grudge it, having nothing better nor more agreeable to employ him. So low had his ambition dropped—employment for employment's sake!—perhaps, he should have rather said, (since hard students have always employment at command,) for the sake of the two thousand eight hundred pounds, which he received from Miller, for the three series which complete his History. If we recollect what were his means and what his prospects, there was no other way by which he could expect the narrow basis of his pecuniary independence to be so substantially enlarged. But the importance of this object would scarcely prevent him from wearying over his work: and, to this weariness, two causes must materially have contributed. He could not help being conscious that he had neither the knowledge nor the interest which an historian of the Anglo-Saxons and Plantagenets should possess; and next, he had been paid for the work before he wrote it. We are afraid, therefore, that in making out a list of Hume's pleasures, we must not put that of the actual composition of his History into the account. To the latter circumstance Robertson familiarly attributed his superficial treatment of that period—a fact, of which the contemporaries of Whitaker were well aware, though they were without the lights which have been since so much more fully thrown on Anglo-Saxon history. Hume ran his hand over several kinds of composition; we have endeavoured to make out in which of them he had the greatest pleasure. Leaving aside the gratification afforded to his vanity by success, there is reason for believing that metaphysical speculations were more truly congenial to his nature, and therefore contributed more to his intellectual happiness, than historical reasoning or research.

Hume, when a young man, had been accustomed to come to Edinburgh as a visitor, for the winter season. He was now come there in his manhood; and (a very different matter) to settle in it as his home. He brought his History along with him, instead of either wife or mistress; and though, as we have seen, its attractions by degrees fell off, it continued to require as much attention from him, as during his first passion for it. It saved him, therefore, necessarily, from one of the humiliating perils of single life—dependence on society. Yet, while his studious habits made him independent of society, his sociable nature left him open to all its charms. Amusing and amused in every variety of company, he brought sunshine wherever he appeared; and

seems to have been as universally welcome as a fine day. He had, besides, a still more enviable talent, that of making Friends: such friends, that is, as are made more by sweetness of temper than by depth of feeling. It was a talent, too, which he never let lie idle long—except in England. It is a singular exception. But, among his many friends, there never turns up by chance a single Englishman! His connexion with Lord Hertford might be complimented with the name; but it is a compliment by which nobody standing in their relation, ever is deceived. Of the friends who had grown up with him, the most distinguished were Mure of Caldwell, Oswald of Dunikier, and Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kaimes. Of these, Oswald was an eminent Glasgow merchant. He appears, as a practical man of business and theoretical political economist, to have borne nearly the same relation to Hume and Smith, as Gournay bore to Quesnay and Turgot. The friendships of Sir Gilbert Elliot and Adam Smith were a later acquisition. A little before Hume's coming to reside at Edinburgh, Adam Smith had been translated from an Edinburgh Lectureship, to a Professorship at Glasgow. Up to that time, they can have seldom met. Yet, though Smith was then only twenty-eight years old, and ten years younger than Hume, the elder philosopher took him into consultation, with full as much respect for his opinion as he ever had showed for Hutcheson, fifteen years before.

On the inglorious expedition to the coast of France in 1746, Hume managed to pick up two friends of a very different cast; but they assimilated so well, that they stood by him for life: one was Colonel Edmonstone, the other Dr Clephane. It was natural that the necessities of a campaign should bring together the two civilians—the Doctor and Judge-Advocate—the Doctor knowing, it may be hoped, a little more of medicine than the Judge-Advocate of law. The friends we have named were all laymen. But, on taking up his abode at Edinburgh, Hume was introduced into a new circle. Afterwards, in the general unpopularity of his first volumes of the Stuarts, Herring, Primate of England, and Stone, Primate of Ireland, separately sent him messages not to be discouraged. He notices with a smile, that these 'seem two odd exceptions.' It must have at the time seemed still more curious to him, that all in this new circle —all at least of any note—were clergymen; and, in the language of Church politics, were leaders of the Moderates in the General Assembly.

In the proud, yet simple Memoir, which Hume has called his funeral oration on himself, he boasts that his friends never had occasion to vindicate any single circumstance of his character and

conduct. Of the truth of this, there cannot possibly be stronger evidence than these last won friendships. To ordinary understandings, to be living in intimacy with David Hume will certainly appear, at least, as unclerical a proceeding as either writing a play, or going to see one acted. Yet, for the first of these minor offences, his cousin, the author of *Douglas*, was at this very time driven out of the Church; and, for the second, Dr Carlyle and others, sharply censured. Could any thing to his disadvantage have been fastened upon Hume, it would have been impossible for Jardine, Blair, and Robertson, to have met his adversaries at the gate: indeed, with no other objection against him, but his writings, the course they took was still a bold one: bolder, we suspect, than would be followed now. For, Hume's motions were all along watched closely by jealous eyes. He had not been three years librarian to the Faculty of Advocates, when he was deprived of the power of ordering in books. A resolution to that effect was brought forward by Lord Monboddo and Lord Hailes. They charged him with the scandal of having introduced into their library three indecent French novels, unworthy of a learned body. It is much more singular that the throwing of the first stone should have been left to the lawyers, than that, on its having hit its object, some among the clergy looked about them for a second missile. The form which the second assault assumed was particularly agreeable to the assailants; because its success must have compromised Blair and Robertson, as much almost as Hume. A sentence of excommunication upon the one, would have thrown its *penumbra* over the others. And this is the least which can have been contemplated by Dr Anderson, when he moved in the General Assembly the succeeding year, that a person styling himself David Hume, Esq., who had arrived at such a degree of boldness, as publicly to avow himself author of books subversive of Christianity, Natural Religion, and Morality, should be called before them. Fortunately, all, but a small minority, thought it more discreet to stop on the threshold than proceed. Things, therefore, went no further than insult and annoyance. Hume did well to despise these hornets: but he should have infused more justice and moderation into his scorn. We hope we are not to judge of his own feelings towards his opponents by his unmeasured language, when (years afterwards and far away) the first thought which comes to him on the death of Jardine, is the image of 'the miscreants of the opposite party' rejoicing over it. Among these miscreants was Ebenezer Erskine, whose funeral sermon upon Robertson is so honourable to both. That sermon, by the way, is indisputable evidence in favour of the Christian character of Robertson, from

a contemporary and a rival; and is wholly inconsistent with modern gossip about his unbelief.

Hume allowed himself at no time to be much disturbed by attacks in public on his religious opinions; for he regarded religion as a branch of philosophy, from which reason had been always excluded, and generally manners. But he could not be indifferent to the controversial spirit, when it followed him into private life. He was natural and free-spoken to a fault; while his scepticism was so predominant in him, that he could never be sure, for four-and-twenty hours together, that he might not either unwittingly give offence to his best friends, or be offended by them. Whenever he hurt his friends, he was too good natured not to feel uneasy. It was on these occasions that he discovered that Scotland was too narrow a place for him. His clerical intimates must, in return, have often felt themselves in a false position with him: disquieted, lest on the one hand they should grieve him by their differences or distrusts; on the other, lest they should be compromised by either his subtle questionings or his careless talk. Accordingly, when his most intimate acquaintance—the people whom he was meeting every day—set up the original *Edinburgh Review*, in 1754, Hume, the best writer of them all, was carefully excluded. To explain this, it has been suggested, that his infantile simplicity might have betrayed their secret, or that he was too tender-hearted for the necessary cruelties of a reviewer! But surely we need not go so far out of the way for a sufficient reason. The conductors of the *Review* did not venture to embarrass their fragile undertaking by the responsibilities belonging to his opinions, or by the suspicions belonging to his name. It will be easily conceived, that even in the ordinary intercourse of society, more active measures of self-defence on their part, may have been sometimes necessary. A letter from Hume to Blair, is fortunately preserved; which, while it shows how peremptorily Hume resented any interference with his opinions, shows also the falsehood of the rumour, that Hume's opinions were shared, or even tolerated, by Blair. We have already alluded to—what some have thought a suspicious circumstance—the suppression or the loss of Robertson's correspondence. But, there is no reason whatever for separating the case of Robertson, or of any other of the Edinburgh clergy, from that of Blair. We perceive, that one of Hume's letters, full of gossip about Rousseau, ends with saying, '*read this only* '*to the initiated;*' words which, hastily seen in the Hume papers, are quite enough to have originated any calumny. But, the letter of which we are now speaking, is too direct and too premeditated (for it was sent from Paris) not to be sincere. Blair had

forwarded to Hume, Dr Campbell's reply to his Essay on Miracles. The first part of Hume's answer to this letter, is a criticism on Dr Campbell: But the rebuke with which it ends, might have satisfied even Dr Anderson, that, although the hope of Hume's conversion was not the basis of these friendships, yet, if Hume were not converted, the fault was not with Blair. 'Having 'said so much to your friend, who is certainly a very ingenious 'man, though a little too zealous for a philosopher, permit me 'also the freedom of saying a word to yourself. Whenever I 'have had the pleasure to be in your company, if the discourse 'turned on any common subject of literature, or reasoning, I al-'ways parted from you both entertained and instructed. But, 'when the conversation was diverted by you from this channel 'towards the subject of your profession—though I doubt not 'but your intentions were friendly towards me—I own I never 'received the same satisfaction: I was apt to be tired, and you 'to be angry. I would therefore wish, for the future, whenever 'my good fortune throws me in your way, that these topics 'should be forborne between us. I have long since done with all 'inquiries on such subjects, and am become incapable of instruc-'tion; though I own no one is more capable of conveying it than 'yourself.' A letter of this kind would have cooled an ordinary friendship: and it is highly to Blair's credit, that he accepted Hume on his own terms; had the virtue to love him living, and the manliness to protect his memory.

The circle in which Hume was living, (irritating as, in some respects, were the threads which held him to it,) was one which, as long, at least, as he remained at Edinburgh, he could ill afford to lose. To be sure there were two public reunions open to him. The Philosophical Society was established in 1754, for the purpose of philosophical debate; Hume and Smith both attended, but never opened their lips in it. The other flourished under the more familiar name of the Poker Club, and was established in 1762, to stir up the fire of the nation, on Scotland being refused a Scotch militia. In this club, Hume held the melo-dramatic office of Assistant-Assassin—having for his principal, in case their services should be wanted, a certain Andrew Crosbie, the Pleydell of *Guy Mannering*—a celebrated advocate in his day—standing counsel for the Evangelicals, and as remarkable as his assistant for the mildness of his disposition. Even from amidst the flatteries of Parisian wit and beauty, Hume affected to regret the freedom and hilarity of the Poker Club. A man, who had lived, year after year, cheerfully at Ninewells, had proved beyond all question, that society was by no means necessary to him. But, we are sorry to see that when it was within his reach, he had a secret

ambition about it, (by way of acknowledgment, apparently of his literary rank,) beyond what friends or clubs could satisfy. This feeling will account for the height to which he carried his love for Paris, and his dislike of London. So far we can understand. But a sensitiveness at not being sought after, or noticed by the aristocracy of Edinburgh, is the last infirmity of which we should have suspected him. A twelvemonth with Lord Annandale, ought to have hardened a weaker nature against this kind of misfortune. But he not only took their neglect to heart; he brooded over it. And it is evident, that when certain of the offenders, or any of their class, fell afterwards into his hands, he had a singular satisfaction in settling the balance. An opportunity occurred at Paris. One of his countrymen appeared before him there with a letter of introduction, and, unconscious of this secret grief, must have been as much startled at the time as we are now, at the temper in which he was received. The introduction was from Blair; and this is the answer:—'Your 'recommendations have great weight with me; but, if I am not 'mistaken, I have often seen Colonel L——'s face in Edinburgh. 'It is a little late he has bethought himself of being *ambitious*, 'as you say, of being introduced to my acquaintance. The only 'favour I can do him, is to advise him, as soon as he has seen 'Paris, to go to a provincial town, where people are less shy of 'admitting new acquaintance, and are less delicate judges of be-'haviour. . . . I fancy there will not arrive at Paris many 'people who will have great claims of past civilities to plead 'with me.' A letter to Adam Smith from Fontainbleau, a little earlier, is still fiercer: 'You are ready to ask me, if all this does 'not make me very happy: no; I feel little or no difference. 'Can I ever forget, that it is the very same species, that would 'scarce show me common civilities, a very few years ago at Edin-'burgh, who now receive me with such applauses at Paris?'

Unluckily for Hume, another shadow came slowly creeping on. One, too, which a man of his kind and gentlemanly spirit would be still more unwilling to admit. Authors always, and sometimes their publishers, are ingenious in anticipating or explaining failures. Miller, in 1750, delayed publishing a new edition of Hume's Essays, because of the earthquakes! In 1769, John Home accounted to himself for the thinness of the House, at the first representation of his *Fatal Discovery*, by supposing that the curiosity of the play-going world was all absorbed in the rival interest of the contemporary drama, then performing in the House of Lords, under the name of the *Douglas Cause*. In the same way, it was a favourite resource with Hume to attribute much of the reluctance of the English to do him, what he kept

calling justice, to the fact of his being a Scotchman. He would not allow either the vulgar popularity of Smollett, or the solid and well-earned fame of Robertson, to undeceive him. He could afford to despise the first. If Smollett sold out of hand 11,000 copies of his History, so much the worse for public taste. But Robertson's success must be accounted for on other grounds; And how?—as a means of spiting Hume! We find him, accordingly, writing from London in 1759 to Smith: 'Robertson's 'book' (the History of Scotland) 'has great merit; but it is 'visible that he profited here by the animosity against me.' So far, we are afraid, was written in sober earnest; though pleasantly carried off by intimating, that the same *odium tertii* had probably been equally favourable to the 'Theory of Moral 'Sentiments,' just published: 'I suppose the case was the same 'with you.' Four years later, (1763) Robertson was appointed Historiographer for Scotland. Hume had been proud of their friendship, both for its own sake, and as a thorn in the side of the common enemy. But the best friends and the best natures must not be tried too far. The jealousy which this unexpected preference excited in him, was sufficiently apparent to be observed by third persons. Dr Carlyle repeats, as part of the day's gossip, (1763) that, 'Honest David Home, (Hume,) with the heart of 'all others that rejoices most at the prosperity of his friends, 'was certainly a little hurt with this last honour conferred on 'Robertson. A lucky accident has given him relief.' The accident was an invitation to accompany Lord Hertford on an embasy to Paris. It was only an accident inasmuch as it was sudden and unlooked for. There can be little doubt but that it was done mainly at the suggestion of John Home, who, at this very time, was domesticated with Lord Bute. It was a good day's work—by whomsoever done; and all the better, if the doer of it was aware of all the circumstances. For, assuredly, there is no more melancholy form of dust and ashes, than those of a Friendship which has burnt out; And, among the last friendships which should ever be allowed to perish, was one that had united names which posterity will never part.

Hume had begun his History in Edinburgh in 1752. In 1762, when he brought it to a close, he was at Edinburgh still. From the feelings which we have been describing, it would appear that this continued residence was from necessity more than choice. During the interval, he often wished himself away. Often would he have fled from the ills to which he was exposed at Edinburgh, and even taken his chance of those which London might have in store for him; if his finances could have borne the change. In 1754, (the year of the proceedings against him in the General

Assembly) he writes to Dr Clephane,—'Show me that frugality 'could make L.120 a-year do, and I'm with you. A man of letters 'ought always to live in a capital, says Bayle.' Three years later, (1757, the year of his resigning the librarianship) he returned to the subject; and desired the doctor to look out a room for him. 'A room in a sober, discreet family, who would not be averse 'to admit a sober, discreet, virtuous, frugal, regular, quiet, good-'natured man—of a bad character!—I shall be in London next 'summer (to finish the Tudor volumes) probably to remain 'there during life. I shall then be able to spend L.150 a-year, 'which is the sum upon which, I remember, you formerly un-'dertook me. But I would not have you reckon upon *proba-'bilities*, as you then called them; for I am resolved to write 'no more. I shall read and correct, and chat and be idle, the 'rest of my life.' In 1759 he expresses more plainly than ever, the uncomfortableness of his position at Edinburgh. But, on the other side, were to be set the supreme considerations, that Scotland was more suitable to his means, as well as the seat of his principal friendships. The *vis inertiæ*, which made a single removal as intolerable to him as a fire, came next; and, lastly, an objection, (perhaps equal in reality to all the others,) the inability to make up his mind to what other place it would be prudent to remove.

We doubt whether London would have ever suited him. He had never seen it to advantage. He had first become acquainted with it, sick and sorry, on his way to Bristol. He then probably brought up with him a strong national antipathy. At all events, he would certainly have been met by one; for, unless the ashes had been smouldering sullenly in 1734, it would have been impossible, some five-and-twenty years afterwards, that they should have been blown into a flame by vulgar breath, against the countrymen of Lord Bute. Hume's second visit—that of an unknown youth, half Scotch half French, arriving from France to negotiate the publication of an unlucky Treatise on Metaphysics—was no great advance; and his year of bondage with Lord Annandale, in Hertfordshire, must have been too miserable to think of, without shuddering.

There is no reason for supposing that he was again in England, except passing through with General Sinclair, until 1758. In this year, however, he did come to London, in execution of the purpose he had announced to Dr Clephane; he took lodgings in Lisle Street, Liecester Fields, and remained there, not for life, as he had talked of, but about a twelvemonth. From all that appears, he was living in no society. Of the people whose names are of sufficient importance to be mentioned in

his letters, the only one with whom he pretends to any acquaintance, is a Mr Burke, or Bourke, 'an Irish gentleman who wrote 'lately a very pretty Treatise on the Sublime.' This tentative experiment of settling in London, therefore, evidently failed: and upon its failure, Hume concluded, that there was no good society in London, since he had found none: He might very easily have fallen into the same mistake at Paris. For, by his own account, its polite circles were in some respects more exclusive; and it was almost out of the memory of man that any British had been familiarly admitted into them; though an exception was afterwards made in his favour, by a strange caprice of fashion. Under these circumstances, any comparisons he might draw between the two capitals, must necessarily be unfair; however, he might think they justified his anti-English feelings. 'There 'is,' he says, 'a very remarkable difference between London and 'Paris, of which I gave warning to Helvetius, when he went 'over lately to England, and of which he told me, on his re-'turn, he was fully sensible. If a man have the misfortune, in 'the former place, to attach himself to letters, even if he succeeds, 'I know not with whom he is to live, nor how he is to pass his 'time in suitable society. The little company there that is worth 'conversing with, are cold and unsociable; or are warmed only 'by faction and cabal; so that, a man who plays no part in pub-'lic affairs, becomes altogether insignificant; and if he is not 'rich, he becomes even contemptible. Hence that nation are 'relapsing fast into the deepest stupidity and ignorance. The 'taste for literature is neither decayed nor depraved here, as 'with the barbarians on the banks of the Thames.' [1764.]

After Hume's return from Paris, he resided in London full two years, (1766-68,) and was for the principal part of the time, Under Secretary of State to General Conway. He must now have had abundant means of correcting his error, if he had thought it worth his while. On the contrary, he seems to have kept aloof. He even declined Blair's introduction of Dr Percy to him in London, almost as unceremoniously as he had got rid of the Scotch Colonel sent to him at Paris. 'I thank you for the 'acquaintance you offer me of Mr Percy; but it would be im-'practicable for me to cultivate his friendship, as men of letters 'have here no place of rendezvous; and are, indeed, sunk and 'forgot in the general torrent of the world. If you can there-'fore decline, without hardship, any letter of recommendation, it 'would save trouble both to him and me.' Hume and Percy came together, notwithstanding. They had a point of agreement,—not Ancient Ballads, certainly; but a common dislike of Johnson. Yet Hume's excuse is not less strange; For there never

was a time, before or since, when London was less in want of points of reunion, where men of similar pursuits might meet. The Scotch themselves had a pleasant club, made up mostly of Hume's friends. Garrick was a member of it; and the house where it met was kept by a clever woman, sister to the celebrated Dr Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury. At first sight it may seem stranger still, so to speak of London in 1767; an era when Mrs Montagu was ambitious of distinguishing her house after *the Rambouillet* fashion; and when three years had not elapsed since Johnson had founded the Literary Club. But at his highest zenith, Hume probably continued equally a stranger at these renowned resorts. The people, indeed, who were worshippers of Johnson could have scarcely associated with, much less courted, Hume. Considering Johnson's occasional brutality, it would not have been safe for him and Hume to have met in private. Percy was stopped from even mentioning that he had taken Hume to dine with the chaplains at St James's, for fear of a scene of violence, if not hysterics. And it was only by taking advantage of Johnson being away, that half-a-dozen friends contrived to smuggle Adam Smith into the club.

That singular dictatorship, which Boswell has immortalised, might have been greatly in the way of Hume, and even of Smith, in the set where we should otherwise first expect to find them. Of this there can be no doubt. But, supposing them there, would they have succeeded? Might not Smith have been too formal and didactic? And is it not possible that the conversational pleasantries of Hume, which were so enchanting among his familiar friends, might not have borne transplanting among strangers? Garrick's critical interrogatory concerning the character of Smith's conversation ('*Eh, flabby?*') is not promising. Smith is supposed to have told Reynolds, that he never talked upon a subject which he understood, lest he might want it for his books! while, Horace Walpole, indignant at any body comparing Hume's abilities with those of Gray, declared that Hume's conversation was so *thick* that he believed he never understood a subject until he had written upon it. Can there be better proof, than the extravagance of these anecdotes,—that as yet a dinner-table and a drawing-room were not good conductors between the minds of the two countries? Put out by the novelty of the scene, or diffident of their Scotticisms and their dialect, both Smith and Hume were evidently different persons in London from what they were at home. So many Scotchmen in the preceding generation had written excellent English, that we have never been able to understand the grounds on which Hume and his contemporaries are supposed to have had so much difficulty in

English composition, and to have conferred so great a service on their countrymen by their success. But a written style is one thing, a colloquial style another; and it is very possible that the generation of which we are speaking, would have been much more confident that they could have marched gracefully through the chapters of a history, than have made good their way, without a fault, among the turns and idioms of the most common conversation. But—whether this were so or not in the case of Hume—there was another, and even a greater difficulty in the way of his holding pleasant intercourse with 'the barbarians on 'the banks of the Thames.' He disliked the people, and cherished the dislike.

At times Hume turned his eyes wistfully towards France. Its climate, its cheapness, the facility and gaiety of its society, had great attractions for him. When he was more than usually out of humour with his native land, he entertained his fancy with schemes of expatriation. Had they been all as philosophical as that which he unfolded to Dr Clephane, in 1756, we should have had more reliance on the ways and means which philosophy can supply, than we have at present:—'It gives me great affliction, dear doctor, when you speak of gout and old age. Alas! you are going down hill, and I am tumbling fast after you. I have, however, very entire health, notwithstanding my studious sedentary life. I only grow fat more than I could wish. When shall I see you? God knows. I am settled here (Edinburgh); have no pretensions, nor hopes, nor desires, to carry me to court the great. I live frugally on a small fortune, which I care not to dissipate by jaunts of pleasure. All these circumstances give me little prospect of seeing London. Were I to change my habitation, I would retire to some provincial town in France; to trifle out my old age near a warm sun, in a good climate, a pleasant country, and amidst a sociable people. My stock would then maintain me in some opulence; for I have the satisfaction to tell you, dear doctor, that on reviewing my affairs, I find that I am worth L.1600 sterling, which, at five per cent, makes me near 1800 livres a-year; that is, the pay of two French captains.' It is using brave words, perhaps, to call this philosophy. It is, however, no small part of it; and represents, we trust, the good sense and good temper of many hundreds of our half-pay officers scattered over France at this moment. There is nothing in the thoughts and feelings presented in this letter but what Hume's best friends might wish to see there. It is as pleasant a foreign view of him as either of his two extremes—as either the quiet of his first provincial solitude, to which he fled, to ruminate upon his *juvenilia*

at La Flêche,; or the glory of his second visit, receiving the compliments of the nobility and court of France.

M. Camperon has translated anew Hume's History into French; and to judge by some of the blunders of his predecessors which he has put into a note, not before it was wanted. He observes that Hume's partiality to France ought to be a great merit with French readers. We are quite willing that it should be so. We have never heard this partiality objected to by any body; nor fault found with him because his tastes, both literary and social, were more French than English. Within certain limits, comparisons between different countries, their forms of civilization, and their manners, are open questions. The most favoured nation is not necessarily one's own. The injustice to which we object in Hume, is not comparative but positive; and Englishmen are entitled to complain much more of the feeling which pervades these Letters, than of any opinions stated in his History. The first germ of Hume's dislike of the English was probably, as we have said, a little leaven of ancient nationality. Unfavourable accidents rather encouraged than corrected it afterwards: and so it grew up to be the counterpart to Johnson's dislike of Scotland. By degrees, this hostile feeling was embittered by personal pique and wounded vanity. Like other great performers, who have come up from the provinces to the capital, and have met at first with coldness and with clamour, instead of plaudits, he took offence; and assuming the tone and attitude of an injured man, he opened a quarrel with the public, which he never closed.

Yet Hume's general nature was eminently sweet and reasonable. He was as sound, both in mind and body, as Johnson was the reverse. It would have appeared beforehand to have been about as difficult to make the one unhappy, as the other happy. But, on looking more closely into Hume's underlife, the one superstition by which his house was haunted (an ill regulated passion for literary fame,) was nearly proving as fatal to his peace, as Johnson's hundred spectres. All that was really serious by way of exception to his general character, is to be referred, first or last, to this head. He was turned forty at the time of his bringing out the first part of the History of the Stuarts. From the moment it appeared, it was (he conceived) universally neglected, and universally abused. Books have been written on the calamities of authors, and on their peculiar diseases, physical and moral. They contain many cases far more painful, but hardly a case more mortifying, than the effect which this disappointment produced on Hume. The first effects, impulsive and temporary, might be attributed to a sudden return of splenetic low spirits, brought back on him

by long confinement and vexation,—the same kind of moral jaundice, upon which in his youth he had consulted Cheyne. But the secondary effects—those which were consequential and reflective—cannot be passed over to that charitable hypothesis. At first, his mind was so unsettled, that he all but threw off his friends and forswore his country. His two letters to Mure of Caldwell, are humbling to authors, but most instructive to their friends. In 1754, Hume had begged of Mure to tell him his opinion of the first part of the Stuarts, and with freedom:—'You 'know my docility.' Mure, who should perhaps have known him better, took him at his word. It was not till 1757—and then, only after having received from Mure a commendation of the second part—that Hume sullenly restored him to a friendship, 'confirmed by years and long acquaintance!' How frail our security in each other, if for three long years, the too homely truths contained in the answer to the first letter can have held suspended in the air a friendship so confirmed!

Other authors may have been as touchy with their friends; but we do not remember any other, who ever thought of shaking the dust from off his feet and abjuring his country, merely because his countrymen would not read his books, nor receive him on his self-appointed mission, for their national historian. It is a pettishness, or flightiness, for which no testimony could be taken but his own. But that testimony we have; and, what is worse, we have it gravely given in as a dying declaration, at the distance of five-and-twenty years:—'I was, I confess, discouraged; and 'had not the war been at that time breaking out between France 'and England, I had certainly retired to some provincial town 'of the former kingdom, have changed my name, and never 'more have returned to my native country!' The storm passed off; but the channels which it had worn remained; and into these—whenever things went wrong with him—his distempered thoughts and feelings appear to have found their way. Through many years he persisted in reading every thing backwards which related to his History—which was the way, to be sure, in which he had composed it. Every new edition was only an acknowledgment of the injustice which had been done him; and a poor instalment of his just dues. Notwithstanding his confession, that the last series of his History had been better received immediately upon its publication than any of the earlier ones, this earnest of contrition was not sufficient to entitle the public to condonation. He would not come up to London till he had seen more justice done him. But appearances improved so rapidly, that he wrote home from Paris the succeeding year, that he saw that the public was coming round. Unfortunately, by this time,

he had contracted, through long indulgence, the worst of all complaints, the habit of complaining. It is in vain, that the statical chair assures the confirmed valetudinarian that he is gaining flesh; he must go on, weighing himself daily. Hume at last wore out the patience of his very publisher. Mr Millar cannot help expressing his surprise that a man of his excellent understanding and merit should be so dissatisfied with the sale; especially, as the booksellers, the only parties concerned in it, are, on the whole, astonished at its success, and are ready to give him any encouragement to proceed! Surely, where the booksellers were so joyfully astonished, the author might have been content. We may safely undertake to say, that no such correspondence ever passed between Samuel Simmons and John Milton; though two other five pounds depended on the number of the copies of the *Paradise Lost* that Simmons might have the luck to sell. The genius of the greatest minds is based on greatness of character, and can bide its time.

We would have no man stand up for his country or his party, right or wrong. But, an honest man will not be the worse for belonging to a party: while, he certainly may be much the worse for being a citizen only of the world. Hume was all along national rather than patriotic: And, unfortunately, his nationality was represented by the difference in his feelings towards England and Scotland; his patriotism by his indifference to both. Had he been out in Forty-five, he would have been amused at the notion of Banishment being a punishment; and he must have laughed at Lord Bolingbroke's declamations out of Seneca, upon exile. If there be any such virtue as patriotism, Hume hung far too loosely to his country. The equal affection to all sections of his countrymen—the *Tros Rutulusve* motto, which he paraded in the first edition of his Essays in 1741—made him as much of a spectator in domestic politics as Atticus himself. Six or seven years afterwards, he boasted that he had argued the case of the Protestant Succession—in a new Essay, brought out at a most critical moment—as coolly as if it had been a question between Pompey and Cæsar. But the truth is, that his nature was so neutral—so wanting in those sympathies, out of which patriotism grows—that it would not at any time have cost him more to change his allegiance than his coat. He was ready, therefore, to shift his lodgings any day, on the smallest provocation. Under these circumstances, it is particularly unfortunate that he should have been so sore at the denial of any imagined claim,—whether it was his lawful literary laurels, or his lawful pecuniary emoluments that were withheld from him. On setting out in life, he had made it a point, apparently with private persons as

well as with the public, to stand, in the first instance, on his extreme rights. It was not till these were recognised and secured, that he opened his better nature—struck the rock, and let the waters flow. Hume is far from being the only person, who has cavilled for the ninth part of a hair in the way of bargain, to give it afterwards, or thrice as much, to a deserving—or undeserving friend. At the beginning, there was more excuse for pertinacity about whatever money he could make out any sort of title to, in his case, than in that of most people. We wish, however, that he had let drop his demand against Lord Annandale for some small debated arrear of salary, as soon as he could afford to lose it. Still more do we wish that the extortionous demand on government, for half-pay, which he certainly had not earned, as judge-advocate, had never been preferred by him. His indefatigable perseverance in agitating on both these questions would prepare us for his being exceedingly dissatisfied with his position in the embassy at Paris, as long as it was precarious; but, we were not prepared for the violence of his feelings, or the nature of his threats. He had bargained with Lord Hertford for a pension of L.200, before agreeing to come out with him in the nondescript capacity of a kind of *attaché*, who was to do the business of secretary to the embassy, without any official character. For a time, this pension rested on no more solid footing than a simple order from the treasury; while, Mr Bunbury continued to hang on as secretary longer than Hume had reckoned upon. In this state of things, he roused himself to address a long letter to his friend Elliot, on his grievances. The fuming incense which the Parisians were now offering to him, as a sort of male Goddess of Reason, must, by this time have intoxicated the object of their idolatry, or he never would have closed his letter with the formal notice,—'I have been accustomed to 'meet with nothing but insults and indignities from my native 'country; but if it continues so, "*ingrata patria, ne ossa qui-*'*dem habebis.*'"

The flaw which ran through Hume's temper, the degree to which it occasionally disfigured the whiteness of the marble—as in this instance—cannot be more strikingly brought out than in Sir Gilbert's answer. Of all the friends of Hume who are introduced to us in the present volumes, were we to judge them by their correspondence, we should place him first. Whether the matter in discussion be metaphysics or civil prudence, he is uniformly a wise adviser:—'As to *ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem* '*habebis*, don't be at all uneasy. Notwithstanding all your 'errors, mistakes, and heresies in religion, morals, and govern-'ment, I undertake you shall have at least Christian burial; and

'perhaps we may even find for you a niche in Westminster Abbey 'besides. Your Lockes, Newtons, and Bacons had no great 'matter to boast of during their lives, and yet they were the 'most orthodox of men; they required no godfather to answer 'for them; while, on the other hand, did not Lord Hertford 'spread his seven-fold shield over all your transgressions? 'Pray, what pretensions have you either in church or state? for 'you well know you have offended both.' A few months afterwards, Sir Gilbert was himself at Paris, to place his sons there. He left them to be looked after by Hume; But, from what he had seen, he felt so strongly the temptations by which he had also left his friend surrounded, that, having to write to him about the boys, he could not resist tacking on a word or two of counsel at the end:—'Allow me in friendship also to tell you I 'think I see you at present upon the very brink of a precipice. 'One cannot too much clear their (? one's) mind of all little preju-'dices; but partiality to one's country is not a prejudice. Love 'the French as much as you will. Many of the individuals are 'surely the proper objects of affection; but, above all, con-'tinue still an Englishman.' The reply is conclusive evidence that the interposition was not premature. 'I cannot ima-'gine,' Hume replies, 'what you mean by saying I am on a 'precipice. I shall foretell to you the result of my present 'situation, almost with as great certainty as it is possible to em-'ploy with regard to any future event. As soon as Lord 'Hertford's embassy ends, which probably may not continue 'long, some zealot whom I never saw, and never could offend, 'finding me without protection, will instanter fly with alacrity 'to strike off that pension which the king and the ministry, 'before I would consent to accept of my present situation, pro-'mised should be for life. I shall be obliged to leave Paris; which 'I confess I shall turn my back to with regret. I shall go to 'Thoulouse or Montauban, or some provincial town in the south 'of France, where I shall spend, contented, the rest of my life, 'with more money, under a finer sky, and in better company 'than I was born to enjoy. From what human motive or con-'sideration can I prefer living in England than in foreign coun-'tries? I believe, taking the continent of Europe, from Peters-'burg to Lisbon, and from Bergen to Naples, there is not one 'there who ever heard of my name, who has not heard of it with 'advantage, both in point of morals and genius. I do not believe 'there is one Englishman in fifty, who, if he heard I had broke 'my neck to-night, would be sorry. Some, because I am not a 'Whig; some, because I am not a Christian; and all, because 'I am a Scotsman. Can you seriously talk of my continuing

'an Englishman? Am I, or are you, an Englishman? Do they 'not treat with derision our pretensions to that name, and with 'hatred our just pretensions to surpass and govern them? I am 'a citizen of the world; but if I were to adopt any country, it 'would be that in which I live at present; and from which I am 'determined never to depart, unless a war drives me into Switz-'erland or Italy.'

The idolaters, who were running after Hume to pick up anecdotes of his philosophy and *bonhommie*, would be more abashed at this correspondence, than probably the 'Good David' might think necessary. What makes his vehemence the more inexcusable, is, that all along he was well aware of the difficulties of his case. And, at last, when he was appointed secretary, he felt 'inclined to be surprised how it had happened.'

But Hume's ideas, when once taken up, soon became fixed ideas; not to be exorcised out of him by reason. In this manner, his resentments were gradually transformed into a second nature. By way of self-defence against his supposed public, he early inflamed himself into an equal contempt of their literary taste and of their manners: 'As to the approbation or esteem of 'those blockheads, who call themselves the public, and whom a 'bookseller, a lord, a priest or a party, can guide, I do most 'heartily despise it.' [1757.] His alleged unwillingness to show himself among his detractors, easily assumed a more comprehensive form, when his first objection was removed. 'I have 'a reluctance to think of settling among the factious barbarians 'of London; who will hate me because I am a Scotsman, and 'am not a Whig; and despise me because I am a man of letters.' Such was the *pronunciamento* of 1765; and the reluctance deepened with years. By the time that he had to thank Gibbon for the first volume of the 'Decline and Fall,' his accumulated contempt for a generation, of which, if Burke and Johnson were the first, they did not stand alone, had reached an alarming height. He accordingly turned his compliment to the author, by the expression of his surprise at so excellent a performance proceeding from an Englishman! 'Your countrymen, for almost 'a whole generation, had given themselves up to barbarous and 'absurd faction: and had so totally neglected all polite letters, 'that I no longer expected any valuable production ever to come 'from them.' 'It is lamentable to think,' he adds in a letter to Smith of the same date, and almost his last, 'how much that 'nation has declined in literature in our time.' [1776.]

Unfortunately, Hume's horror at English politics kept pace with his contempt for English literature. The Wilkite mobs frightened him into a style of writing, and, we fear, almost of

thinking, which would have scarcely been excusable in a foreigner, or a woman: 'Our government,' he says to Elliot, 'has become a chimera, and is too perfect in point of liberty 'for so rude a beast as an Englishman: who is a man; a bad 'animal too, corrupted by a century of licentiousness.' [1770.] In the same year, our veteran author went the length of remonstrating with Smith for going on with his *Wealth of Nations* —as a jest of course, but a bitter jest. 'How can you so 'much as entertain a thought of publishing a book full of reason, 'sense, and learning, to those wicked abandoned madmen? .... 'Nothing but a rebellion and bloodshed will open the eyes of 'that deluded people: though, were they alone concerned, I 'think it is no matter what becomes of them.' But Hume was in grain, and had been throughout life, a faint-hearted politician. He had got from history no confidence in man or in society—no notion, that freedom and civilisation might have resources in reserve, more than a match for the burden of the national debt, the size of London, or the turbulence of mobs. In 1746, the present times were so calamitous, and the future prospect so dismal, that he could not congratulate his friend Oswald on the success of his election. He tells him, that he should not be much disappointed, if the parliament then elected were the last parliament we should ever see in Britain. And so he went on, year by year, prognosticating evil; at the same time that he had not enough about him of the *ultimus Romanorum*, for his last moments to be saddened by the thought that he had nearly seen out his country. According to the views expressed to John Home, on their way to Bath, in his very last years, such, in his opinion, was the universal incapacity and want of genius, civil and military; so complete our national decay, that decline must be felt to be a feeble word. If Hume was right, it was a general break-up. The mind, which is displayed in the above extracts, is not encouraging; and, we admit, Mr Burton is entitled to ask, whether Hume at any time could have been safely trusted with a history, so complicated by passion and so easily misrepresented, as that of England.

But, in coming to these conclusions, Hume did little or no violence to his nature. This is evident from the tone of all his criticisms on society, government or literature. He had constitutionally less sympathy with the highest characteristics of English genius, intellectual or moral, than antipathy to their faults. He was much more affected, for instance, by the blemishes and irregularities of Bacon and of Shakspeare, than struck by their incomparable greatness. To him, Bacon was nothing more than 'a very estimable author and phi-

'losopher:' his style stiff and rigid: his wit unnatural and far-fetched. Shakspeare, 'a disproportioned and mishapen 'giant.' At the time all Europe resounded with the fame of Chatham, in Hume's eyes, Chatham was only 'a greater paradox 'than ever—not mad—that is, not madder than usual;' but very certainly 'the villain,' who—strong in impudence and quackery, cunning and audaciousness—was about to thunder against the violation of the Bill of Rights, in not allowing the county of Middlesex to choose its members! With these views of contemporary politics and contemporary statesmen, we shall be the less surprised to learn, that in his opinion, the English constitution itself was a novelty and a failure.

Among the constituent elements of national character, none are more potent than religion. On this point we cannot be sure what view Hume really took of his contemporaries; for it is impossible to reconcile the opposite accounts which he has left of the state of religious feeling in Britain. He observes, in his 'Essay on National 'Character,' that our ancestors were sunk, a few centuries ago, into 'the most abject superstition: last century, they were inflamed 'with the most furious enthusiasm; and are now settled into 'the most cool indifference with regard to religious matters, 'that is to be found in any nation of the world.' This passage, first published in 1748, is retained in the deathbed edition of 1776. Yet, in a letter to Gibbon, written also while this last edition was passing through the press, he observes, that 'among 'many other marks of decline, the prevalence of superstition in 'England prognosticated the fall of philosophy and decay of 'taste.' There can be no doubt, that within the period comprehended between the dates which we have just mentioned, a decided change had taken place, and in the direction intimated. On the other hand, there had never been a time when religious feeling was so low, that infidel writings would not have given great and general offence; or when the public would not have distinguished between the cautious latitudinarianism of Middleton and the daring scepticism of Hume. The assailant of the national religion of a people may *consider himself* their benefactor—though Montesquieu could not understand how that could be the case in England; but he ought to be prepared *to be considered by them* as a public enemy; until he shall have succeeded in freeing them from its spiritual dominion. Hume knew our nationality. For, in his History, speaking of the excessive praise which the English bestow upon their eminent writers, he has quietly remarked, that this is owing to 'the National spirit which prevails among them, 'and which forms their greatest happiness.' Yet, this spirit, and the happiness he attributes to it, he is always on the watch for a n

opportunity of wounding; And when he has succeeded, and they show that they feel hurt, he complains loudly of being ill used.

But the intenser rays of Hume's resentment were to be brought into a still more narrow focus, and concentrated on a political party. The stages which his feelings traversed in passing to the point at which they settled down, can still be distinctly traced. The circumstance of his having written the only History of England which is pleasant reading to the general reader, has enabled him to effect his object and gratify his animosities, far beyond his utmost hopes. He has accomplished what Carte and Brady laboured for and longed for; and, as far as the reaction to Toryism and to Tory theories of the constitution, which not long ago predominated, can be attributed to any book, it must be attributed to the subtle and attractive influence of Hume. However, the varnish is wearing off; and the mischief apparently is nearly over. A polemical exposure and refutation, chapter by chapter, has indeed yet to be set forth; And, it is a pity that no competent person has been induced to prepare an edition of the History, with this kind of commentary. Mean time, there is a remedy at hand. Historical conversions or perversions are now limited to persons who choose to be deceived. For, since the publication of Mr Hallam's 'History of the English Constitution,' no reader of Hume, who is really desirous to know the truth upon that most important subject, can have any difficulty in discovering it.

Some of the peculiarities which we have already had occasion to mention, in speaking of the life and character of Hume, might be expected seriously to affect him as a historian. He had (he says) found the prevalent opinions concerning English history to be those of the Revolution, and of the ministers who had governed under the new settlement. To these the nature of his mind placed him in opposition. He had indeed called himself a Whig some years before; but, he allowed, he was a very poor one. Out of the regions of speculation, and, except in what regarded his literary glory, he was constitutionally cold and tranquil. In common with his most distinguished predecessors in scepticism, Montaigne, and Bayle, and Hobbes, his inclinations in government leaned against political freedom; and even against the conduct and institutions to which political freethinking leads. As soon as he thought the tide was turning in favour of his history, he recognised, in his growing authority, the reward of having always kept at a distance from the tempting extreme of liberty; and of having maintained a due regard to magistracy and established government. His desire of literary distinction attracted him to debated questions, and sometimes to the weaker side. When he

communicated to Burke and Blair Rousseau's secret of composition, he might have added, that he himself had also long ago perceived that a certain degree of singularity was required for catching the attention of the public, in these latter days. The theory was a very acceptable one to a writer of so much ingenuity and refinement. A love of singularity implies a love of contradiction; and though he was both surprised and shocked at the extent of the resistance he met with, the belief that he had earned the hatred of popular politicians and ministers of state—of Chatham, Grenville, and the Bedfords—was a certain satisfaction to his innovating and independent spirit.

But whatever the aggregate of these biasses, moral and intellectual, might come to, it is very possible that Hume was not in the least conscious of them, at the commencement; especially when he compared himself with the party writers who had gone before him. He entered upon English history as upon a possession, either vacant or worse than vacant, vilely occupied by a succession of literary settlers, without either taste or truth. On the one side were ranged Filmer and Brady, Echard, Carte, and Salmon, along with the nobler name of Clarendon. On the other, Rapin, Oldmixon, Ralph, and the like, the declamatory republicanism of Sidney, and the misleading zeal and honest credulity of Burnet. Between these two extremes there was ample room for one or more impartial histories, which lovers of truth might read with pleasure. Hume came forward as a neutral power—the personification of abstract justice—in whose presence the belligerents were to lay down their arms, and gratefully submit to his arbitrement on their conflicting claims. It is clear, from the evidence of at least a dozen letters, that, on finishing the Reigns of the two first Stuarts, he thought he had perfectly maintained the neutrality which he had promised. Friends, both Whig and Tory, who were admitted to the intoxicating privilege of seeing the proof sheets, encouraged him in the delusion: But publication opened the eyes even of friends. The unpopularity of his first volume appears to have been distributed nearly equally among all parties: at least, in his first indignation against them all, he made no distinction; beyond noticing a small excess on the part of the Whigs—so small that the Reigns of the two last Stuarts were expected to reduce, and indeed remove it. In his dying memorandum, the only reason which he can even then assign for the national outcry he had provoked, is 'the generous 'tear,' which he had presumed to shed over Charles and Strafford!

In marshalling the priorities among the different objections

which were taken to his writings, Hume was long unwilling to give precedence to the offence given by his irreligion. He admitted, however, that in this respect he had been guilty of some imprudencies in his first volume; and, though he thought they were used as pretexts for decrying him, by parties who were resolved on other accounts to lay hold of pretexts, yet he acknowledged in his private letters, that what he had said about religion should have received some softenings: In consequence, he annexed an apologetic preface to the second volume. In this volume he came less in contact with religion; it lay, he said, more out of his way: But he boasted, that he had maintained throughout 'the same unbounded license' in his politics which had given so much offence before. The utmost concession to which he condescended was to wish, that the two volumes had come out together: Since, as the first volume bore a little of a Tory aspect, and the second of a Whig, neither the one party nor the other would, in that case, have had the least pretence for reproaching him with partiality.

On the publication of the second volume, the reaction which Hume had anticipated, in some degree took place; but so feebly that he was more irritated than satisfied. Yet, what ought he to have expected? He might separate himself from the common herd of the advocates of the Stuarts, upon one or two incidental facts, (as afterwards on the character of Mary;) but the general tendency and temper of his History had been Tory enough even for the Jacobites. Lord Balcarras, who had been out in '15, complimented him upon it: And, it was, undoubtedly, on a similar understanding that Strange, the Jacobite Engraver, who steadily refused to engrave the House of Hanover, presented him afterwards with a set of his engravings, by way of acknowledgment for his services. In whatever happy degree of ignorance Hume may have been lapped concerning his own true state of mind and his freedom from all bias, he had not been long engaged with the Tudors before he resigned himself to his natural tendencies. The thesis, or rather brief, which he here undertook, was the justification of the Stuarts by the example of the Tudors. He then warmed with the case as it opened out to him; and committed himself to make it good, as on a personal quarrel. He had got as far as the Reformation, and had nothing more to tell Elliot than that he should be able to make a smooth and well-told tale of it. He was not able as yet to throw much light into it, (1757.) But, as he went on, he found that, though much light perhaps might not be to be thrown into it, much might yet be borrowed from it: For, on finishing the Tudor line, he exultingly told Robertson, 'You

'will see what light and force this history of the Tudors bestows 'on that of the Stuarts. Had I been prudent I should have 'begun with it. I care not to boast; but I will venture to say, 'that I have now effectually stopped the mouths of all those 'villanous Whigs who railed at me.' The boast was rash. The Whigs loudly protested against both means and end. The reign of Elizabeth was as obnoxious as the reign of Charles. Hume took their opposition so much to heart, that it must have been difficult for him to keep up appearances before the public. He certainly kept up none any longer with his friends, as his correspondence shows. The real extent of his partiality can have been no secret to him from this time; nor the facility with which he yielded to it; nor the arts and practices by which he strove to give it effect.

This was his frame of mind when he contracted with Millar for the completion of his History. Having tried back from the Stuarts to the Tudors, a further contradiction was now before him—that, of ending where he ought to have begun. The groundwork of the whole had to be built in last; and the skill, as well as the honesty of the builder, were severely tried in accommodating it to the superstructure already raised. Hume confessedly wearied of the drudgery of thus at last digging for his foundation. Nevertheless, though he complained that his manner of composing was slow, and that he had great difficulty in satisfying himself, he made short work of it. In less than three years, the history of fourteen centuries was begun and closed.

We believe that Hume described correctly, in his letter to Adam Smith, the reason of his beginning his History with the Stuarts. He conceived that the interest of modern politics began there. It was an after-thought, (the consequence of the controverted questions, in which his mode of treating the period had involved him,) that he had fixed upon it, as the commencement of the misrepresentations which the spirit of party had introduced into English history. But the moment that this idea got possession of him, he looked out for facts to support his system—and for such facts only—and he wrote for ever afterwards in the spirit of a polemic. His actual misrepresentations are accordingly much more distinct and palpable in the reigns of the Henries and the Edwardses, than in those of the Charleses and the Jameses. He had now staked his literary credit upon his hypothesis. Otherwise, the mere historical question—what was the degree of freedom in the ancient English constitution—would scarcely have betrayed an ordinary writer into the loss of temper and sacrifice of truth; much less a man, who prided himself on his philosophy and candour; and who was as little of an antiqua-

rian as of a poet. One should have thought, that even a jury of antiquaries might have been safely trusted to compare the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles the First with untroubled pulses; and that nobody for the last hundred years would have given a pin to choose, whether the title by which William the Conqueror came in, was Conquest, in the military, or in the legal sense. To the reader of Hume's History, however, (and who is not a reader of it?) he has made it a point of great importance; for he has made it a test of credit. On his first correction (1759) of his History of the Stuarts, he was satisfied that he should put his account of that period of English history beyond controversy. He not only convinced himself that he had succeeded; but he believed also, that by his success he had offended the Whigs beyond forgiveness. So that, some years afterwards, he could attribute Mr Grenville's procrastination, about his Secretaryship to the Embassy, to no other cause: 'I know that I have affirmed, 'and, what is worse, have proved, that Queen Elizabeth's 'maxims of government were full as arbitrary as those of the 'Stuarts. I know that this proposition, though now an un-'doubted and acknowledged truth, is contrary to the principles 'of sound Whiggery. I know also, that Mr Grenville, as a 'sound Whig, bore me no good-will on that account; but I did 'not really think that his quarrel could have gone to such an 'extremity.'

An array of precedents fortunately is not necessary on this occasion. For there happens to be in existence, an authority, in few words and small compass, which must settle the question with all people open to conviction. A comparison between his own government and that of Elizabeth, was made by Charles the First himself: It was made to no less a body than his Parliament; and was made for a no less solemn object than to settle the terms of peace and reconciliation. The circumstance is recorded by Clarendon; and may have escaped Hume's slight researches; for Clarendon's mention of it occurs in one of the suppressed passages, for the first time printed in 1826: 'At the opening of the 'parliament, (which was on the third day of November 1640,) the 'king very frankly delivered himself to the Lords and Commons, 'that he put his whole affairs into their hands, and was resolved to 'follow their advice, both in order to an agreement with the Scots, 'and in repairing the grievances at home, which he confessed the 'necessities of the times had brought upon his people. *All those,* '*whether in church or state, he was willing should be removed; and* '*desired that all things might be reduced to the good order and prac-*'*tice of Queen Elizabeth; which by the people of England were* '*sure looked upon with the greatest reverence;* and so he left them.'

Can words convey a more direct and public recognition of the fact, that the government of the Stuarts had been a change from that of the Tudors, and that the change was felt to be a grievance? Had Hume been present, would he have had the assurance to tell the King and his assembled Parliament, (as a hundred years afterwards he told his own contemporaries,) that the notion of any such change as the royal speech supposes, was a vulgar error? On that solemn and critical occasion, many men must have been present who had had personal experience of both governments; and who were thoroughly conversant with the maxims of both periods. Six years sooner, and this royal declaration would have been made in the presence of Elizabeth's Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke. If the Parliament-men of the Long Parliament would have started at the violent hypothesis of the historian, they must have treated with still less ceremony some of the facts by which he attempted to support it. How, for instance, must they have received his garbled version of the debates of their predecessors under Elizabeth—recollecting them as they had taken place, and as they have been faithfully handed down to us by D'Ewes and Townsend, where Hume alone could know them?

Whenever a new edition of his History was called for, Hume went carefully over the text. He struck out such superfluous reflections as impeded the narrative, and those Scotticisms which disfigured the style: But, above all, he expunged whatever symptoms he could still discover of the 'plaguy prejudices of Whig-'gism,' with which he affected (we should think ironically) to believe that he was too much infected when he began the work: 'As I began the History with these two reigns,' (James I. and Charles I.,) 'I now find that they, above all the rest, 'have been corrupted with Whig rancour; and that I really de-'served the name of a party writer, and boasted without any 'foundation of my impartiality,' (1763.) Mr Brodie will be amused at the alleged mistakes and oversights, which he imagined he was now correcting. He must himself have had more than an inkling of the truth. For, a little later, he intimates an apprehension that he was overdoing it; still he could not resist. No more errors of fact were now left for him to retract, it seems —only errors in opinion: 'I am running over again the last 'edition of my History, in order to correct it still further. I 'either soften or expunge many villanous, seditious Whig strokes, 'which had crept into it. I wish that my indignation at the 'present madness, encouraged by lies, calumnies, imposture, 'and every infamous art usual among popular leaders, may not 'hrow me into the opposite extreme. I am, however, sensible

'that the first editions were too fullof those foolish English pre-'judices,which all nations, and all ages disavow.' (1770.) Perhaps Mr Brodie will take the trouble to compare the first and last editions; and let us know how far the tone in which Hume mentions his revisions, is not a way of talking which he had got into, and a representation of what he was feeling rather than of what he was doing. His private feelings towards the Whigs of his own day, unluckily fell in too readily with his public apprehensions. He had brooded over his imaginary wrongs till he was a believer, after the manner of Rousseau, in something like a conspiracy against him. It is really melancholy to read, among the pleasant gossip with which he entertained John Home on their way to Bath, in his last illness, the following revelation:—'From 'the treatment Mr Hume met with in France, he recurred to a 'subject not unfrequent with him—that is, the design to ruin 'him as an author, by the people that were ministers at the first 'publication of his History, and called themselves Whigs; who, 'he said, were determined not to suffer truth to be told in Bri-'tain. Amongst many instances of this, he told me one which 'was new to me. The Duke of Bedford, (who afterwards con-'ceived a great affection for Mr Hume,) by the suggestions of 'some of his party friends, ordered his son, Lord Tavistock, not 'to read Mr Hume's History of England.' What an instance of a Whig conspiracy! Lord Chatham, we know, did the same by Lord Camelford. Supposing both Lord Chatham and the Duke of Bedford to have proceeded upon the same political exceptions, and on political exceptions only, there surely can be no question but that in both cases they acted as private persons, (as fathers or guardians,) not as Whig leaders or Ministers of State, plotting the ruin of an author for speaking the truth.

Hume completed his History in 1762. He had some public business, of more or less importance, to transact, the two or three years he was in office; and he got angry, and published a most unnecessary statement of his rupture with Rousseau. Excepting these, he appears to have never afterwards resumed his pen, for any weightier purpose than that of revising his former works, and writing letters. He says, in one of these letters, that, for four months, he had never gone to bed and got up, in the same mind as to where he should fix his domicile. He might have said as much, and for more than as many years, about continuing his History. On setting off for Paris, he justified to his bookseller his acceptance of his diplomatic appointment, on the ground of the use which it might be to him as an historian; and he promised to collect carefully all the materials which should cast up. The only step, however, ever taken by him towards a perfor-

mance of this promise, was, running over King James's autograph memoirs, deposited in the Scotch College at Paris, and picking some curious passages out of them. When he first discovered them, he thought he had found a great treasure. The originals have been since lost: But, from his way of noticing them in his letters, and from the little use he made of them when he next revised his History, it is evident that in losing them we have merely lost a curiosity, not a thing of any value. What he mentions of them is important, however, in one sense; especially as coming from Hume. 'All the discoveries I made in King 'James's Memoirs *make against himself and his brother;* and he is 'surely a good enough witness on that side; But I believe him 'also a man of veracity; and I should have put trust in any mat-'ter of fact that he told from his own knowledge. · · · · Father 'Gordon, of the Scots College, who has an exact memory of 'King James's Memoirs, was so kind as to peruse anew my 'History during the Commonwealth and the reigns of the two 'brothers; and he marked all the passages of fact where they 'differed from the memoirs. They were surprisingly few; which 'gave me some satisfaction.' When every objection which he had ever started to his continuing his History had been removed, and when offers of papers, public and private, poured in on him from all sides, he abandoned the design. The old saying about poets—that they must be fed, not fattened—proved equally true of our historian. He had now too good an income. He discovered also, that, if what he had already written would not secure him his place in literature, nothing he could now add to it would raise him higher. We must allow also for the silent influence of another cause. *Obrepit non intellecta senectus!* According to Dr Black, his health had begun to fail some years before his death; long before he was himself aware of it—which he seems only to have been during the last year. It would be otherwise difficult to justify him, for not having taken more active measures towards fulfilling the condition on which, in 1768, he received his additional pension from the King.

The following communications leave no room for mistake with respect to this condition. 'General Conway demitted his 'office, and my commission expired of course. Lord Hertford 'then told me, that he and his brother had made a point with 'the King and the ministers, that, in consideration of my ser-'vices, I should have some further provision made for me; which 'was immediately assented to, only loaded with *this condition* by 'the King, that I should seriously apply myself to the consum-'mation of my History. I replied to my Lord, that I did 'not think I had any further claim, either on the public or his 'family; and that, for a man of letters and a good economist, I

'had reason to esteem myself very rich.'—(*Hume to Madame de 'Boufflers, April* 1768.) 'I find the chains which attach me to 'this country multiply upon me. The King has given me a 'considerable augmentation of my pension, expressing, at the 'same time, his expectation that I am to continue my History.' —(*Hume to the Marchioness de Barbantane, May* 1768.)

The similarity between this passage in the life of Hume and a corresponding passage in the life of Robertson, is not a little singular: And the latter should have thought of this, when he laughed at the simplicity of a bookseller in paying Hume before-hand. By the negotiations which passed between Robertson and Lord Cathcart, 1761,* it appears that Carlyle had good grounds for stating, that Robertson's patrons supposed that the consideration of the revival in his favour (1763) of the office of Historiographer for Scotland, was another History of Britain. On the one hand, the King's wish to see a History of England from his pen, and Lord Bute's promise, that the encouragement should be proportioned to the work, are distinctly stated; on the other, Robertson's disclaimer of 'any impatience 'to enter into possession before he could set to work with that 'particular task for which his appointments were to be given.' Immediately on the publication of the History of Scotland, Lord Chesterfield had offered to propose in the House of Lords, that public encouragement should be given to the historian of Scotland to proceed to the History of England. But, at that time, he had only one answer to make to assurances of encouragement, to solicitations of friends, and offers from booksellers. It was this: 'Mr Hume, with whom, notwithstanding the contrariety of our 'sentiments both in religion and politics, I live in great friend- 'ship, was at that time in the middle of the subject. No con- 'sideration of interest or reputation would induce me to break 'in upon a field of which he had taken prior possession; and I 'determined that my interference with him should never be any 'obstruction to the sale or success of his work.' Two years later (1761) the case was changed—at least Robertson thought so. Hume's history would have not only had its first run, but would have taken its proper station in the literary system, before any work of his could possibly appear. 'Besides,' (he adds,) 'our manner of viewing the same subject is so different or 'peculiar, that (as was the case in our last books) both may 'maintain their own rank, have their own partisans, and possess 'their own merit, without hurting each other.'

On further consideration, it is probable that Robertson dis-

* The letters will be found in the second section of Dugald Stewart's *Life of Robertson.*

covered that it would be impossible to go over the same ground again after Hume—differing from him so much in politics and religion—without the appearance, at least, of violence to their friendship. At all events, Robertson never began his history; and though, two years after the death of Hume, he was thinking of *continuing* that of his friend, yet the thought died away almost in its birth. It seems to have perished under those formidable obstacles, by which recent history is always so much obstructed—the want of materials, and the danger of offence. The negotiations with Robertson for a History of England were so public that they must have been known to Hume, (though he never mentions the subject,) and cannot have been agreeable to him. Had this History been written and published during Hume's lifetime, we hope, and indeed believe, that the kindly part of his nature would have got the better of all rivalry; and that he would have been able to review a History of England by Robertson, with as much generosity as he lived to show to that of Henry. A parallel between the different views and methods of Hume and Robertson,* in treating at length so great a subject, would have been a noble study. It is not the fault of Lord Bute and George III. that we cannot make it—that there is no Whig history of England which is readable—nor a better continuation of Hume than Smollett. Men of letters should feel grateful for that royal impartiality, which went even further still, when it pensioned both Hume and Beattie, Johnson and Rousseau.

We lost, it is probable, through Hume's engagement with Lord Hertford, two or three more volumes of his unrivalled history. It is a loss, which can never be identically replaced; neither by the same concise, yet lucid, and sometimes pathetic, narrative;

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* The Rev. Mr Maitland, librarian at Lambeth, has lately written a book, and called it *The Dark Ages*. On the strength of having corrected in it certain errors into which Jortin and Robertson had fallen, he speaks of 'Jortin, Robertson, and other such very miserable second-hand writers!' If Mr Maitland had respectfully pointed out their errors, men of letters would have been obliged to him. As it is, we leave Jortin (and we hope that our confidence is not misplaced) to the protection of the Archbishop. With respect to Robertson, his historical learning satisfied Gibbon—his historical philosophy commanded the eloquent admiration of Burke. Two generations, and foreign countries, have ratified the judgment of his contemporaries. If such incredible presumption, as Mr Maitland has rocked himself into in his library chair, comes from living among old books in Lambeth Palace—commend us to a circulating library and the last new novel!

nor by the same transparent views of society; nor by the same close observation of human affairs in the logical development of effects from causes. With the correctives which are now within the reach of every reader, there is nothing to be afraid of in Mackintosh's anticipation — that, notwithstanding its great defects, Hume's History of England will be at last placed at the head of historical compositions. Meantime, his admirers must be content with knowing, that he earned by it his release from literary labour; and in believing that, satiated with study, and provoked by criticisms, he was happier, on the whole, in the new existence into which he passed.

At the time, it was plainly a relief to him to remove for a while from Edinburgh. And while Lord Hertford's acquaintance were entertained at the companion whom the Scotch authorities had provided for him—helped, perhaps, a little now, as afterwards, by Madame de Boufflers, who was in England in 1763—the favour of a nobleman so distinguished as Lord Hertford for his piety and decorum, was an answer to all objectors. It worked, in a moment, such a change in Hume's position, as Elliot could compare only to regeneration. Hume felt that now he need not scruple applying to his friends, to exert their interest to serve him: 'Henceforth, nobody can be afraid to pa-'tronise me, either as a Scotchman or a Deist.' He had good grounds, he said, for knowing, that he stood high in the graces of even his most orthodox Majesty, George the Third. To Paris, however, the fame of his learning, his infidelity, and *bonhommie*, had gone forth before him. Madame de Boufflers, mistress to the Prince de Conti, and at the very top of French society, had been so enchanted by his writings, that she had introduced herself to him by letter. But no form of words could shadow out the triumph, which was waiting for him, when he arrived in person. To call him 'the mode,' as Horace Walpole does, is so faint an outline of the fact, that it looks like jealousy. His reception was a rage, *une manie, un furore.*

Hume had apprehended, on removing to his new position, that he had set out too late, and that it was unsuitable to his age and temper; And his first visit to Fontainbleau certainly embarrassed and confounded him. Every body, from the royal family downwards, seemed trying to persuade him that they considered him one of the greatest geniuses in the world. He was convinced that Louis the Fourteenth never, in any three weeks of his life, *suffered* so much flattery; and he assured Ferguson, that he found himself wishing twice or thrice a-day for his easy-chair, and his retreat in St James's court. He got accustomed to it, however, in the course of a few weeks; and expresses himself

satisfied, from the homage paid to himself and to Rousseau, that no nation was ever so fond of genius as the French. The Dauphin (whose religion, or irreligion is still under controversy) was so much his admirer, that, on going to Versailles, the Dauphin presented him, as was the custom, to his three children. These children had an eventful life before them; for they were, afterwards, Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X.! But they can hardly ever have been parties to a droller scene than this. At their several ages of nine, eight, and six, the little princes were set up to deliver prepared harangues to David Hume, on his *Philosophy* and History. The youngest, poor child, could only mumble out a few unintelligible words, having forgot his panegyric by the way.

Hume was a principal figure in still stranger scenes, through the favour of the ladies. From his rebuff to Mrs Mallet for joining their deism in the same bracket, ('We deists should 'know one other,') and from his admission to Dr. Gregory, that scepticism might be too sturdy a virtue for a woman, it should seem that he had no great fancy in the abstract for a female deist; but his lady friends at Paris would not hear of being excluded by any such Salique law. Lord Charlemont had made his acquaintance some sixteen years before at Turin, and retained a lively recollection of his broad Scotch accent, his laughable French, the imbecility of his countenance, the corpulence of his person, and of his looking in his uniform, for all the world, like a train-band grocer. It was now his good fortune to fall in with him at Paris. He found him in frequent attendance on ladies' toilettes; while, at the opera, his broad unmeaning face was usually to be seen between *deux jolis minois*. Since the exhibition in the old *Fabliaux*, of Aristotle in love—down upon all-fours, and his mistress riding on his back—there has been no representation of philosophy so out of character, as it is shown us in the portrait of Hume by Madame d'Epinay. In one of the pantomimic *tableaux* then in fashion, the part of Sultan was assigned to him; whose prevailing words were to win over to his love two reluctant captives. He was placed on a sofa, with the two prettiest women in Paris beside him; and there, he kept looking steadily in the face, thumping his knees and stomach, and repeating again and again, *Eh bien! mes demoiselles. Eh bien! vous voilà donc; eh bien! vous voilà, vous voilà ici?* This lasted for a quarter of an hour—when he was disgracefully turned over to officiate as a spectator; but so faithful is the sex, that the women persisted in considering a supper incomplete without him. 'They believe in Mr Hume,' (writes Horace Walpole;) 'the only thing in the world 'that they believe implicitly; which they must do; for I defy

'them to understand any language which he speaks.' Two of the houses of most fame, kept open at this time for men of wit and learning by celebrated women, were the hostile houses of Madame du Deffands and Madame Geoffrin. Hume's friendship with D'Alembert was in his way with the first; his devotion to Madame de Boufflers with the second. There is no doubt of Madame de Boufflers' merits, nor of Hume's sincere regard for her; but when we remember Horace Walpole's description of the two women of whom she was composed, Hume's letters to her startle us by an air of sentiment, which, in a man of his age and character, it seems equally out of place to feel or to put on. Before a year is over, we find him assuring her, that, among other obligations, which he owed her without number, 'she had saved him from a total indifference towards every 'thing in human life.' Whatever fault Walpole might find with the taste of the national simile by which he proceeds to enforce his claim upon her, he could hardly reproach it for being pedantic: 'I will never, but with my life, be persuaded to part 'with the hold which you have been pleased to afford me; you 'may cut me to pieces, limb by limb—but, like those pertinacious 'animals of my country, I shall expire still attached to you, and 'you will in vain attempt to get free.' If he could dispose of his fate, nothing, he says, would have been so much his choice, as to live always where he might cultivate her friendship. On his quitting Paris, he complains of the pains of absence; of the continual want he is feeling of her society; that he had accustomed himself to think of her as a friend from whom he was never to be long separated. A little later, our Corydon or Colin is looking forward to their reunion: 'I have a project of accompanying 'you to Lyons. Would to God it were possible for us to take 'our flight thence into Italy, and from thence, if you would, into 'Greece! Might we not settle in some Greek island, and breathe 'the air of Homer—or Sappho, or Anacreon! in tranquillity and 'great opulence?' Great opulence is a prudent condition to sexagenarian romance. But, even with this condition, we are as much at a loss to recognise our old acquaintance, or to know what to make of him in his new disguise, as when we left him—reiterating *eh bien*, and mistaking his stomach for his heart.

But the sex were no longer undisputed sovereigns in French society. They had admitted the philosophers to share their sovereignty; and were obliged to yield a part of their empire. Of the change which accordingly had already taken place, and of the further changes which were in progress, there could be no phenomenon more characteristic than the several experiences of Horace Walpole and David Hume, who at this time met in

Paris. Walpole was a man of wit and of the world; and was much more than three-fourths French. But, he was a Frenchman of the age of Madame de Sévigné and of Louis XIV. Hume was a reserved and studious recluse; sufficiently French in his literary and social tastes; though unfortunately so little French in point of language, that he was with difficulty understood. To make up for these deficiencies, he was the *grand et gros philosophe Ecossais;* whose name, only two or three years before, had been struck out of Helvetius's MS. by the Paris censors. Walpole was now admitted into the salons, as any other handsome piece of furniture of the time of Louis Quatorze. But Hume was carried about and venerated as an idol. The judgment which they severally formed upon the taste and agreeableness of French society, followed the nature of their reception in it. 'Hume' (Walpole observes) 'gratefully admires the tone of Paris—having 'never known any other tone.' Of all the innovations upon the ancient canons of good company, the one which most delighted Hume, while it evidently in the same degree offended Walpole, was the circumstance, that you now met the men of letters every where. The conversation had become too literary to please Walpole. Its style he thought solemn and pedantic; or only animated by disputes. They wanted nothing but George Grenville and Lord Lyttleton (if the latter would only once more turn free-thinker) to make their conversations, or rather dissertations, the most tiresome upon earth. According to his fancy, their taste was worst of all; for, when they read our authors, their favourites were Richardson and Hume.

On one point, and on one alone, are Walpole and Hume agreed in their description of this celebrated society. They both testify to its predominant unbelief. After having resided a few months in it, Hume addresses a very interesting letter to his clergy friends at Edinburgh in common; in which he notices particularly 'the universal contempt of all religion among both sexes, and 'among all ranks of men.' It is impossible to reconcile this statement with the interpretation, which some matter-of-fact people have put upon a passage in another letter, where, mentioning the men of letters whom he found at Paris, he tells Blair, 'that it would give him, and Jardine, and Robertson, great 'satisfaction to find that there was not a single Deist among 'them.' The proper reading of this pleasantry is not far to seek. Diderot, speaking to Romilly when a young man, about Hume, illustrated by a singular anecdote the objection of Diderot's *compatriotes* to the limited nature of Hume's scepticism: 'Je vous dirai un trait de lui; mais il vous sera un peu 'scandaleux peut-être, car vous Anglais vous croyez *un peu* en

'Dieu; pour nous autres, nous n'y croyons guères. Hume dîna 'dans une grande compagnie avec le Baron D'Holbach. Il était 'assis à côté du Baron; on parla de la religion naturelle: "Pour 'les Athées," disait Hume, "je ne crois pas qu'il en existe; 'je n'en ai jamais vu." "Vous avez été un peu malheureux," 'répondit l'autre, "vous voici à table avec dix-sept, pour la 'première fois."' This anecdote agrees perfectly with Hume's recollection of himself and his Paris friends, as long afterwards dropped out incidentally, in a curious letter to Sir John Pringle about the young Pretender. After observing, that Lord Marischal (Keith) and Helvetius had told him that the young Pretender had learned from the philosophers at Paris to affect a contempt of all religion, he adds, 'they thought that they were ascribing to him 'an excellent quality. Indeed, both of them used to laugh at 'me, for my narrow way of thinking in these particulars.' The same thing happened to Voltaire—who, also, had to inform his atheist admirers, that they did him too much honour in assuming that he was one of them; that he had laughed indeed at St Medard and the Bulle; but the universe embarrassed him—that a clock supposed a clockmaker—and that, if there had not been a God, it would have been necessary to invent one. Grim, too, we recollect, makes himself very merry with the Patriarch's strange weakness, in still sticking to his *Dieu Remunerateur Vengeur*.

Lord Chesterfield approached nearer, it would seem, to Hume than Walpole, in thinking that the good company of Paris continued to be better than that of London, however much its ancient standards of taste might be falling into disrepute. But he agreed with Walpole on another point of much more importance. The men of the world at that time seem to have been wiser in their generation, than the great paper politicians. Ten or twelve years earlier, among Lord Chesterfield's instructions to his son, we find him putting him upon his guard against a social current, as powerful as that of Niagara, which he perceived was setting in: 'All the symptoms which I have 'ever met with in history, previously to great changes and 'revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in 'France.' (1753.) To be sure, he rather damaged his prediction, by supposing that the rest of Europe would be all the quieter. Walpole remarks, as he is moving up and down their serious, though brilliant salons; 'Good folks! they have 'no time to laugh. There is God and the King to be pulled 'down first! and men and women, one and all, are devoutly 'employed in the demolition.' Hume, too, was present, looking on for the space of two years, and unwittingly taking part. But he too saw no handwriting on the wall. There is not a single passage

in a single letter, intimating any likelihood that their supper tables were to be overturned, and that other *tableaux* would become the fashion. Ten years afterwards indeed, he had taken a kind of alarm; but, as shortsighted in the nature of the danger, as of the means of meeting it. The French King, he thought, had ruined the state by recalling the Parliament; and Brienne was the only man in France to save it! Hume appears to have considered the decline of France to be a case of chronic deperition; while, of the ills of England—its national debt, its factions, its popular elections —some disgusted, and all alarmed him. He speaks of England as a country to fly from; while, to all appearance, France would have found him, in 1789, in confident repose. A good many French gentlemen were in London in the spring of 1768, and witnessed our election riots; most of them, as Hume believed, returned very happy that they were born under a government not liable to these inconveniences; 'which,' he adds, 'is a fortunate way of think-'ing,'—so entirely did he agree with them. Notwithstanding his great sagacity in reasoning out the past, we see no proof of his having had a proportionate mastery over the probabilities of present politics; and nothing in him, therefore, of that statesman-like astrology by which the nativity of the future is often cast. The other great problem for the politicians of those times, was the probable issue of our differences with America. Here Hume was nearer right than Robertson. His want of confidence in Lord North having head enough for such great operations, or that a lukewarm coward like Gage, could retrieve in the field the deficiencies of the cabinet, were surer grounds to go upon, than his belief that the British Empire was in its decline. Besides, he was 'an American on principle;' objecting to distant colonies—being of opinion also, that, abstractedly, 'a republican 'form of government is by far the best.'—One of its great advantages, in the eyes of Hume, over a mixed monarchy, consisting in the fact, that it would considerably abridge its liberty!

In the opinion which he formed of individuals, Hume appears to have been occasionally misled, to an extent which we should have thought impossible. We have mentioned his opinion of Brienne's capacity for government: It is only on a par with the extravagance of his panegyrics upon Rousseau—continued up to the day they quarrelled. He tells Blair in December 1765, that Rousseau in many things very much resembles Socrates; only that the comparison in some particulars is to the advantage of his friend. (!) Next October, he writes to Smith: 'He is a compo-'sition of whim, affectation, wickedness, vanity, and inquietude, 'with a very small, if any, ingredient of madness. These ruling qualities, together with ingratitude, ferocity, and lying, make

'up the whole of his composition.' Mistakes in character are sometimes dearly paid for. France paid for the mistake, which others made as well as Hume respecting Brienne, in the Revolution of 1790: a catastrophe which Brienne did as much to hasten, as any, the very worst of the experimental ministers, who passed along that tremulous stage before the curtain fell. No two persons, we suppose, so thoroughly unlike as Hume and Rousseau, ever thought before of setting up a friendship. They resembled each other in nothing, but in the belief that they had been both made martyrs, on account of the singularity of their opinions. The penalty of this preposterous alliance, Hume was obliged to pay himself. He felt severely, not only the European scandal of a breach between two such famous philosophers and friends; but the vexation also, of the only controversy, literary or personal, in which he ever descended as a principal into the public lists. He was wounded at so many points in this affray—though with no sin to answer for beyond a generous vanity in wishing to carry off the glory of being Rousseau's keeper—that he esteemed his relations with this madman among the misfortunes of his life. In settling the elements of Rousseau's character, Hume should have made more allowance, we think, for his madness: For a very little of that goes a long way, and the whole composition is penetrated and affected by it.

In less than two years, Lord Hertford removed from Paris to the viceroyalty of Ireland. Hume remained for a few months in charge of the Embassy; and the threads of one or two discussions of some consequence were left in his hands. They related to Dunkirk and Canada, and arose out of the peace of Paris. These creditably disposed of, he returned to London to give an account of his stewardship; to thank the King for his goodness; and to settle the celebrated Rousseau, who (he boasts) had rejected invitations from half the Princes of Europe, to put himself under his protection. A vision of the Irish Secretaryship under Lord Hertford had for a few weeks been floating before him. On mentioning this to Blair, he asks; 'What does the 'Doctor (Robertson) say at present to these great folding-'doors, opened to all the chimeras of ambition? Alas! they 'may be thrown open much wider, if possible; none of 'these chimeras will enter. Philosophy, with her severe 'brows, guards the passage; while Indolence, in affright, is 'ready to throw herself out at the window. Mr Hume recom-'mends himself to Ferguson and Jardine, and John Adams and 'Mrs Adams, and to all the Poker,—and desires the prayers 'of the faithful for him on this occasion.' He hated, from the bottom of his heart, the thought of Dublin as a residence. It

was moving out of light into darkness. And he did not much more fancy the duties of the office, either public or private. Yet, what the proverb says of towns and women who begin to parley, is equally true of men. He would have agreed to go, in spite of his better genius—and Lord Hertford would certainly have taken him—but for the timidity of Lord Rockingham, then minister; and for what Lord Hertford called the world—'which would not have it so.' With regard to Lord Hertford's wishes, there can be no doubt, after a scene which took place at Paris before he resigned the Embassy. Hume thus describes it, writing home:—'One day last spring, Lord Hertford came into 'my room, and told me that he had heard of many people who en-'deavoured by their caresses to persuade me that I ought to re-'main in France; but he hoped that I would embrace no scheme 'of life which would ever separate him and me. He now loved me 'as much as ever he esteemed me; and wished we might pass our 'lives together. He had resolved several times to have opened 'his breast so far to me; but, being a man of few words and no 'professions, he had still delayed it; and he now felt himself 'much relieved by this declaration of his desires and intentions.' Nevertheless, after all, Lord Hertford was obliged to tell him that the scheme of the Irish Secretaryship must be given up. 'He was not at liberty to indulge his inclinations in favour of 'one whose abilities and ease in business he had so long expe-'rienced.' For he had been assured that, by naming him, (with the particular additional prejudices which prevailed at that moment against the Scotch,) he should condemn his own administration. Their friendship, however, was to be the same as ever. He should have the same wish to serve him; and, for any services he might render him, he asked for no other return than that he would pass with him all the time he could spare: since it would be a happiness to him to receive him in Dublin or any part of the world—'let the prejudices and follies of mankind be what they 'will.'*

* Mr Croker either reads or writes so carelessly (perhaps both) that he should be a gentle critic on the mistakes of others. In a note to Boswell's Johnson, he says—(Vol. I. 225,) 'He has in his possession proof that when Lord Hertford (whose private Secretary in his embassy to Paris Hume had been) was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, his Lordship declined continuing him in the same character, alleging as a reason, the dissatisfaction that it would excite on account of Hume's anti-religious principles.' Now, Hume was at no time Lord Hertford's private Secretary at Paris; nor was it, as his private Secretary, that Lord Hertford had been desirous of taking him with him to Dublin. But next, and principally, Lord Hertford did not decline appointing

Hume was perfectly satisfied with Lord Hertford's explanation: and could not look about him, indeed, without seeing the necessity. A little while before, a printer had been called before the House of Lords for publishing a letter from Wilkes, in which he had complained of the Scotch complexion of Lord Hertford's Embassy, and especially of Hume. It is possible that an additional objection against placing Hume in the front rank of the Irish government, might be his infidelity: though if this were so, the objection was a capricious one—or, some of the public men of that period have been grossly libelled. His being a Scotchman, was at that time sufficient of itself, to justify the head of an administration in giving way. Another manager, of a different company of performers, was under the like necessity of humouring his public. So afraid was Garrick of the prejudice which our unfortunate nation then lay under, that in 1769, on bringing out one of John Home's tragedies, he changed its name from *Rivine* (the heroine of one of Ossian's fragments) into that of the *Fatal Discovery*: And, 'in order more effectually to disguise its origin, procured 'a young English gentleman, a student from Oxford, to attend 'at the rehearsals and personate the author!' And Hume himself mentions in a letter that the play had escaped, by its author lying concealed. Facts like these were not likely to dispose him to take a more friendly view of the English people. Nor ought they. But with regard to his appointment to Ireland, he must have felt himself from the first equally unfitted for either leading the debates of an Irish House of Commons, or leading the potations of the Irish gentry out of it.

He was easily reconciled, therefore, to the exchange of the political importance of an Irish secretary, for the solid compensation of a pension of £400 a-year for life. Lord Hertford's further offer to make him Keeper of the Black Rod, (£900 a-year,) while a deputy was to do the duty at £300, he declined—'not as unjust, but as savouring of greediness.' There is no reason to believe that he ever at any time regretted that he had not gone to Ireland. Should he have ever done so, it must, we think, have been on recollecting, that, protected by distance, he would, in that case, have avoided his most trouble-

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Hume Irish Secretary, but was overruled by others; at least this was certainly Lord Hertford's own account to Hume. We shall be sorry to find that Mr Croker has in his possession the proof which he supposes; for it is impossible to reconcile the two statements. Lord Hertford, the patron of Hume, has been hitherto believed to be a man of exemplary truth and virtue. There was, to be sure, another, and a very different Lord Hertford, with whom Mr Croker was better acquainted, we believe; but with whom, he must not confound him.

some and ludicrous misadventures with Rousseau. In the meantime, he is very merry at Boswell's gallanting Mademoiselle la Vasseur, Rousseau's housekeeper, to London. Boswell, it may be remembered, had told Hume that he was not clear that it was right in him to keep company with Hume himself! We wonder whether Johnson, who grumbled at Boswell for having made acquaintance, while abroad, with Rousseau and Wilkes, ever heard the lengths his friend had gone, in hunting down *célébrités*, on this last occasion. But Hume had no great cause for mirth. He was as ridiculously matched himself, and much more dangerously, when shepherding the lady's master. He must, at times, have thought it an odd fate, which united him to literary madmen—to have begun with Lord Annandale, and ended with Rousseau.

George III. began his reign, through necessity or policy, with short administrations. In the course of a few months, Lord Rockingham resigned, and the Burkes with him. General Conway, however, (much to the anger of the party,) continued Secretary of State; and he immediately replaced William Burke, his late Under Secretary, by Hume. He was necessarily well acquainted with his qualifications. He had not only his brother, Lord Hertford's, word for them; but, also, his own experience in the official correspondence which they had formerly carried on together. By his own account to Blair of his office life, Hume appears to have had a very easy time of it; only inclining to be dull. 'My way of life here is very uniform, and by no 'means disagreeable. I pass all the forenoon in the Secretary's 'house, from ten till three, where there arrive messengers that 'bring me all the secrets of the kingdom, and indeed of Europe, 'Asia, Africa, and America. I am seldom hurried; but have 'leisure, at intervals, to take up a book, or write a private letter, 'or converse with any friend that may call on me; and from 'dinner to bed-time is all my own. If you add to this, that the 'person with whom I have the chief, if not the only transactions, 'is the most reasonable, equal-tempered, and gentlemanlike 'man imaginable, and Lady Aylesbury the same, you will cer-'tainly think I have no reason to complain—and I am far from 'complaining. I only shall not regret when my duty is over; 'because, to me, the situation can lead to nothing—at least in 'all probability; and reading and sauntering, and lounging and 'dosing, which I call thinking, is my supreme happiness—I 'mean my full contentment.' Two or three lines, in which he tells Sir Gilbert Elliot that he was 'continuing his parasitical 'practices—that is, dining at all the great tables that remained 'in London'—completed his present picture. Under these cir-

cumstances, the monthly, weekly, and almost daily reports, that his principal was going out, would not break his sleep. In little more than a twelvemonth the report came true; and Hume took it very quietly. He had trebled his income in the last three years, and was now worth nearly twelve hundred pounds a-year. With this, in 1768, he withdrew to Edinburgh—thinking it better suited to a studious independent turn even than London; and, on the whole, as good a place as any other for his remaining years.

He had been all along more of a Scotchman at heart, we suspect, than he was probably himself aware. At all events, Edinburgh was his natural home. There could be no place, where his presence would be felt to be so great an honour; none, where his society would give so much pleasure; none, where so many friendly faces would brighten round him, in sickness or old age. The tables, too, were now turned. The mob of gentlefolks, to whose neglect before he had been so weakly sensitive, would be curious enough to listen with their own ears to the favourite of princesses and ministers. His politics also were rising in favour. If he had been asked—from what quarter a cloud might again be creeping up to disturb him, there was probably none from which he would have less anticipated evil, than from his old metaphysics. Nevertheless, so it was. Subjects, which he had laid aside for twenty years, were now brought up against him; and he was attacked on them more bitterly and more effectively than at any former period. Beattie's *Essay on Truth* was published in 1770. The most distinguished of his former adversaries, Campbell and Reid for instance, had approached him with the utmost deference, even when they most differed from him. It was strange to him, therefore, to be singled out for attack anew, at his advanced age, and after his foreign triumphs: but, above all, to be attacked for the first time in a most offensive tone. Hume complained, accordingly, that he was not treated like a gentleman. Beattie's bad manners did not prevent him from being warmly patronised at Edinburgh by Dr John Gregory, and by the ungrateful Blacklock. Nevertheless, he had the prudence to perceive that Hume had still too many friends about him there, to make it safe to leave Aberdeen, and trust himself amongst them in a professor's chair. But Hume had few to fight a battle for him in London. There the *Essay on Truth* was still more warmly welcomed. It was received, indeed, as the long-delayed avenger of insulted Christianity. Johnson and Mrs Montagu (no longer friends) joined to do honour to its author. He was rewarded by a pension from the crown; and was presented by Reynolds with a portrait of himself. Reynolds introduced into the picture an attendant angel, who is represented driving downwards

three hideous allegorical figures; two of which were supposed to be Voltaire and Hume. Sir William Forbes says, in the first volume of his *Life of Beattie*, that he has reason to believe that Reynolds had no such thought; Yet he has printed in the second volume a letter from Reynolds himself to Beattie—from which it is very evident that, in this instance at least, Hume was not suspicious without fair cause. 'Mr Hume has heard from some-'body, that he is introduced into the picture not much to his 'credit: there is only a figure, covering his face with his hands, 'which they may call Hume or any body else; it is true it has 'a *tol*erably broad back. As for Voltaire, I intended he should 'be one of the group.' The combative Johnson maintained, as a general proposition, that it was for an author's good that he should be attacked. It drew a crowd. Hume, he said, had been the better for all previous antagonists. The *Essay on Truth* was an exception, only because the confutation was complete. Johnson thought that he had had a turn for metaphysics in his youth. We should doubt it. He was more in his true element, we suspect, when vindicating the manner than the matter of the Essay. To treat an adversary with respect, was, in Johnson's opinion, giving him an advantage to which he was not entitled. It was striking soft in a battle. Besides, if Hume were the great man he thought himself, to attack him was throwing peas against a rock.

It was an untoward accident for Hume, that Warburton first, and Johnson afterwards, gave the law in letters so long to London. Johnson could never hear with temper the mention of Hume's name. But when he put in a special protest against the unbelief of Hume, grounded on the supposition that Hume had acknowledged to a Durham clergyman, that he had never read the New Testament with attention,—we suspect that Hume might have, on equally good grounds, objected to any judgment by Johnson on his writings. He probably never read more of them than to pick out the materials for a criticism on his style. How uncertain are reputations! Literary more perhaps than any other. Who can presume to say, what seed will grow? For instance, how little could Johnson have anticipated the proportion between the readers of his most applauded writings, and the readers of Hume, by the year 1846! Above all, what would he think of the judgment, which the world has come to, between their styles? The cumbrous and sonorous Latin of his own *Rambler*—'the long-resounding march' which he thought he had added to the English language—is already buried under its multitude of words: while the most fastidious purist in style is yet led captive by the inimitable charms—often un-

grammatical and unidiomatic, but always clear, lively, and attractive—of the Scotchman civilised in France. Johnson was understood to know more of mere books than most of his contemporaries: but he seems to have had too great an abhorrence of the principles of Voltaire and Hume, to have learned even the dates of their respective writings. Otherwise he would never have said, that Hume was an echo of Voltaire; and that he would never have written history, if Voltaire had not written it before him. Hume began his History 1752, and published the first volume 1754. Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* was only published in 1752: and the first stolen and mutilated copy of his *Essai sur les Mœurs*, in 1754. If Johnson had said, that the historical light, which broke out in Scotland with so much splendour towards the middle of the last century, was to be tracked to Montesquieu, he would have been much nearer the truth. Whenever Johnson happened to agree with Hume in his principles, he either differed from him in their application, as in the argument on Miracles, and in basing morals on utility: or he would not allow him any merit for them, as in the case of Politics. Hume was a Tory, he said, by accident. We wonder what would have been the list of accidents, which Johnson would have named. Scepticism in religion could hardly have been one of them, in his case more than in that of Bolingbroke—notwithstanding precedents. Yet, there does appear to be a tendency in thoughtful minds, after taking off the restraints of religion from society, to reimpose them in another form. In his horror of that scepticism, Johnson would gladly have denied a happy life to sceptics, or a happy death. He grudged Hume his supposed tranquillity; and, undoubtedly, would have rejoiced to have seen him in the plantations, working at the same gang, to which he wished he could have sent Rousseau. It was all vanity and lying, if Hume affected not to dread annihilation. When the last hour itself should really come, it came in Johnson's bewildered imagination so terrible to all, that he made no distinction of persons. He appears to have been almost incapable of believing in or understanding a happy death. The triumphant deathbeds of the family of Wesley were quite as inconceivable to him, as the levity of Hume's last moments; and his playful admission of having no excuse to offer, for not getting with a good grace into Charon's boat.

Without being well acquainted with persons, it is not easy to gauge their state of mind at particular periods. The life of a company sometimes returns home to yawn or cry: others, who do not care at all for society—and for whom, therefore, society does not care—do not know what it is to be dull, when with their

children or their books. Others, again, you must not judge of by their letters. They have a foolish habit of scene-painting in words. Their autobiography, as transmitted by the post, is always coloured above or below the truth. How far, the last was at all the case with Hume, we cannot say. But, when the world was at its best with him, his letters do not describe his inner life—that life which a man really lives to himself and not to others—in very engaging terms. Writing to Baron Mure from Paris, where he was encircled by the great, the learned, and the ladies, and when he had only time to open a book which might be the subject of conversation, all he presumes to say of his fretful being is: 'I am well enough pleased with this change of life; 'and a satiety of study had beforehand prepared the way for it. 'However, time runs off in one course of life as well as another, 'and all things appear so much alike, that I am afraid of falling 'into total stoicism and indifference about every thing.' Among the instances he gives of his indifference, is the pending Secretaryship. What, if Mure and Elliot had compared letters? It would not be reasonable to expect that two years later, especially in a letter to Madame de Boufflers, he should make a more favourable report of London: 'The best company are 'usually, and more so at present, in a flame of politics; the men 'of letters are few, and not very sociable; the women are not in 'general very conversible. Many a sigh escapes me for your sweet 'and amiable conversation; I paint you to myself all serenity, and 'cannot believe that ever I had the misfortune to displease you.' This picture of himself to the same lady in 1772, and of his first Edinburgh friends, is still less flattering:—'I have totally and 'finally retired from the world, with a resolution never more to 'appear on the scene in any shape. This purpose arose, not 'from discontent, but from satiety. What other project can a 'man of my age entertain? Happily, I found my taste for 'reading return, even with greater avidity, after a pretty long 'interruption; but I guard myself carefully from the temptation 'of ever writing any more; and though I have had great en-'couragement to continue my history, I am resolved never again 'to expose myself to the censure of such factious and passionate 'readers as this country abounds with. There are some people 'here conversible enough; their society, together with my 'books, fills up my time sufficiently, so as not to leave any 'vacancy; and I have lately added the amusement of building, 'which has given me some occupation. I have now no other 'object but to sit down and think; and die in peace.' He did so; and died in peace, August 25, 1776.

It is only as a thinker and a writer, that men have for a long

time thought of Hume. But, his personal character throws light on his understanding; and the publication of his correspondence has, for the first time, put the public in possession of materials for forming an independent judgment of its own upon it. He is justly said to seem, in different parts of his writings, to have had two minds. We should be tempted to say the same of his character. 'He alone (observes Mackintosh, comparing him with Burke and Smith and Montesquieu) appears to have possessed the 'sort of intellectual versatility—the power of contracting the 'mental organs to the abstractions of speculative philosophy, or 'of dilating them for the large and complicated deliberations of 'business.' In his own time, his learning appears to have been almost equally looked up to by his friends. He was evidently a great reader. Since, although we find him saying in a pet that all good books are soon read, he has also testified that over reading was the only debauch of which he was ever guilty. On borrowing a Strabo for his essay on the *Populousness of Antient Nations*, he mentioned that he had read through almost every classical author, Greek and Latin, while collecting materials for that single paper. Hume's knowledge, however, was an affair of use, not ornament. His French was apparently little better than his Latin—while his Greek must have been, by his own showing, a good deal worse. His Latin had a noble contempt for prosody and syntax, which would have delighted Johnson, (whose masculine sense loved to disport in the amenities of modern Latin,) as much as it would have shocked Buchanan. Witness his metamorphosis of a line of Ovid—

Nam simul ac mea caluerant pectora Musæ!

He took only four books with him to Paris: they were Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, and Tasso. In an early letter to Hutcheson, he calls Horace one of the best moralists of antiquity. We should have expected, therefore, that he would have learned more of Horace's real character by this time, than to think that he would not have been tempted from his retreat at the age of fifty, to mingle among courtiers, or enter on the paths of ambition.

Of Hume's historical writings we have said enough, both in praise and censure. The leading characteristics of his metaphysics and of his morals have been necessarily brought under discussion again and again in this Journal. They are admirably examined also, the first by Dugald Stewart, the last by Mackintosh, in their Preliminary Dissertations to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Universal scepticism proves too much for any practical purpose whatsoever. When it has thrown out its speculations

'for the entertainment of the learned and metaphysical world,' not only do all subjects retain their ancient relative proportions, but the sceptic himself is found looking at life, and at every one of its realities, pretty much in the same way with other people. So said Hume of himself, his opinions, and his feelings, on his mother's death. Sceptical reasonings, also, are of two kinds. Whether they regard the mysterious connexion of cause and effect, or the more palpable cases of an outer world or of existence itself, they may amount either to a denial of the possibility of any evidence on these questions—or only to a denial of some particular species of proof. All ages have probably produced sceptics of both sorts. Of those of the first sort who figured in the last age, we need only mention Foucher, Leibnitz's correspondent, Arthur Collier, and Bishop Berkeley. Collier affirmed that he had demonstrated the utter impossibility of an external world. Even Turgot considered it to be impossible, that a man could have any turn for metaphysics, unless he had at some time doubted the existence of matter. Descartes appears to have only conceded the existence of an external world to the irresistible inclination of all men to believe in one. Hume has been usually understood to belong to the highest class of doubters: and, in a note, (F,) to his essay called *The Sceptic*, he defends that extreme doctrine against the consequences imputed to it. But in one of his letters, evidently a late one, he appears to have descended into the lower class; and to have questioned the mode of proof only, not the possibility. What he says of his reasonings concerning cause and effect, may be extended to his idealism; especially if we add to Descartes's concession the doctrine of Leibnitz:—'Que la verité 'des choses sensibles ne consistait que dans la liaison des phéno-'mènes, qui devait avoir sa raison; et que c'est ce qui les dis-'tingue des songes.' The letter in question belongs to that modification of Hume's later views, to which Dugald Stewart has referred in his Preliminary Dissertation, (212.) Reid might, perhaps, have put it among the other evidence of his forgetting his metaphysics. It is an answer to an unknown correspondent: and expresses some displeasure at being misunderstood: —'Allow me to tell you, that I never asserted so absurd a propo-'sition as *that any thing might arise without a cause*. I only main-'tained that our certainty of the falsehood of that proposition 'proceeded neither from intuition nor demonstration, but from 'another source. That Cæsar existed—that there is such an island 'as Sicily—for these propositions, I affirm, we have no demonstra-'tive nor intuitive proof—would you infer that I deny their *truth*, 'or even their certainty? There are many different kinds of 'certainty; and some of them as satisfactory to the mind, though

'perhaps not so regular, as the demonstrative kind. Where a 'man of sense mistakes my meaning, I own I am angry; but it 'is only with myself, for having expressed my meaning so ill, as 'to have given occasion to the mistake.' The world certainly had mistaken him. And under that mistake, the metaphysical schools of Europe have been chiefly occupied for nearly a century past, in supporting or opposing his opinions. If we are admitted to the benefit of other proofs; if, to the *nihil est in intellectu quod non erat in sensibus*, we may add the *nisi intellectus ipse*, we are restored to all the liberty which speculation can desire—since the *intellectus ipse* may comprehend either the ideas of Plato, or universal fixed conceptions and necessary truths, or only the humbler revelations of experience, and common sense. But it is as difficult, in the case of Hume as of Cicero, to be always sure of his real meaning. In the 'Dialogues on Natural Religion,' he supposes even his sceptic to be merely trying his strength by way of exercise. For Philo himself is represented as being at heart a believer in Natural Religion:— 'I must confess,' he says, 'that I am less cautious on the sub- 'ject of Natural Religion than on any other; both because I 'know that I can never, on that head, corrupt the principles of 'any man of common sense; and because no one, I am confi- 'dent, in whose eyes I appear a man of common sense, will ever 'mistake my intentions.' With these opinions attributed to his sceptic, Montesquieu and Franklin would only have complained, (and justly,) that he had not drawn his line of argument broad enough and straight enough for ordinary readers.

We agree with Paley in wondering that Hume should have considered his Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, as incomparably the best of all his writings. Cicero (whose moral writings he professes to admire so much) would certainly never have adopted his theory, of utility being the sole and exclusive ground of all moral distinctions. We cannot even conceive that Hume is serious in asserting, that the notion of the will having any thing to do with morals, was a novelty brought in by theologians: And surely the merest theologian that ever dogmatised *ex cathedrâ*, can never have narrowed the notion of virtue more absurdly, than Hume has stretched it, when, according to his paradoxical account of virtue, to want a limb, a faculty, an affection, or a principle, are all equally moral wants! In this case, it is only by a strange abuse of language, and by a torpidity of moral nature quite as strange, that Hume can have supposed the source of moral approbation and disapprobation to be, nevertheless, derived from sentiment.

Hume's talents appear to least advantage in his strictly literary

criticisms. There is a poverty about most of them, a want of sympathy with the higher order of genius, which makes them almost as flat and as discouraging as Kames's *Elements*. It belonged probably to his constitutional coldness; and is even more disagreeable than the anatomical composure which Hutcheson complained of in his treatment of morals. The rougher way in which Johnson stalks over the favourite haunts of imagination and poetry, trampling down their flowers, is perhaps more provoking, but, on the other hand, it is more amusing. Where either the nationality of Hume, or his friendliness, or his generous interest in obscure merit, were put in motion, there was an end of his judgment altogether. Mr Burton says, and truly, that no Scotsman could write a book of respectable talent, without calling forth Hume. 'Wilkie was to be the Homer, Blacklock the 'Pindar, and Home the Shakspeare, or something greater, of his 'country. On those who were his rivals in his own peculiar 'walks—Adam Smith, Robertson, Ferguson, and Henry, he 'heaped the same honest-hearted commendation. He urged them 'to write; he raised the spirit of literary ambition in their breasts; 'he found publishers for their works; and, when these were com-'pleted, he trumpeted the praises of the author through society.' Wilkie's *Epigoniad* was the second epic in the language: Home's *Douglas* the only tragedy. It was long before he could bring his scepticism to bear on the authenticity of Ossian. And this was not from being dazzled by the genius of Macpherson; who, in his opinion, had, 'of all men, the most anti-historical head in 'the universe.' But his national pride was captivated at first by the phenomenon of an Erse epic; and, afterwards, he was loath to expose the credulity of Blair, in whom the poet had got the better of the antiquary. It is curious to observe the several stages through which his convictions passed upon this subject; from his believing letter of 1760, to his doubting letters of 1763; ending at last in the scornful essay on the genuineness of Ossian's poems, which he left in MS. behind him.

During the middle ages, we all know how frequently the house of Douglas convulsed and divided Scotland. But nobody could have anticipated that it was reserved for it, in the present state of society, once more to agitate the country from one end to the other. Yet such was the fate of the *Douglas Cause*. Hume took a deep interest in the question, in common with all his countrymen. In siding against the legitimacy, he was probably influenced from the first by his friendship for Andrew Stuart. But all possible considerations heaped together, and fired into a blaze, are necessary to account for the eagerness with which he watched its progress, and for the passion he threw

into it. 'Idiots,' is as mild a word as he can find for Judges, in whose opinions Lord Mansfield afterwards, and the House of Lords concurred.

The *conspectus* of a life, such as is contained in the correspondence collected in these volumes, ought to afford the means of a decisive judgment on the character of the individual; yet, there is one point on which we hesitate in the present instance —the conclusion which we should draw regarding it, is so much at variance with the character which Hume has attributed to himself, and which his contemporaries appear to have all agreed in giving him. But certainly, if we were to disregard the testimony, and to judge only from the revelations of himself contained in this correspondence, we should be obliged to say, that we miss in him the philosophical spectator of human life: we miss the equality of temper and serenity of mind—the superiority to trifles, the steady love for others, and unflinching confidence in their love for him—among the calm yet earnest qualities which we had made sure of finding. Some of his best and oldest friends slip through his fingers; he merely relaxes his hand and lets them fall. Oswald seemingly had taken pet about a dinner scene, where Hume had affronted his Bishop-brother, by jesting about being made an Irish Bishop himself—a sore subject in those days. Hume drops him without an effort. He afterwards writes about Lord Kames, his old friend, in an estranged and scoffing tone. We have seen, for what a trifle (we should rather say, for what an act of kindness) he was ready to cast off Mure. Among these letters, there is a still stranger outbreak against Lord Elibank, for differing with him on the character of Queen Mary! That quarrel, however, was got over, as well as that with Mure; and Lord Elibank, we were glad to see, was one of the small dinner party, which he bespoke to be ready for him on his return from Bath, before embarking in Charon's boat.

Hume began life by looking at human nature as a heathen would have looked at it; taking his notion of virtue, he says, out of 'Cicero's Offices,' rather than from the 'Whole Duty 'of Man.' Those who are of opinion that there can be no morality except what is based on Christianity, or perhaps on some one favourite form of it, will have already passed sentence upon Hume. But some may be found, who are content to judge of him after his own views and principles. Such persons will look at the whole case; and will hear witnesses to character. There is the abounding testimony of Adam Smith, never doubted except in its excess. There is the friendship of Robertson and Blair; and of the most eminent Clergy of a religious city—difficult to be maintained for years, under any circum-

stances—impossible, unless the character and conduct of Hume had been above fear and above reproach. But more, there are unconditional admissions from neutral, not to say hostile parties—from Lord Lyttleton, the friend, and Sir William Forbes, the biographer, of Beattie; from Boswell also, toad-eater to Johnson—admiring or despising, as his deity gave the nod. Lord Lyttleton expressly notices the probity and candour of Hume, and the humanity of his manners. Forbes and Boswell speak, of their own knowledge, to a higher humanity, (worth all the manners in the world,)—his charity to the poor. On the other hand, we have had occasion to mention sundry particulars injurious to him as an historian; and some of them were moral defects, or on the very verge of being so. In speaking of them, we have spoken our mind freely.

There remains only one further point to mention. We do it with pain. But the transaction was an act of moral delinquency on the part of Hume, so fatal to all obligations and to all trust, that some charitable forbearance, we think, is necessary to reconcile it with his other virtues. It is a warning to all men against that indulgent and relaxed morality, to which the most loveable dispositions, by their calm and gentle natures, are most exposed. Hume discriminates in his writings between moral principles and speculative opinions. Errors or excesses in religion, he says, are not to be imputed as a fault; till they get possession of the heart, and alter the boundaries of vice and virtue. But, alas! irreligion, too, has its monks, its fanaticism, and its pious frauds, as well as religion: And we think it but too plain that the irreligious spirit of Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon, had fatally confounded their sentiments of morality, wherever religion or the clergy were concerned. For instance, late in life Hume was consulted by Colonel Edmonstone, whether a young man, who did not believe in the Thirty-nine Articles, and who had no inclination for the Church, should go into orders. He advised in this case as, we feel assured, he would not have advised in any other. We are ashamed to print his answer. It amounts to *Fiat sacrificulus, et pagum decipiat; populus vult decipi—decipiatur.* 'It is putting' (answers the false oracle) 'too great 'a respect on the vulgar and on their superstitions, to pique 'one's self on sincerity with regard to them. Did ever one 'make it a point of honour to speak truth to children or mad-'men? If the thing were worthy being treated gravely, I 'should tell him that the Pythian oracle, with the approbation of 'Xenophon, advised every one to worship the gods—νομῳ πολεως. 'I wish it were still in my power to be a hypocrite in this 'particular. The common duties of society usually require it:

'and the ecclesiastical profession only adds a little more to 'an innocent dissimulation, or rather simulation—without which 'it is impossible to pass through the world.'

The letter to his publisher, (1755,) endeavouring to persuade him by the precedent of Bolingbroke, that a few strokes of irreligion might rather promote the sale of his books than hurt it, looked awkward. We cannot wonder that Dr Brown attacked him on it, however it might be capable of being explained. But after advising a young man to compromise himself for life, by one of the most irreparable and irrevocable of all measures, he could no longer have rested his defence against any imputation upon his conduct, by an appeal to his unquestionable veracity. The time was over, for talking any more about that low fellow Warburton and his gang, and their finding it a difficult matter to persuade the public that he did not speak his sentiments, on any subject which he handled, or that he had any view to any interest whatever.

We hope that Hume had, on the whole, a happy life. But it was too abstracted a one; and too remote from the ordinary holds and moorings, necessary for the understanding as well as the heart of man. He had rudely cut the thread of many sympathies; and had refined away the obligation of many duties. In so doing he must at the same time have loosened even his own confidence in many of the more familiar virtues of domestic life. While he acknowledged to himself a proneness to suspect the attachment of his friends, he had not collected around him, in a family of his own, the affections which can never be questioned, and the interests which can never fail. He would have been happier, we think, if the severity of his Code of Morals had been a little raised—and if he had lifted himself up by looking to a higher nature! There was of old a legendary figure of Christ, which was said to have a power of growth in it, so as to be always taller than the tallest man. The companion to this figure, and also converse to it, would be the man, who, erect in himself and noble, yet, from looking upwards, becomes nobler still!

Hume's character, we confess, has not the elevation we desire. As, in his writings, we wish that they had a little more of the God in them—so we want a higher inspiration in his moral nature. His happy constitution might be less in want of religion, than many others. But he would, in all senses, have been the better for a little; and happier too. Knowing from Pope what is meant by a ruling passion, it is a poor thing to set it on the die of literary fame. In one way, he made the most of it; for his prescience of his growing reputation certainly soothed him in his last illness. This was something; but it is surely singular. Delusion for delusion,

the *manes fabulæque* of another world, are at least an improvement on the after-life of posthumous renown! Immortality on earth, fades away before the light of immortality in a future state. On the other hand, what is to be said, but 'vanity of 'vanities!' when a philosopher who has no expectation of a future state, and who is contemplating annihilation with complacency, is found, notwithstanding this, busied on his deathbed about his posthumous fame?—Careful what men may be saying of his Essays and his Histories, after he himself is sleeping in the grave, where all things are forgotten!

Hume had chosen literature for his profession. He always maintained its honour. He might, perhaps, be too sensitive to its pretensions; knowing how much they were his own. But when he was poorest, he never courted the great. After he had passed into public life, he checked Horace Walpole, with equal spirit and dignity, for speaking slightingly of men of letters. They formed the principal difference, in his opinion, between one age and another. He had sense enough, however, of its peril—from the narrow escape which he had had himself—to warn Gilbert Stuart against depending on literature alone. Notwithstanding his French predilections, he consulted the literary glory of England, and Gibbon's also, in advising him to lay aside his Swiss-French, and (1767) write in English, as the growing language. Hume then was true, we think, to the interests of literature. But still, to place his moral nature even here, as high as Adam Smith has placed it—as high 'as the frailty of human nature will permit'—he ought to have been awake to a more *moral* feeling of the greatness of its calling. He should have been more the servant of posterity, and less the slave of fame. There are noble words of Bacon, by which any man of letters may determine what his love of literature will be good for, in the eyes of God. 'The greatest error of all the rest, is the mistaking or misplac-'ing of the last or farthest end of knowledge: For men have 'entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes 'upon a natural curiosity, and inquisitive appetite; sometimes 'to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes 'for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them 'to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre 'and profession;—but seldom sincerely to give a true account of 'their gift of reason to the benefit and use of men: As if there 'were sought in knowledge, a couch whereupon to rest a search-'ing and restless spirit; or a terrass for a wandering and variable 'mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of 'state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or com-'manding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit

'or sale;—and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Crea-
'tor, and the relief of man's estate!'

Mr Burton, we think, will excuse us for having given our attention to his hero, rather than to himself. But it would be ungrateful, as well as unjust, if we were now to lay aside his interesting volumes without bearing testimony to the conscientious, judicious, and courageous manner in which he has performed the duties of an Editor; and to the useful assistance he has given to the reader, in the way both of suggestion and direct information, without once offending, either by over-admiration of his author, or over-anxiety to attract notice to himself.

ART. II.—*Les Rues de Paris: Paris Ancien et Moderne. Ouvrage rédigé par l'élite de la Littérature Contemporaine, sous la direction de* LOUIS LURINE. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1844.

No city has been so fortunate in its special historians as Paris. It is a consequence of the intense love which Frenchmen have towards their great capital, that writers above the ordinary stamp have taken a pleasure in dwelling on those details of its annals which are generally left to dry and laborious topographers. Paris has passed from the hands of Corrozet, Dom Brice, Sauval, and the rest of her old-fashioned Chroniclers, into those of authors who have illustrated her monumental history and actual life, with wit, feeling, and philosophy. Saint Foix is respectable, and sometimes amusing. Mercier, in his two *Tableaux de Paris*, has given a specimen of a singular thinker, not without genius, though strangely deficient in style; and whose pages rivet the reader's attention in spite of himself, unpleasing as both matter and manner often are. Dulaure, no doubt, owed most of his popularity to mere vulgar Jacobinism; yet he, too, is readable, though abundantly superficial. In our own times, Charles Nodier employed his light and elegant pen on sketches of Parisian topography; and the two volumes before us contain the contributions of some thirty or forty writers, several of them distinguished, which form a kind of History of Paris by streets, illustrated with woodcuts in the modern style. The work is a bookseller's speculation, and somewhat carelessly got up,—abounding in that diffusion and repetition which its method of composition ensures; yet there is much of talent scattered

over its pages, which are full of interest to uncritical readers, and especially to those who have a fondness for the memorable scenes and streets of the great continental metropolis.

It is not, however, to be expected, that French writers of the modern school, disciples of Victor Hugo, and worshippers of 'Notre-Dame de Paris,' should approach the 'middle-age' part of their subject without drawing amply at second-hand from the stores of a master, whose own inspiration was second-hand at best. Victor Hugo himself, we are bound to confess it, fond as we are of antiquarianism almost in every shape, failed altogether, to our thinking, in overcoming the barrier which existed between the mind of the age he was endeavouring to portray, and his own. His heroine is to us a mere Mignon without poetical soul—his priest and his captain are mere personages of the Ann Radcliffe school, dressed up in ill-fitting costumes of the fifteenth century—and his only real force is expended on Quasimodo, a creation of some imaginative power, but of the lowest and most material order. But of his followers, one and all, we are forced to say, that their productions leave scarcely any impression on the mind except that of the laborious and undigested cramming which they must have undergone to compose them. We ought to except Paul Lacroix, a writer with antiquarian lore enough to eclipse Walter Scott himself, who, after all, was chiefly distinguished by his extraordinary faculty for realising and assimilating knowledge not very extensive or complete; but then all Lacroix's learning poorly compensates his utter want of imagination, and gross sins against good taste. One and all, they force us back on our unavailing regret for the loss of the truly great master whose genius created this style of composition;—too superficial, too common-place, it is now the fashion to say, for these days, when all thought must be profound, and all feeling intense: but how strongly true, how touching, how natural, we only know when we have toiled through the volumes of dreary exaggeration which his successors inflict upon us.

One reason for this want of success may be, that the French have long and thoroughly divorced themselves from the middle ages, and broken off all connexion with the distant past. They have to learn its language now, like one of the classical tongues. They have little or none of the lingering feudalism of England and Germany, or the lingering mediæval religion of Spain and Italy. To them the pages of Froissart are no more living records than those of Thucydides. Now, the very same peculiarities of mental constitution which make Frenchmen such indifferent travellers—which render them so home-keeping by nature, so indisposed to extensive locomotion, so ill at ease when compelled to

it, so thoroughly French, whether encountered on the Ganges or the Plata, at Otaheite or on the borders of the Sahara—seem to disqualify them in a similar manner for that kind of intellectual expatriation which is requisite to the historical novelist. They travel on the surface of the past only; they rarely penetrate into its being; their souls are with the present, just as the inner man of the wandering Parisian is ever clinging to the Quais and the Boulevards. It is the condition of their existence. The very faculties which exist in their utmost perfection in France alone, are cramped and distorted when used in the unnatural labour. No one can tell a story so well as a Frenchman: no stories are so utterly dull and pointless as those of French historical romances. The very same author who could thrill the inmost heart with the simple adventures of a peasant and a grisette, or a dandy and a 'lioness,' is paralysed when his puppets are termed a knight and a châtelaine. He can only put them through a series of stiff, artificial jerks, instead of graceful motions; and make them compensate for the wretched dulness of the rest of their performance, by sinning and dying in some violent and unnatural attitudes.

Moreover—which is more immediately to our present purpose—though France be the native country of feudalism and chivalry, yet the Paris of the middle ages is not a very interesting city to the imagination. It wants a distinct historical character. It has no monuments of splendid civic aristocracies, like those of Italy; nor of the higher order of burgher-life and independence, like the cities of the Netherlands; no sacred corner, like Westminster, with its overpowering tide of national recollections. It scarcely showed any signs of the turbulent freedom of the old Communes, except once, in the ferocious period of the Burgundian and Armagnac massacres—unless we are to add the time of the League, with its coarse and sanguinary fanaticism. For a city of such antiquity and importance, moreover, it is remarkable how little Paris has, or ever had, to show of the architectural splendour of the ages in question. Except the Sainte Chapelle, no first-rate specimen of ecclesiastical architecture, as far as we are aware, ever existed at Paris; none, at least, of Parisian origin and character. Notre-Dame is a poor specimen of the art of the glorious fourteenth century. The absence of steeples and pinnacles in the distant view of Paris—the peculiar feature of most old northern cities—is very noticeable; nor were they ever much more numerous than at present. Nor are we believers in the tales which Parisian antiquaries very pardonably credit, of the ancient splendour and wealth of their capital. We have no faith in the 275,000

inhabitants whom Dureau de la Malle crowds within its narrow circuit in the reign of Philip le Bel: and scarcely believe in the 40,000 well-armed soldiers whom it turned out, if we may credit Monstrelet, in the middle of the famines and miseries of the fifteenth century. Compared with other famous towns of Europe, for the seven long centuries after Charlemagne, we believe it to have been a poor and gloomy city; not incorrectly represented, perhaps, by such wretched outskirts as the Faubourg Saint Marcel in later times, by which Candide entered Paris, and 'thought himself 'in the most miserable village of Westphalia;' which banished all Alfieri's illusions, and seems to have left so indelible a first-impression on the wayward Italian, that he could notice nothing in the French capital but the poverty of the public buildings, and the *bruttissime faccie delle donne.* Its slow and often-interrupted improvements seem to have been generally the results of royal command, ill obeyed—rarely of civic or national spirit. There was no pavement until the royal stomach of Philip Augustus was turned, as he looked out of his window in the Cité, by the odours proceeding from a waggon ploughing up the mud of the streets; and the mandate which issued thereupon must have been slowly executed, for years elapsed before the perambulation of the streets by pigs was forbidden, when a son of Louis le Gros had been thrown from his horse by one of these untoward animals. Things, moreover, must soon have fallen back to their ancient condition; for the modern pavement of the Cité is said to be six feet above the level of that of Philip Augustus. From Philip le Bel, who built the first quay, down to Napoleon, who completed the double line within which the waters of the Seine are imprisoned, the Chroniclers scarcely mention one popular name, among the long series of monarchs, to whom Paris owes these indispensable constructions.

We are conscious of only one exception to the generally unattractive character of the annals of ancient Paris: it is to be found in the history of its venerable University,—rich in strange events as well as striking characters. The University was a nation of itself, with all the spirit and independence of a nation: it was the great corporation of learning and instruction; and, by whatever names its existence has been preserved, however great the changes in the subject-matter of its employment, it remains the same nation still. The Priesthood of learning was and is a caste apart—the only surviving caste of modern days. More or less influencing the world around, more or less elevated and prosperous, it has ever been true, in the main, to its vocation—ever proud and self-dependent. The ancient University,

the Sorbonne—nay, the Jesuit colleges, often remodelled and interfered with, never were the slaves of Kings or Popes, but sometimes their masters. And it so happens that the venerable quarter of the Pays Latin, still peopled by students, retains at the present day more of tradition, more perhaps of substantial antiquity, than all the rest put together. You may see at the Collège de Dainville, the very window—or that which has passed for centuries as such—from which the body of Peter Ramus, murdered for denying the infallibility of the Pope and Aristotle, was thrown on the pavement below. Hard by stands the old Collège des Cholets, where Buridan, that sage of equivocal reputation, rescued from his sack and the Seine, maintained for a whole day the thesis that it was lawful to slay a Queen of France. The neighbourhood of the Sorbonne contains the Collège or Hotel de Cluny; not historically celebrated, but the most beautiful specimen of Gothic art extant in Paris. It was utterly unknown and neglected for ages. Dom Germain Brice only remarks of it, 'that it is remarkable for nothing but its solidity; and such is 'the arrangement of its rooms, that great alterations must be 'made if it was necessary to render it suitable for the modern 'fashions;' and of the neighbouring chapel, he adds, that, 'Gothic 'as it is, it produces a certain recreation, by disposing the eyes to 'remark the difference between the gross and rustic style of 'building of past ages, and the correct and studied manner of 'these latter times.' David had his studio close by the Hotel de Cluny—and never caught one breath of its inspiration to correct his proud classical coldness. It is now preserved with the utmost care, as a museum of *moyen-age* antiquities: every grotesque ornament is worth its weight in silver; yet it may be doubted whether, in this tide of ashion, the old hostel is much more really appreciated than it was by Brice and David.

But if the earlier history of Paris is thus comparatively scanty in topics of interest, the era which commences with the revival of letters makes abundant compensation by the wealth of its recollections. Paris is emphatically the city of light, intelligence, society, and refined life; and its historian begins to breathe his proper atmosphere, as soon as he has issued from the gloomy and stifling air of the middle ages. Then the great city began to expand her arms, and embrace the spacious demesnes, royal and noble, which had hitherto lain idle without her gates. Then the edifices erected within those demesnes began to change their character; and instead of her castles of the olden time—the heaviest of all castles, with their cylindrical towers and extinguisher roofs—arose all the diversified splendour of the *Renaissance.* The sixteenth century, of which we have scarcely

any memorials left in London, is the date of many of the most remarkable buildings of Paris; the Tuileries, part of the Louvre, the Hotel de Ville, and many churches and still surviving hotels. Others, of greater magnificence, have passed away;—such as the Hotel de la Reine, built by Catherine de Medicis, on the site of which the present Halle aux Blés stands, perhaps the finest private building of its age: its elegant tower alone remains. The sixteenth century began by emancipating Kings and their dwellings from the constraint of feudalism: and was, at least in Northern Europe, peculiarly the era of palaces and courts. It *ended* by achieving a greater work, and laying the foundations of modern domestic society;—the great embellishment of life, and highest of its cultivated pleasures. And as France was the first in the career of social refinement, and set the example to all other nations in this department of civilization, so the history of Paris becomes of universal interest, as soon as the age of Modern Society opens, at the conclusion of the wars of religion, and reign of Henry the Fourth.

If the reader would obtain a view of the spot which may almost be called the cradle of social civilization—if he would at a single glance realize, to a certain extent, the external world of that delightful era of chivalry and literature, wit, buffoonery, extravagance, and imagination, which is portrayed in the French Memoirs of the seventeenth century—he should travel in a direction in which, probably, not one in a thousand of our countrymen in Paris ever bends his steps, and, leaving the squalid bustle of the Rue Saint Antoine, turn by a narrow street into the Place Royale. The aspect of its solemn old houses—so stately and gentlemanlike in their decay, so well preserved in their exterior, their silent rows so strangely contrasting with the busy and dirty region in their vicinity—will strike forcibly the imagination, even of one unacquainted with their history. They seem like palaces abandoned for a season, not tenantless—waiting for the return of their noble and courtly owners, gone on a far journey. But much more powerfully will it affect the visitor, if he knows even superficially the history of the spot; and is aware that the first existence of fashionable city life—of society such as he sees it among the better classes of any capital in Europe—may be traced back to those now deserted habitations. This is the light in which they have been viewed by Jules Janin, in his contribution to the work before us; for, allowing for the flutter and affectation of style which belongs to the Prince of *Feuilletonists*, there is both feeling and truth in his description.

'Believe me, even to the lightest, and, apparently, most frivolous

dispositions, it is a melancholy task to search under these cold ashes for the few sparks which they still cover: it is a melancholy task, after the lapse of two generations so full of life—the life of wit, grace, genius, beauty, and courage—to pass over the same spot, now abandoned to nameless old men, to children, to invalids—to every thing which is silence, oblivion, repose. When you walk on these sounding flagstones, the noise of your steps terrifies you, and you turn round your head to see if some one of the heroes of old days is not following you—La Trémouille, Lavardin, Condé, Lauzun, Benserade. In the midst of this darkness and silence, you ask yourself, why have not the people of M. de la Rochefoucauld, of Gabrielle d'Estrées, and Madame de Montespan, lighted their torches to show the way to the carriage or the sedan of their mistress? Hush! from whence came that sound of music and *petits violons?* It came from the Rue du Parc; and this crowd of eager-looking citizens, whither are they going? They are following the invitation of their friend Molière; they are hastening to the Comedy, the new source of excitement which attracts them: they are bound for the Hotel Carnavalet, where *Georges Dandin* is acted to-night. And all the great hotels which I see here, of which the gates are closed and silent—and all these lofty windows, where no one shows himself except some servant-girl in rags—how were they called heretofore? These were the Hotel Sully, the Hotel Videix, the Hotel d'Aligre, the Hotel de Rohan, the Hotel Rotrou, the Hotel Gueménée—noble dwellings turned into ill-furnished lodgings, against which the cobbler of the corner, and the public scribe, have reared their squalid stalls! What may these aristocratic walls think of seeing themselves thus decayed, silent, disdained! What stillness in these saloons, once so animated with powerful conversation! What sadness on these gilt ceilings, all charged with loves and with emblems! What incessant change—what ultimate wretchedness! And does it not need some courage, once more be it said, to trace out all the remembrances of this fair spot, in which lived, and thought aloud, the rarest wits, the noblest geniuses, the most delightful satirists, the most excellent characters of that singular age which preceded so closely, as if to foreshadow it, all the French seventeenth century; great names before which every one bows with reverence; illustrious frequenters of the Place Royale, and component parts of its history. Nevertheless, this evocation of old times is thus far useful, that it may help to console us for the oblivion and silence which threatens us in turn. When we think of how few years the glory, and renown, and popularity of this world are composed, we end by troubling ourselves a little less about them.' *—(Vol. i. p. 58.)

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* M. Janin, in his brilliant but careless way, seems to place the Hotel Rambouillet in the Place Royale, which was not the case. There were two hotels of that name. The original town-house of the family was pulled down in 1629; it formed part of the site of the Palais Cardinal, (Palais Royal.) The mansion of 'Arthénice,' the rendezvous of Parisian literature and fashion, was originally called the Hotel Pisani, having

This famous Place Royale occupies the site of the ominous Hotel des Tournelles, built, or rebuilt, by an Englishman, the regent-Duke of Bedford, when the English counted on the permanence of their dominion in France—the scene of the splendour and the crimes of the house of Valois—the site of the tournament where Henry II. received his mortal wound—pulled down, in consequence it is said of superstitious terrors, by his son Charles IX. The Place Royale was built by Henry IV., and its style of architecture served as the model of our own Covent-Garden, as well as many other civic constructions of the same age. Fashion soon selected its magnificent hotels for her residence; from which it has now departed for many generations. We can remember, however, the residence of an ex-minister in the Place Royale under the Restoration: how long this solitary memorial of past grandeur has ceased, we do not know.

Under the reign of Louis XIII., however, this silent square was the centre of the best society of Paris, and of the world. It is scarcely too much to say, that the distinguishing tone of modern civilisation had its origin in that circle which assembled first round Madame de Rambouillet, and her daughter Madame de Montausier, and of which Madame de Sévigné was afterwards the life and ornament. Justice has lately been done in the pages of this Journal to the memory of the Hotel Rambouillet; but the historian of Paris can scarcely pass it by without devoting a few words to the subject, and to the influence which that circle had on the social life of its generation and the next.

Cardinal Richelieu, take him for all in all, was perhaps the ablest, if not the greatest of Frenchmen (for Napoleon, it must be recollected, was not a Frenchman by birth); and he was the most essentially French. Capable of the greatest schemes of statesmanlike ambition, the smallest personal interest or personal pique lay ever more closely at his heart. Even while planning his vast combinations of foreign and domestic policy, the bulk of his time and thought seems to have been occupied with cares of the most

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belonged to the Marchioness's family. It was situated Rue St Thomas du Louvre, No. 15. The curious reader may consult a note of the Baron de Walckenaer, in his *Mémoires sur Madame de Sévigné*, in which this matter is thoroughly sifted. To the list of hotels eminent in the annals of Parisian society, which were situated in or near the Place Royale, may be added the house of the fair Marion de l'Orme, with its interior decorated by Solomon de Caus, who, as his countrymen say, communicated the discovery of the steam-engine to the Marquis of Worcester. Cardinal Richelieu lived at No. 21.

trifling description: with amorous and literary enterprises, having nothing but the gratification of vanity for their object: with elaborate devices of mystification and buffoonery, childish rivalries, womanish intrigues, and the tricks of a malicious monkey. He had none of the sympathies, few of the prejudices, of his age. Neither sacred things, nor consecrated impostures, had any empire over him. King, Pope, and Parliament, were to him mere names, representing pieces in the game of politics. Yet the same man was the slave of the paltriest impulses, when his conceit or egotism was piqued. If we read of him one day as guiding the sword of Gustavus, stemming the Romish reaction, founding the short-lived absolute monarchy of France; the next day, he figures as on a level with poor Dr Goldsmith, when he wanted to exhibit his agility in jumping over a stick against a showman's puppet. This is no idle comparison. Brienne has recorded how Mary of Medicis, making sport of her clerical lover, then Bishop of Luçon, persuaded him, by adroit reflections on his skill, to execute a new saraband in her royal boudoir, with castanets in his hands, and in the costume of an Andalusian majo—amidst the suppressed convulsions of laughter of certain spectators posted behind the arras—laughter which Richelieu, when he discovered the trick, never forgot or forgave to his dying day. On the one hand, father Joseph, the masked politician, the secret councillor of all the deepest plans of Richelieu's ambition; on the other, Bois Robert, the unfrocked atheist and buffoon—these are the contrasted figures with which that of Richelieu seems inseparably connected. On the whole, great as he was, there is something fundamentally odious in his character, which makes him one of the most uninteresting great men of history. Like Voltaire, whom he so strikingly resembled in many points of character, he was spiteful, hard-hearted, and cruel. He hated the Queen, who had rejected his impudent suit. He hated all whom she favoured. His political victims were not many, but they were hunted out with peculiarly cold and careful cruelty. He could be generous towards those who had committed offences against him: there is a striking story told by Tallemant des Réaux, who may be believed when he speaks well of any one, of his conduct towards a thievish secretary; but he could not forgive an insult, a jeer, or the slightest mortification to his vanity, or opposition to his projects. His death was felt by France like the relief from a nightmare—from the king to the lowest rhymester of the *ruelles*, all joined in the burden of the couplets which proclaimed it—

'Il est parti, il a plié bagage,
Ce cardinal!'

But it is remarkable that a man so hateful, so destitute of all faith and all loftiness of purpose, should have left such durable impressions on the world. Scarcely does Paris itself, which is full of his relics—the Palais Royal, the Library, the Street which bears his name—speak more plainly of Richelieu, than that fabric of modern European policy, of which he has, scarcely with exaggeration, been termed the founder.

But while Richelieu broke down the feudal power of the nobles on the one hand, his jealous rule prevented the formation of any brilliant court on the other. Nor was the character of Louis XIII. suited to render him the centre of a sparkling circle, or the leader of the fashion of his kingdom. These circumstances, together with the eager appetite which began to be felt for the new delights of taste and literature, contributed to the formation, for the first and only time in French history, of what may be termed an independent society. For the first and only time, men breathed and moved in circles of their own, and had scope to form their tastes, and exercise their understandings, unfettered by prevailing influences from without. The short interval between the establishment of Richelieu's power and the wars of the Fronde—especially the latter part of it, the 'tems de la bonne 'Régence, tems où règnait une heureuse abondance,' commemorated with tender recollection by St Evremond in his old age—was the period when France entered on a career which, continued, would have placed her in substance as well as in seeming at the head of European civilization. It was an age of bold and independent aspirations; of chivalry, refined by the polish of literature; of literature, as yet vivified in some degree by the unexpired genius of chivalry. Pedantry there might be, but it was almost of a graceful cast, before it had been touched and stiffened by the chilling breath of sarcasm; originality of demeanour, as well as opinion, was still tolerated, and added to the entertainment of the most polished circles. Jesuitism had not yet begun to recover its lost ground; thought was therefore freely interchanged on the highest subjects; and while there was a strong and earnest feeling of religion in the better class of society, it was unusually exempt from the miserable jealousies of fashionable orthodoxy. Corneille, Bossuet, Pascal, were all at home in companies like these, where the playful conversation of the hour alternated—(nor was the mixture thought affected or pedantic)—with disquisitions on ecclesiastical history, and arguments on the immortality of the soul.

We have no doubt advanced beyond the simplicity of those days. We have found out the ridiculous side of learning, seriousness, chivalry, enthusiasm of every kind; and ridicule is a quiet, irresist-

ible master of the ceremonies, who noiselessly removes all such unsuitable guests from the conversational circle. But, after all, the philosophy of society, like other branches of practical philosophy, aims at something higher than is ever realised. That the ordinary converse of fashionable drawing-rooms might be made conducive to the high interests of man, and progress of his race; that the sexes might meet on equal terms in the field of grave discussion carried on side by side with gossip and raillery—these were the dreams of a youthful and adventurous age, like the art of flying and the universal language. We know better now; and, amidst all the revivals of old fashions on which modern taste makes experiments, the least likely to be attempted is that of the Hotel Rambouillet.

We scarcely need observe, that our description applies only to a small and exclusive, though influential, section of the society of the seventeenth century at Paris. What was there a graceful freedom, degenerated elsewhere into the most eccentric license; and the evil times, unhappily, prevented the seed sown in the best of these reunions from coming to maturity. The last and most brilliant epoch of the Hotel Rambouillet, as Sainte Neuve remarks, was from the death of Richelieu to the Fronde, (1642-1648.) The anarchy of the Fronde was the legitimate successor of the freedom of the years immediately preceding. Ordinary history shows only the half romantic and half ludicrous incidents of that period,—the caprices of the lady leaders of armed parties, the valour of Condé, the genius of De Retz, and the real vanity and nothingness of the actors, one and all; except Turenne and Mazarin, who came forward turn by turn in the childish struggle. But the Memoirs of the times, while chiefly occupied by these frivolous details, give nevertheless occasional glimpses of the misery and general demoralization produced by this and the long Spanish wars which immediately followed it. Not that Paris suffered. On the contrary, her society was more brilliant than ever. Not only was the great city the headquarters of the war during great part of the struggle of the princes, who commanded a much more brilliant following than the crown; but it became the refuge of all those who were driven from the provinces by the license of hostilities. It was crowded by the highest clergy—Louis XIV. found thirty Bishops in Paris, at one of his earlier levees, a rare sight in a Catholic country—by the provincial noblesse, by all the classes who had any thing left to spend. The hazards of war, the dangerous and painful realities of the day, had the effect so often witnessed in times of revolution—they stripped life of its romance. The more refined spirits gradually deserted Stoicism for Epicureanism,

romance for farce;—always the prevailing taste in periods of civil war, when 'let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' becomes a practical motto. This was the moment of Scarron and burlesque. The reunions of the Hotel Rambouillet were at an end. The Marquis and Marchioness were dead; the Princess Julie married to the Duc de Montausier, who was engaged in levying war for the crown, and only returned to Paris to become a suitor for court employment, like so many others ruined by the troubles. It was in the salons of the Countess de Suze, Mademoiselle Scudéry, and a few other ladies of fantastic wits, that the old Rambouillet fashions were maintained, exaggerated, and rendered ludicrous; and there, and not in the circle of Arthénice, Molière picked up the models for his play of the *Précieuses Ridicules;* which did not, as critics are in the habit of asserting, demolish a triumphant fashion by its 'unpitying irony.' Comic writers seldom or never perform such execution,—their easier task is to catch and appropriate the ridicule of that which is just becoming ridiculous. The poor wits of the Regency—their solemn humour—their long-drawn sentiments—were at a sad discount. Ménage and others wished to leave the country, and find out some region which might better answer to their conceptions of the *Pays du Tendre*, and similar pastoral kingdoms, on the other side of the Atlantic, just then rendered interesting by the discoveries of Champlain and Lasalle.

As for the morals of society, it is difficult to describe the pitch of extravagant license at which they now arrived. The contrast is startling between the apparent prudery of the salons of good society, and the reckless wildness which prevailed out of those guarded doors. Timandre, Cléante, and the other shepherd-heroes of the drawing-room, after passing the day in sighing sentiment, and capping verses with Clarice and Corisande, would adjourn to spend the night in orgies, to which the boldest of later days were tea-table recreations. There are sins congenial to high society at all times, and probably, with an equal amount of wealth and luxury, always pretty equally prevailing; but the peculiarity of the seventeenth century in France was, that the ordinary distinction between crime and gentlemanly vice was lost sight of. In the honest originality of the day, sins against one commandment were regarded as scarcely more discreditable, in a social point of view, than sins against another. In the early part of Louis XIII.'s reign, the fashionable frolic of the evening was to rob pedestrians in the dark streets of Paris of their cloaks. There is a well-known story in Rochefort's *Memoirs*, of the adroitness of Gaston Duke of Orleans in this exercise; and of the ill-luck of some of his comrades who

attempted to hide themselves behind Henry IV.'s statue on the Pont Neuf. But what Gaston practised in the spirit of aristocratic sport, others perpetrated from more obvious motives. The Sieur Desternod avows, that in his poverty he frequently thought of this resource, but was deterred by fear of capture. Bussy Rabutin was robbed by two *filous de qualité*, by no means *pour rire*, but in good earnest. In the provinces, gentlemen were occasionally associated with bands of highway robbers. Tallemant des Réaux mentions a personage of this class, who used when in company to practise on four chairs the attitude he should assume when tied to the cross of St Andrew for the purpose of being broken alive; which destiny ultimately befell him. The same writer speaks, without any symptoms of astonishment, of ladies as well as gentlemen who were known to derive part of their income from false coining! The 'bloods' of Charles the Second's reign were timid, as well as gross and clumsy imitators of the men of fashion of the preceding generation at Paris; for Buckingham and Rochester tried to import, not the improved style which prevailed in France at the date of their experiment, but what they themselves remembered of the rough licentious days of their exile during the Commonwealth; so that in this instance, as usual, England was picking up the cast-off rags of her neighbour's fashions.

The correspondence of Bussy Rabutin with Madame de Sévigné, furnishes a singular instance of the juxtaposition of extremes, common in that age, and the mutual toleration which vice and virtue, dissipation and pedantry, seem to have exercised towards each other. Bussy must have been esteemed a scoundrel, according to the rules of almost any conceivable society. He had outraged a helpless woman by a forcible abduction. It is true he had been deceived as to her inclinations, but this was because he was betrayed by her Confessor, whom he had bribed. He was notorious, not so much for his triumphs over his fair acquaintances, as for his propensity for ruining their reputation, and exposing them to the world. 'He loved no one,' says St Evremond, 'and never won the affections of any one.' He seems to have been shunned for his questionable dealings in transactions of honour, among men, almost as much as he was admired for his brilliancy, in female circles. He had published an infamous libel, in which he recounted the scandalous histories of most of the women of his acquaintance. He had laid siege to the honour of his cousin Madame de Sévigné for many years. Disappointed in his pursuit, he had slandered her grossly among the rest; yet the Princess of Letter-Writers not only forgives all his sins against herself and mankind, but continues through all her

volumes her sentimental correspondence with this contemptible reprobate. Platonism, philosophy, literature, and scandal, are all discussed with perfect good-humour. She enters into all his projects; witness her sympathy with him through one of his lawsuits, which was neither more nor less than a disgraceful attempt to corrupt justice and oppress an innocent party. Much may be allowed for the passion of clanship, which bound the fair prude to the head of all the Rabutins; it has been suggested also, that fear was at the bottom of her forbearance; but, after all, the connexion hardly says much, we will not say for the reality, but for the profoundness of her moral and religious feelings.

Every one will remember Charles Lamb's ingenious, and not altogether sophistical defence of the characters in the English 'middle comedy' of Congreve and his successors, namely, that no reader takes them, and the fictitious world in which they are placed, for realities; that they move in an atmosphere of their own, to which we feel the recognised morality of the everyday world to be inappropriate. It is with almost the same feeling that one approaches the Memoirs of the Fronde and the Regency of Anne;—the records of the men and women who were the real prototypes of those English profligates from whom Congreve's characters were taken. It is difficult to realize, and still more to describe, the impressions produced by a world in which all seems, at first sight, to have been show and representation. Every man lived, literally, not for himself, but for and in the world. Conventional habits depressed and threw into the background substantial interests and passions, and brought forward into exaggerated relief the most unsubstantial frivolities; and the result is, that in the records of those times there seems to be almost as much reality in the last as in the first. The strongest feelings, the profoundest calculations, use the same language, wear the same dress, with the fantastic impulses of fashion. Mortal hate demeans itself just like wounded punctilio; the passion of a life like the gallantry of an hour; the struggle for political supremacy like the rivalry of a game at billiards. Men and women put on their shepherds' hats, and talk couplets or sonnets to each other, with quite as much solemnity as they use in discussing their most important interests. Nay, to speak of more serious matters, ladies and gentlemen set about 'making their salvation,' as if they projected a party to the baths of Bourbon. All seems a pageant; the people masqueraders; or rather, masques with no faces under them; or as if France had been peopled with creatures resembling the Sylphs and Undines who then came into fashion,—brilliant and beautiful, with all the outward attributes of humanity, but unprovided with souls.

Paris, at this time, it must be remembered, though the greatest city of Europe, yet resembled in many respects what, in the nineteenth century, we should term a large provincial town. Hemmed within its old walls, with their grotesque coronet of windmills, and swelled by all the political causes which at this period drove within its gates the inhabitants of the provinces, the population was numerous beyond all reasonable proportion to the narrow compass in which it was contained; for if some spaces, then encumbered with narrow streets, have since been cleared, as in the neighbourhood of the Louvre, other and much larger spots within the circuit of the Boulevards, now built on, were then the demesnes of convents and palaces. Three great convents—those of the Assumption, the Feuillans, and the Capucins—occupied the site of the modern Rue Rivoli, and streets which branch from it. That of Mazarin's palace was so extensive, that on one half of it (bought by Louis XIV., and given to the East India Company) the Rue Vivienne and Place de la Bourse are situate. Its sanitary condition was as bad as possible; worse, probably, than in the middle ages; owing to the greater accumulation of people, and increased height of the houses.* Even the ordinary habit of leaving the city in the summer, was interrupted for thirty or forty years in the middle of the seventeenth century;—at first, from the general insecurity of the country; afterwards, through habit, and because, in Louis XIV.'s earlier wars, while a portion of good society was absent on the frontier, those who stayed at home preferred remaining in Paris, for the sake of obtaining intelligence. Packed closely together in this steaming atmosphere, the higher classes lived and moved in a perpetual fever of society. The fashion of *alcoves* and *ruelles* dates from the beginning of this period. The alcove, as is well known to those who are familiar with old-fashioned domestic architecture, was the space, generally dome-shaped or vaulted and highly decorated, (the word is Arabic, and signifies a vault,) at the end of the bed-chamber, forming a kind of second room enclosed in a larger one. Here the bed of the lady was placed, on its *estrade*, or elevated dais, on which, as a throne, she received her morning visitors. The *ruelles*, or alleys, were the narrow lanes left between the estrade and the walls, in which the crowd of visitors assembled;—filled, from early day to afternoon, in

* About the year 1660, a medical observer remarked, that his brass door-handles, in rooms looking on the street, became covered with verdigris every morning; which continued until some attempts were made at drainage in the quarter.

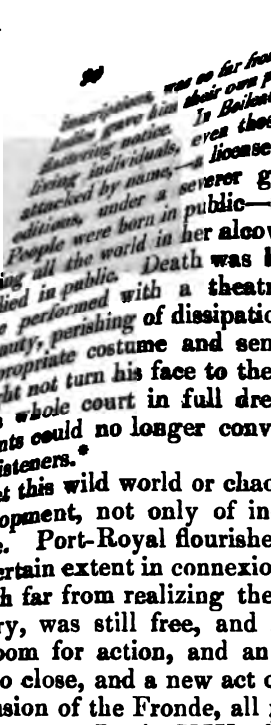
illustrious houses, with a succession of gay cavaliers, prim men of letters, and soft ecclesiastics. Retirement and privacy were neither known nor appreciated as luxuries. There are some curious remarks in Saint Simon on the results of the invention of bells in houses;—a new thing when he wrote, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The want of them in earlier times rendered it almost necessary for a lady to have assistance at hand; common people had their servants within call, whence arose the familiar and pleasant domestics of Molière; those of higher rank were waited on by ladies of birth and education, who were not thought to demean themselves by performing these indispensable offices. Bells had a great share in reducing us to that seclusion—pleasant, but unsocial—in which we now live. The chief promenade of the afternoon was the Cours la Reine, on the south side of the Tuileries gardens, from which the mechanical public was excluded. Here Marie de Medicis paraded in her globe-shaped *Cocke;* and Bassompierre exhibited the first carriage with glass windows. When 'the great Mademoiselle' was asked what she had regretted most during her political banishment from Paris, she answered—the masquerades, the fair of St Germain, (a kind of fashionable bazar, which was held in February every year,) and the Cours. But Paris, though rich in Convent and Palace gardens, was at this time very ill provided with spaces for public recreation. In the hot weather, it was no uncommon fashion for gay society to assemble in the Seine, like the company at old-fashioned baths. Evelyn (1651) was startled by the apparition of a bevy of ladies thus publicly bathing, at Conflans, attended by their cavaliers. Then followed the theatre; the new amusement of the age, and enjoyed with all the zest which novelty lent as yet to the noblest of public diversions—a diversion which not only amused the senses, but opened a new world to the heart and intellect, and which promised greater things than in the subsequent course of events it has performed. Now that the dramatic art is every where on the decline—its national existence, it should seem from all history, being necessarily brief—it is difficult to realize the importance which it once possessed, or the essential benefits which, be it said, in spite of all purists, it once rendered to society: and nowhere was this so much felt as in Paris. Much might be said of the effect of the drama as not only an accompaniment, but a cause of increasing refinement in manners; but as to its immediate influence on order and decency, it is sufficient to refer to a saying of M. de Sartines, the minister of police of a later period, that during the three weeks when the theatres were not open,

he found it necessary to double the watch. Last came the night, with its train of endless gaiety and extravagance. The fêtes of Mazarin and his contemporaries equalled any similar displays of later days in luxury, while they were unrivalled in wild and grotesque license; the whole soul of society was poured out in the extravagant orgies of the masquerade; while ladies were parading, by day, at the head of armed brigades, female costume was a fashionable evening disguise for gentlemen. Gaston Duke of Orleans, was celebrated for the grace with which he wore it; and among the strange adventures of the Abbé de Choisy, afterwards a zealous dignitary of the church, who chose for several years to assume that dress in general society, it is perhaps the strangest, that he used to attend, in woman's attire, at the church of St Médard, and present the *pain béni* to his acquaintances. This fantastic irregularity was finally put a stop to, like so many others, by Louis XIV., as his notions of decorum advanced—when, after many years' solemn devotion to the mysteries of the ballet—after enacting Benserade's gods and demigods, heroes and knights, shepherds and savages, until flattery was fairly exhausted, and could scarcely spin out a couplet more in his honour—the great monarch became slowly alive to the idea that he was laughed at, and abolished the fashion for ever.

But the aspect of ordinary life was scarcely less diversified. Every evening reunited the customary society of ladies' apartments for conversation, varying from the most transcendant pedantry to the lowest merriment, buffoonery, and *jeux de société*, until Mazarin brought in cards, which rapidly swallowed up all minor follies. Dancing was the order of the evening, when 'les 'vingt-quatre violons,' the fiddlers of the royal establishment, the Strauss or Jullien band of their epoch, were to be procured; and a busy life they must have had of it; few grandees, like Mademoiselle de Montpensier, kept their own 'violons.' And what dancing! The art lost half its spirit and attraction, when the graceful fashion of the seventeenth century—that of the lady choosing her partner—came to an end. But not only its spirit, but its high importance and dignity, were as yet unabated. We are misled by our own modern notions, when we marvel at Sir Christopher Hatton, the dancing Chancellor; or at Elizabeth, for being smitten with his attractive movements; or at the venerable fashions of our Inns of Court, when 'the ancient reader, 'the music being begun, called to him the master of the revels; 'and at the second call, the ancient, with his white staff, advanced 'forward, and began to lead the measures, followed first by the 'barristers, and then the gentlemen under the bar, all according

'to their several antiquities;'—a practice, possibly, absurd, but each age has its absurdities; and modern benchers having abolished the dancing qualification, appear to have announced that their office requires no qualification at all. In those days, however, all the world danced, from the King to the Savoyard with his monkey. We have seen Richelieu's performance with the castanets; but conceive the great and grave Sully indulging in similar exhibitions! Yet, if we may believe Tallemant des Réaux, the custom of his household was, that 'every evening 'until the death of Henry IV., a certain La Roche, valet-de-'chambre to the king, used to play on his lute the dances of the 'time; and M. de Sully danced by himself, with an extravagant 'kind of cap on his head, which he generally wore in his cabinet. 'The spectators were Duret, afterwards Président de Chevry, 'and La Claville, afterwards Seigneur de Chavigny; who, with 'some women of indifferent reputation, were in the habit of buf-'fooning every day with him.' Does not a graver even than Sully —the great Jansenist Abbé Arnauld—recount, with some embarrassment, how he was forced to dance at the court of Modena? 'It is true,' says he, putting the best face on the circumstance, 'that, properly speaking, we did not dance, but only walked in 'cadence, without even taking off our cloaks.'

The extremely close quarters into which the fashionable circles were packed, gave, as we have said, a certain air which we should now call provincial even to this, the finest society of Europe. There were the same sets, jealousies, caprices, cabals, which are found in provincial assemblages; the same want of a recognised centre, such as a court affords; until Louis XIV. had reorganized that head of the body of fashion. Newspapers were scarcely known; Loret's odd rhyming 'Gazettes 'of the elegant world' were indeed a kind of versified *Morning Post*, as minute in their descriptions, but less fresh in intelligence; but their places, as far as scandal and gossip were concerned, seem to have been more amply supplied by the extraordinary custom of the 'couplets' or 'noels,' which circulated from drawing-room to drawing-room. Not an adventure or misadventure could be reported or suspected, of a fair lady or cavalier of honour, but it was immediately tagged into verse, and found its way in this shape first into the hands of the gossips, then into those of the street musicians. Many of these innumerable epigrams have wit and smartness; many more an astonishing effrontery. But no kind of personality was forbidden in an age in which no one dreamt of privacy. Bussy's fancy for hanging the walls of his chateau with the portraits of living beauties, with biographical sketches and his own satirical comments by way of



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inscriptions, was so far from exciting any indignation, that many ladies gave him their own portraits, in the hopes of obtaining a flattering notice. In Boileau's satires, as they at first came out, living individuals, even those accused of gross offences, were attacked by name,—a license which was abandoned in his later editions, under a severer government and stricter manners. People were born in public—married in public, the bride receiving all the world in her alcove the day after the wedding—and died in public. Death was but the last scene of the drama, to be performed with a theatrical bow and exit. The young beauty, perishing of dissipation, made her adieus to the world in appropriate costume and sentiments. The worn-out statesman might not turn his face to the wall in peace, but was surrounded by a whole court in full dress, and talked on until his husky accents could no longer convey the last of his smart sayings to the listeners.*

Yet this wild world or chaos was far from unfavourable to the development, not only of individual energy, but of individual virtue. Port-Royal flourished not only contemporaneously, but to a certain extent in connexion with the Place Royale. Society, though far from realizing the promise of the earlier part of the century, was still free, and its atmosphere animating. There was room for action, and an exciting air to breathe. All was soon to close, and a new act of the drama to commence. At the conclusion of the Fronde, all parties threw themselves at the feet of the young Louis XIV., like a set of dancers tired out with their own mad exertions. The task of the new King was half accomplished for him when he began to reign; but he carried it into thorough execution, with all the energy of that steady resolve, hard heart, and admirable digestion, which almost made a great man of a very ordinary one. He had to restore this agitated world to order, and give to these diffused powers a uniform and regulated action. All this he performed; but he could not alter the unbending law of nature, which forbids individual greatness to arise without freedom. Nearly all the truly great names of the great reign are those of men whose education had been completed, and their intellectual majority attained, in the prior period of anarchy. The second crop—that of Louis's own contemporaries—was far inferior: the third,

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* See the well-known print of Mazarin's death-bed, surrounded by ladies at cards. According to Grimm, the Maréchale de Luxembourg and two of her friends, played at loto by that of Madame du Deffand till she expired. But at that time the proceeding was at least thought singular.

feeble and effete. A new period of social license was necessary to invigorate anew the national genius.

Of this long reign, the first years only were brilliant. While the Spanish war lasted, Paris, as we have seen, held continual festival. But after the peace of the Pyrenees, and the death of Mazarin, (1660,) the King and Court began to remove from Paris, first to Fontainebleau, afterwards to St Germain's, and ultimately settled down in the stateliness of Versailles. This great change in the habits of the higher classes was very injurious to the *metropolis*, considered as a centre of society. The *Marais*, or neighbourhood of the Place Royale, continued long to be the fashionable quarter. The quays of the left bank, whose architectural embellishment dates chiefly from this reign, became popular as promenades: the world of fashion, for a few years, used to parade up and down the broiling pavement of the Quais des Theatins and Malaquais. Here Molière lived, (Quai Conti;) and here, for a short time, his troop was established. But the eastern end of the Faubourg Saint Germain was ultimately selected in 1687, after many delays, as the head-quarters of the *Comédie Française*, driven from the Palais Royal by Lully's Opera company, the newest and most successful speculation of the day; for Lully, after fourteen years' directorship, died worth 630,000 livres in gold—a fact almost incredible, and solitary in the annals of managership. Racine has detailed the difficulty which the poor comedians found in lodging themselves, from the opposition of scrupulous Curates and purse-proud citizens. A troop of robbers could scarcely have been chased from site to site with greater pertinacity than these, the most active promoters of French, and therefore European civilization. At length they were planted in the Rue des Fossés St Germain, now Rue de l'Ancienne Comédie; where Procopio the Sicilian established his *Café*, the grandfather of all *Cafés*,—and the ancient rendezvous of the literary and theatrical world; which still exists—furnishing coffee and domino's to a few students—to testify of the site of the most flourishing and famous of all European theatres: for, taking all things together, the drama has never, in modern times, risen to such importance as within those walls. The theatre was closed in 1770, and is said to be now a restaurant. Marat's last lodging was close by: he had been driven from den to den, almost as assiduously as the poor actors.

It was not until the reign of Louis XV. that the Faubourg Saint Germain became the aristocratic quarter,—a glory which may now be said to have nearly abandoned those monotonous walls, to irradiate, for the present, the gayer roofs of the Faubourg Saint Honoré.

In the absence of the court from Paris, the Bourgeoisie and the Professions rose out of comparative insignificance, thus preparing the Revolution from afar; and, first and foremost, the profession of the law. The melancholy quarter of the Ile Saint Louis, which arose out of a building speculation of the seventeenth century, was for a time a favourite resort of second-rate fashion, and legal fashion in particular. It had been a rural *pleasance* belonging to the Chapter of Notre-Dame. In its gardens the last crusade was preached by the Cardinal Legate Nicholas, in 1313, when Philippe de Valois, Edward II. of England, and many lords, both French and English, took the cross—an empty parade, for the spirit of Saint Louis became extinct in the generation which succeeded him. The same gardens were the scene of the famous single combat between the dog of Montargis and the murderer. In 1614, the construction of the quarter was begun; but the litigious propensities of the Chapter ruined three successive sets of adventurers before it was completed. When it rose—smart, white, and uniform—from the muddy waters of the Seine, it attracted at once a portion of the richer classes of the metropolis; for the fear of malaria had not yet begun to remove the habitations of the wealthy from the river borders,—those favourite haunts of earlier times. But it became especially the headquarters of legal families, by reason of its neighbourhood to the Palais de Justice. The Hotel Bretonvilliers, planted on the eastern extremity of the isle, where the Seine first divides on entering Paris, is termed by Tallemant des Réaux, in an ecstasy of Cockney admiration, 'the 'most finely situated building in the world, after the Seraglio!' The Hotel Lambert, built for a President of that name, dreary and begrimed as its exterior now appears, contains within, a perfect treasury of curiosities for those fond of the details of social life long since departed. Under a succession of rich and fashionable owners, it received nearly all the literature and art of Paris for a century, down to Voltaire and his Marchioness. There is a world of Parisian art half choked in its venerable dust—ceilings by Lebrun and Lesueur, (though his finest paintings have been removed;) architectural details by Levau, sculptures of François Perier—but all is decayed, and with difficulty preserved from imminent collapse. It stands a vast ruin in a decayed quarter. Dyers and Printers seem now the most numerous occupants of the Isle St Louis; and it wears the singular aspect of a French provincial town of the dullest class, inserted, as it were, bodily into the centre of the turbulent metropolis.

The Orleans Regency saw the birth of the Quarter de la

Chausseé d'Antin; of which the four or five well-known streets have more abundant and more various history to record, than any similar spot in Europe of the same age. Before 1720, a marshy, uneven, ill kept up cross-road, conducted from the Boulevards to the scattered fields of Clichy and Les Porcherons, on the north-west of Paris. It was the popular line of communication with suburbs singularly rich in *guinguettes*, rural taverns, and a variety of retreats abundantly frequented by the fashionable youth of that moral epoch. *On y allait gris, on en revenait ivre.* On Sundays, half the idle population of Paris turned out in the same direction. The fields were especially thronged with parties of the military and their female companions. If there was a marked absence at the evening muster, of the Dragons de la Reine or the Gardes-Suisses, it was only necessary to march a patrole across the common-fields of the Porcherons, and soldiers were gathered in abundance. But, on week-days, more fashionable visitors were supposed to throng the dirty lane from the Porte Gaillon to the same village. Many a squalid hackney-coach was suspected of conveying a load of rank and beauty to some mysterious rendezvous. Many times aristocratic rapiers were crossed against the blades of plebeian intruders in out-of-the-way corners; for, 'tous les vilains,' as St Simon condescendingly observes, 'n'ont pas toujours peur.' Where the Rue de la Chausseé d'Antin now crosses the Rue de Provence stood, in those days, a rickety bridge across the sewer or Ruisseau de Ménilmontant: it was called the Pont d'Arcans. Here it was that the Comte de Fiesque (*le petit bon* of Madame de Sévigné) encountered M. de Tallard, each having a fair friend in his company; but Madame de Lionne and Mademoiselle d'Arquien threw themselves between the combatants like the Sabines of old, and they parted, each exchanging a cursory embrace with the lady who did not belong to him.

In 1720 the municipality was authorised to open a new street along this popular line of road; and the ground on each side was rapidly occupied by suburban hermitages, succeeded in their turn by gay hotels. It has had a greater succession of names than any other in fickle Paris. It was first Rue de la Chaussée Gaillon; then De l'Hotel Dieu, (from passing over some ground belonging to that foundation;) then De la Chaussée d'Antin. This name it derived from the Hotel d'Antin, the celebrated residence of the well-known voluptuary, the Duke de Richelieu; which stood, and still stands, we believe, near the southern side of the Boulevard, facing the entrance of the street;—commonly called Pavillon de Hanovre, because the funds for its con-

struction were said to have been mainly drawn from the pockets of the people of Hanover during the Duke's military occupation of the Electorate. Under this name the street rose and throve; at first as a street of a certain fashion, though of a rather equivocal description; from which position it grew by degrees into the choice seat of commercial opulence and lettered dignity; and ultimately into the headquarters of the transitory aristocracy of the Empire. Here was the hotel of Madame Montesson, who attained the honour of marrying a Prince of the Blood. Here lived Madame Recamier. It was in the same street that the fair Guimard raised herself an enchanted palace, with the money of her sultan-like adorer the Prince de Soubise. But *le squelette des graces* was better skilled in ruining Princes than enriching herself. She sold her hotel by lottery. It was won by the Countess Dulau, who sold it to Perregaux the banker, for 500,000 francs. Here Perregaux' daughter was married to Marmont; and Perregaux'clerk, Jacques Laffitte, laid the foundation of the fortune which furnished the sinews of war in those memorable days which ruined both Marmont and himself. The glory of the hotel is departed; the bank subsists, but the residence is gone; and we rather think that an apothecary's shop occupies the front of the temple of the hooped and powdered Terpsichore.

In 1791 the street took the name of Mirabeau, who lodged in it, at No. 42. It was from hence that one hundred thousand mourners escorted the corpse of the mighty demagogue to St Geneviève. In 1793, the memory of Mirabeau was already proscribed; his ashes were banished from the Pantheon; and the street took the name of Mont Blanc, the Republic having recently taken the trouble of annexing Savoy to its dominions. It was under this name that it shared so largely in the glories of the Empire. Madame Tallien, (afterwards more uneasily lodged as Princess de Chimay, among the dowagers of the Faubourg St Germain,) Madame Recamier, Cardinal Fesch, and others, shed a brief lustre on its annals. Next to Fesch lived Ney, and afterwards Caulaincourt; and next again Sebastiani. But 1815 came, and swept away the name of Mont Blanc, and the fortunes and glories of the age of Napoleon. The street resumed its ante-revolutionary title. It struggled with decaying prosperity against the tide of fashion, which gradually drifted the monied aristocracy into more distant quarters; and, unlike its sister streets of the neighbourhood, 1830 brought it no relief, either in change of name or change of circumstances. Vulgar commerce has invaded it—upstart omnibuses have replaced the equipages of old times—it is become already a modern antique;—

the deserted metropolis of M. Scribe, which still seems to the imagination peopled with wealthy financiers, their sentimental ladies and interesting secretaries, magnanimous colonels of the Empire, rich uncles in *ailes de pigeon*, and cravats of the fashion of the Directory, and all the other *dramatis personæ* of that amusing Vaudeville-world which was the delight of our youth.

The streets immediately adjoining, partake of the same character; the whole quarter is full of memorials of the very quintessence of recent history. Other districts have monopolized more of aristocratic dignity and dulness: the very life of the world has pulsated in these narrow avenues. Where the street just described abuts to the north on the Rue St Lazare, stood a well-known tavern, famous in the bacchanalian stanzas of Vadé, and his brother poets, under the name of the cabaret Ramponneau;—celebrated, also, for the visits paid it occasionally by personages scarcely to be expected in a cabaret; where, as some strange rumours say, Madame de Genlis herself, more than once, in frolicsome disguise, shared in the revelry of lackeys and Gardes Suisses. Close by, enveloped in its discreet shrubbery, stood the Pavillon de Fronsac, another residence of the Marshal Duke of Richelieu, whose name is almost as intimately connected with the history of modern Paris as that of the Cardinal. This pavilion became, under the Consulate, the retreat of the beautiful Creole, Madame Hamelin,—the Queen of fashion for a short season; and who may be said to have had the honour of co-operating with Napoleon in reducing the wild exuberance of the Republic to decency and order. Under her soft influence, the orgies of Madame Tallien and her contemporaries, gave place to the rather stiffly brilliant style of the Napoleonic era. In her reign the contre-danse returned, and the epoch of the waltz began. Although satirists were not wanting—although some coarse rivals insinuated that the fair West Indian disseminated *des miasmes de négresse*, and others would compare her features to those of Rustan, the Emperor's Mameluke—yet her triumph was complete: contractors and marshals—the demigods of the day—Ouvrard, Perregaux, Montholon, Moreau, sighed at her feet; and rumour, for a moment, whispered unutterable things of Cæsar himself: it then died away, and, with its decay, soon ended Madame Hamelin's ephemeral reign. Her pavilion is still preserved by its owner, the Duchess of Vicenza, amidst the general demolition which has taken place of the suburban habitations of this quarter; most of which were erected either by ladies of the opera or financiers. 'Tivoli,' once so well known to idlers in Paris, situated close to the northern end of the Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, was originally the garden of one of these

favourites of fortune, the farmer-general La Bouxière, who spent enormous sums on its construction.

The Rue Laffitte, hard by, was originally christened Rue d'Artois in 1770; in honour of the ill-fated prince whom, after sixty agitated years, Laffitte was to drive from the throne. While the street was still fresh in the glory of its white unmeaning façades, one Cérutti, a Piedmontese, took a lodging in an entresol. He had been a Jesuit; had written in defence of the Jesuits, and made noise enough in their cause to get his book condemned to the flames by the parliament of Paris. But times were altered: disappointments in love and politics had turned the ex-Jesuit into a democrat; and Cérutti soon set up a revolutionary Journal—*La Feuille Villageoise.* Mirabeau and Talleyrand were his chief Contributors. The Journal succeeded; Cérutti pronounced Mirabeau's funeral oration; and these services to the nation secured for him the most evanescent of French honours. The name of Cérutti was substituted for d'Artois. At the end of the street rose the magnificent Hotel Thélusson—a residence of the Genevese banker, the patron of Necker; whose fortune and less ambitious popularity survived those of his more celebrated junior partner. This was such a palace as might have been built out of Sèvres china, to be inhabited by shepherds and lap-dogs, *à la Louis XV.* In the short interval of wild bacchanalian excitement which followed the downfall of Robespierre—when the violently-repressed habits of a licentious age and people burst furiously forth—it became the headquarters of the luxury of the day. The Hotel d'Augny, in the same neighbourhood, (afterwards the residence of M. Aguado,) had been the scene of the first *Bals à la Victime.* But the *Bals Thélusson* surpassed even the *noctes Neronis jam medias,*—the Luxembourg festivals of Barras. Here was the rendezvous of the *Incroyables* and *Merveilleuses.* While Madame Tallien, the Princess of the Luxembourg, affected the Roman style and costume,—descending even to the stockingless simplicity of classical times, the rival salon of Madame Thélusson was peopled by *Athéniennes,* equally undressed, and less ornamented. But all the wit and talent of the day frequented it, with one remarkable exception—Madame de Staël did not appear there: pride, on one side or the other, banished the daughter of the junior partner from the drawing-room of the widow of his quondam associate.

Here it was that Buonaparte first dreamed of fashionable life. The young, unpolished, but all-observing provincial lieutenant, living in his quiet lodgings of the Rue du Mail, after the *Comité de Salut Public* had turned him out of active employment,

upon his refusal to serve in La Vendée, met Madame Beauharnais in this society, on which we may imagine him to have looked with a kind of envious admiration. However this may be, he and his family evinced a marked partiality for the Chaussée d'Antin. After his conquest of the Sections, he removed to a charming little house hard by, in the Rue Chantereine—now, in his honour, Rue de la Victoire—where he lived until the hour arrived for his occupying the palaces of the Bourbons. Murat took the Hotel Thélusson. Not long after he left it, it fell into the hands of a spirit congenial with his own—an army tailor. M. Berchut had made a fortune by selling uniforms, in days when their first owners seldom had the good luck to wear them out. He invested it in building speculations. He demolished the celebrated hotel, with its arcades, gardens, artificial rocks, and all the recollections that belonged to the spot—and the street became dull and uniform as any of its white, flat-faced neighbours. But its political destinies were not accomplished. Here lived Jacques Laffitte. Hither, on the 29th July 1830, when the battle was wellnigh decided, flocked the courtiers of his provisional majesty, the populace, who seemed on the eve of a definite reinstatement in his anarchical rights. The sordid intriguer, the waiter on Providence, the timid capitalist who sought protection rather than promotion, crowded these approaches, now so solitary, with eager advice and covert solicitations. It was a trembling and undignified assemblage; for the result of affairs out of doors yet hung in the balance; the fear of being too late was in ludicrous conflict with that of being too early: at any moment, a few files of infantry might direct their steps towards the Rue d'Artois, become the focus of insurrection—and then the game was up. It is due to the worthy banker to say, that he stood firm, as became the representative of the great monied interest, in this its crowning struggle against feudality. M. Louis Blanc assures us, that on one occasion the sound of musketry in the neighbourhood actually cleared the hotel of all its visitors: it proved to be only the discharge in the air of a regiment fraternizing with the mob; but Laffitte remained at his post, and profited by the interval to get his sore leg dressed. One by one the guests returned, and complete triumph was announced by an unerring prognostic—the arrival of Talleyrand. Did it occur to the veteran to remember the meetings at his friend Cérutti's, and the *Feuille Villageoise*, and the concoction, forty years before, of the first act of the drama still in course of performance?

Laffitte was ruined by this revolution, as is well known. His hotel was repurchased for him by subscription; and an inscrip-

tion on the front long recorded the fact to passers-by. It has now been removed into the court-yard. Surely it was not a thing to be ashamed of. The genius of finance, however, has not quite abandoned its favourite quarter. M. Rothschild still lives in the 'Rue Laffitte;' and now and then illumines the quarter with a splendour of hospitality which reduces the Christendom of Paris to envy and despair.

As for the Rue Chantereine, or de la Victoire, its fates have been even more strangely checkered than those of its neighbours. Its early days formed a fit prelude to its coming history; for it was scarcely built when the two heroes of modern quackery, Cagliostro and Mesmer, did it the honour of making it the scene of their oracles—precursors of performers on a larger scale. For here Napoleon married Josephine, and became through her the owner of the pretty hotel, No. 6, which she had bought of Talma the actor: it had been built for the unfortunate Condorcet. Alas! the trumpet of fame has long been silenced in the Street of Victory, and its dreams of departed glory are only broken by the profane sound of Messrs Herz's pianofortes, which jangle perpetual discord, from one of its finest hotels of financial renown. But hard by, in the Place St George, dwells the last political illustrator of the quarter. Where could M. Thiers be lodged better—in those leisure intervals of his life which are so usefully spent when excluded from the *Hotel des Affaires Etrangères*—than here, amid the manes of the Empire; like Gibbon, breathing the inspiration of his subject in the ruined circle of the Coliseum?

Yet we must not leave this once celebrated quarter without noticing the frail link which still connects it with the living world of 1846. The streets and modern church of Notre Dame de Lorette, are worth a great deal more to the modern Parisian, than all the remembrances which cling round the thresholds of Napoleon and his Marshals. Here, at the extremity of the Rue Laffitte, close to the noise and vulgarity of the Faubourg Montmartre, and under the immediate presidency of M. Thiers, rises a new and neat little district, peopled by all the anomalous world which pertains to the opera and the public exhibitions; and by that seductive and interesting class of the population to whom M. Nestor Roqueplan first gave the name of *Lorettes*. In this coquettish little Church of Notre Dame, gilt like the back of a book, with its soft carpets and sweet perfumes, the theatrical Parisian may admire the velvet *prie-Dieus* of the Elslers, the Dumilâtres, and other attractions. La Guimard and La Duthé, the ancient divinities of the district, have been replaced by goddesses no less ethereal.

But we are trespassing far beyond the bounds of our sober antiquarianism. We have been dreaming of old Paris, in the middle of a world too active and awake to suit with the temper of such reveries. The endeavour to fix the attention on the past has even something painful, and out of place, in full view of a present so busy and changeful as ours. Centuries of stationary ease, or slow advance, seem those in which the spirit of man most fitly addresses itself to look backward, and to indulge in historical inquiry. Now, when we are plainly commencing an era of changes in the fortunes of our race, the speculator who turns round to contemplate the past vicissitudes of things, seems almost like the man who should busy himself in meditating and recounting the dreams of the night, at his entrance on a day of active and brilliant exertion. New Paris, the centre of a great kingdom, with its lines of railway connexion, will outgrow the limits of the city of our day, ten times more rapidly than the existing city has swelled beyond the old boundary of the Romans in their palisaded island. The dense centre will be cleared out; whole quarters of the city of Philip le Bel will be swept away, to make elbow-room for the new generation; while the displaced mass is spread far and wide over the plains, which seem to invite its dispersion. The fortifications of 1841, constructed on the principle of 'keeping the '*outer enceinte* at a distance from the city, properly so called,' will become Boulevards in their turn; and the fashion of some future age will make its promenades of those specimens of the wisdom of the first Orleans reign. All this seems to stand plainly written in the earliest half-open pages of the book of the future; but how much uncertainty, in the mean time, involves the moral and intellectual prospects of the great people whose coming generations are to profit by this vast extension of civilisation!

ART. III.—1. *The Local Taxes of the United Kingdom; containing a Digest of the Law, with a Summary of Statistical Information, concerning the several Local Taxes in England, Scotland, and Ireland.* Published under the direction of the POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS. 8vo. London: 1846.

2.—*Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Burdens affecting Real Property, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before the said Committee.* Session 1846.

MANY causes have, in this country, combined to concentrate public attention upon the taxes levied and expended by the General government, and to divert it from the Local taxes. Not only is the amount of the general taxes larger, but it is looked at in the aggregate. Every body knows that the public revenue of the kingdom amounts to about fifty millions a-year. The expenditure, too, involves many of those national interests, and political questions, which occupy the chief attention of the statesman, and decide the movements of parties and the fate of ministries. The conduct of wars, military and naval establishments, the defence of the country, the maintenance of the Sovereign, the salaries and pensions of ministers of state, the rewards of great men; these, and other similar questions, are intimately connected with the expenditure of the general taxes. Both their levy, moreover, and their expenditure, are under the direct control of Parliament; all the decisions relating to them are made upon the immediate responsibility of the government, and are subjected to parliamentary discussion. On the other hand, the local taxation is not only less in amount, but it is rarely viewed in the aggregate. In general, it is known merely by some fractional part. We either hear of the total amount of the poor's rate, or the highway rate, or the county rate, in England, or Scotland, or Ireland; or, what is more common, of the amount of one of these taxes in a single parish. No attempt, in as far as we know, was made to procure an authentic account of the total amount of the local taxes of the United Kingdom, until the last session of Parliament; and even now, nothing can be obtained but an imperfect estimate. There are no means at present of laying before Parliament an account of the actual receipt and expenditure of the local taxes. As to their expenditure, although it relates to important national interests, (such as the punishment and prosecution of offenders, the relief of the poor, the maintenance of roads and bridges, and the repair of churches,) the mode of its administration nevertheless withdraws

it from public notice. Instead of its application being decided by Parliamentary grants, and the debates being reported daily in the newspapers, the expenditure of the local taxes is managed by small bodies of magistrates, guardians, parish-vestries, surveyors, &c., whose proceedings are rarely known beyond the circle of their respective neighbourhoods. The salaries paid out of the local taxes are also petty in their amount, and received by obscure functionaries. Lastly, there is no public department having a general control over the local taxes, and charged with the duty of reporting upon them periodically, for the information of the legislature.

Since the establishment of the Poor-Law Commission, however, full accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the poor's rate—the largest of the local taxes in England—have been annually presented to Parliament. Moreover, in 1843, the Poor-Law Commissioners made a Report upon the local taxation of England, containing a complete statement of the law relating to this extensive subject, together with a summary of all the accessible statistical information. The materials contained in this Report have been arranged in a more commodious form, and the statement of the law has been brought down to the end of 1845, in the publication authorized by the same Commissioners, the title of which is prefixed to this article. In this volume are likewise contained, accounts of the local taxes of Scotland and Ireland, as well as of England.

A select committee of the House of Lords, appointed at the beginning of last session, to inquire into the burdens affecting real property, received much evidence upon the incidence and effects of the local taxes; and upon this evidence Lord Monteagle contributed a very valuable comment, which was subsequently printed as a separate Parliamentary Paper. [No. 449, sess. 1846.]

From the materials thus collected, we propose, first, to give a concise account of the local taxes of England, Scotland, and Ireland,—showing their number, the purposes to which they are applicable, the property on which they are incident, and their annual amount; as well as the principles on which they are founded, and the reasons for distinguishing them from the general taxes. We will afterwards examine the objections which have been made—particularly within the last few years—to the justice of the principle on which they are assessed; and will consider the proposals for the alteration of that principle, by extending the basis of their incidence.

By *local taxes* we understand taxes levied for a specified purpose, within a defined district, and expended by public officers whose functions are limited to that district.

As so understood, the local taxes of the United Kingdom fall into two classes, viz.—1. *rates* raised in defined districts; and, 2. *tolls*, *dues*, and *fees*, paid for particular services, or on certain occasions.

With regard to these two classes, the incidence of the first professes to be determined by the *ability to pay*, while that of the latter is regulated by the *benefit received*. 'In the levy of a *rate*, 'the tax-payer is called upon to contribute to a general fund, on 'account of his possession or occupation of certain kinds of pro-'perty within a defined district,—the amount of his contribution 'being proportioned to the value of the property. In other words, 'the ability to pay, as arising from such property, constitutes both 'the foundation of the liability and the measure of its extent. 'But when the tax assumes the shape of a *fee* or *toll*, it is de-'manded of the tax-payer without regard to his ability to pay it, 'in consideration of his receiving some advantage, for which it 'serves as the equivalent. The purposes attained by means of 'highway rates and turnpike tolls are precisely similar; but in 'the one case, the burden of maintaining the roads falls on the 'occupiers of property in the district, according to their ability 'as derived from that property; in the other, it falls on the par-'ticular individuals who actually experience the benefit, and who 'are required to pay certain sums on the specific occasions of their 'doing so.' *

Beginning with ENGLAND, the principal local rates are,—

1. The county and borough rates.
2. The poor's rate.
3. The highway rate.
4. The church rate.

Besides these, there are the sewers' rate, and the lighting and watching rate, with some other rates of minor importance.

Of these rates, the *county rate* is applicable to the erection and repair of county prisons, the payment of the prison officers, the expenses of prisoners, the costs of prosecuting offenders and of coroners' inquests, the payments to special constables and the costs of a county police, the maintenance of county bridges, the repair of shire-halls and judges' lodgings, the erection and maintenance of lunatic asylums, together with some other purposes.

The *borough rate* is applicable to the expenses of municipal government, such as the salaries of the borough officers, and to the expenses of criminal jurisdiction, similar to those defrayed out of the county rate.

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* *Local Taxes of the United Kingdom*, p. 182.

The *poor's rate* is applicable to the relief of the poor, including the expenses of valuations for the poor rate, of removals, and their attendant litigation, and of pauper emigration. The expenses of the act for the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, of gratuitous vaccination, and of the census of the population, are also charged upon the poor rate, together with some other miscellaneous expenses wholly unconnected with the relief of the poor. It is to be observed, that the county and borough rate are in general paid out of the sum *levied* as poor's rate; so that the latter sum is always considerably larger than the sum *expended* for the relief of the poor.

The *highway rate*, as its name indicates, is expended on the repair of highways, and the payment of the salaries of surveyors; while the *church rate* is applicable to the repair and enlargement of churches, and to the furnishing of articles required for the service of the church, such as a communion table, bread and wine for the Lord's Supper, a bible and prayer-book, &c.

The other class of local taxes leviable in England consists of—

1. *Turnpike tolls*, levied upon certain roads which are placed under trustees appointed by local Acts of Parliament, and are not repaired out of the highway rate.

2. *Borough tolls*, levied in boroughs, and applicable to the general purposes of the borough fund.

3. *Light dues and port dues*; taxes levied on shipping, for defraying the expenses of lighthouses, and of the maintenance and management of harbours.

4. *Church dues and fees*, payable to the church on the performance and registration of the ecclesiastical rites of marriage, baptism, and burial.

5. *Marriage and registration fees*, payable to the civil registrar.

6. *Justiciary fees*, payable to clerks of the peace and clerks to justices.

It is a general characteristic of the local taxes, that they are levied for specified purposes, and are not applicable indiscriminately to the objects of local government. For example, the purposes to which the county rate, the poor's rate, the highway rate, or the church rate, can be applied, are defined by law; and although it sometimes happens, (as in the case of the county rate and poor's rate,) that these purposes are numerous, and of a miscellaneous character, nevertheless the rate, when levied, is only legally applicable to one of the enumerated objects. One effect of this arrangement is, that the rate-payer can follow the application of the money which he pays, and thus acquires a

stronger interest in watching over its administration. Thus, if a rate-payer is called upon for a larger amount of poor's rate, or highway rate, he knows that the relief of the poor, or the maintenance of the highways has become more costly. On the other hand, the objections of peculiar persons, or classes of persons, to the *purpose* of a rate, may lead to difficulties in its collection, which would not exist if the rate, like the Queen's taxes, was collected for the general and indefinite purposes of the government. For example, a Quaker who refuses to pay church rate without compulsion, nevertheless pays stamp duty, or postage duty voluntarily; although these taxes are applicable (among other expenses) to the maintenance of a fleet and army, and indeed to some ecclesiastical purposes.

We proceed next to state the total amounts, of the several local taxes, from the best and latest data which are accessible. It should, however, be observed, that the only local taxes of which there are regular annual returns, are the county and borough rate, the poor's rate, and the turnpike tolls:—

Relief of poor, (1845.)	L.5,039,703
Miscellaneous purposes defrayed out of poor's rate,	537,737
County and borough rate, (1845,)	1,279,962
Highway rate,	1,312,812
Church rate,	506,812
Sewers' rate, (metropolis,)	82,097
Rest of country,	unknown
Lighting and watching rate,	unknown
Total of rates in England,	L.8,759,123
Turnpike tolls,	L.1,348,084
Borough tolls,	378,011
Light dues,	257,776
Port dues,	554,645
Justiciary fees,	68,725
Other miscellaneous fees,	unknown
Total of Tolls, &c., in England,	L.2,607,241

Adding these two classes of local taxes together, we obtain the following result:—

Rates,	L.8,759,123
Tolls, dues, and fees,	2,607,241
Total local taxes in England,	L.11,366,364

The local taxes of SCOTLAND fall under four heads, viz., those

applicable to the administration of justice, the internal transit, the relief of the poor, and the church and education—to which may be added the light dues. From the best account of these which can be obtained, their total amount is L.956,678 a-year; but this sum is far from complete.

The principal local tax of IRELAND is the county rate, or grand jury cess, applicable to nearly the same purposes as the county rate in England; viz. prisons and prison expenses, court-houses, and salaries to county offices. The Irish county cess is, however, applicable to the repair of roads as well as bridges; whereas, in England, there is a distinct rate for the maintenance of highways. The entire expenses of the police (about L.450,000 a-year) were, in the last session, transferred to the consolidated fund; previously, one-half had been borne by the county cess. The other local taxes, as they are enumerated, with their latest ascertained amounts, in the following table, need no explanation:—

	Date.	
Grand jury cess,	1845	L.1,149,923
Poor's rate,	1845	316,026
Lighting and Watching rate,	1845	7,139
Borough rate,	1844	7,946
Parish cess,	1832	23,319
Ministers' money,	1831	11,449
Rates under special acts in Dublin and other towns,	1844-6	116,013
Turnpike tolls,	1829-31	47,580
Light dues,	1843	53,335
Port dues,	1844	98,554
Total,		L.1,831,287

Putting together the total amount of the local taxes for each portion of the United Kingdom, we obtain the following result:—

England,	L.11,366,364
Scotland,	956,678
Ireland,	1,831,287
Total,	L.14,154,329

This sum, however, is still incomplete, and the entire local taxation of the United Kingdom may be safely stated, in round numbers, at L.15,000,000 a-year. Now, the general public expenditure, exclusive of the national debt, does not amount to L.21,000,000 a-year; so that the present amount of the local taxes, is nearly three-fourths of that portion of the public expen-

diture which is within the control of parliament—including even the civil list and other fixed charges. The public revenue of Prussia—a first-rate European power—does not amount to L.19,500,000; out of which sum it maintains, during peace, a standing army of above 250,000 men.

In order to illustrate the comparative pressure of the county rate and poor's rate in England, in successive years, we annex two tables, exhibiting the total sum levied for these two rates,—the sum expended for the relief of the poor, and the ratio of each to the population, in the years 1803, 1813, 1821, and 1831; and in the years from 1834—the year of the passing of the Poor-law Amendment Act—up to the present time.

Accounts showing the amount of money levied for Poor's rates and County rates, and the amount expended for the relief and maintenance of the poor in England and Wales, during each of the following years, with the rate per head of such levy and expenditure on the population.

Years ended Lady-Day.	Population of England and Wales in 1801, 1811, 1821, & 1831.	Levied for Poor's rates and County rates.	Ratio per head on the population.	Expended for the relief and maintenance of the poor.	Ratio per head on the population.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1803	8,872,980	5,348,205	12 0¾	4,077,891	9 2¼
1813	10,150,615	8,646,841	17 0½	6,656,106	13 1½
1821	11,978,785	8,411,893	14 0½	6,959,251	11 7½
1831	13,897,187	8,279,218	11 11	6,798,889	9 9½

Years ended Lady-Day.	Estimated population for the middle of each year.	Levied for Poor's rates and County rates.	Ratio per head on the population.	Expended for the relief and maintenance of the poor.	Ratio per head on the population.
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1834	14,372,000	8.338,079	11 7¼	6,317,255	8 9½
1835	14,564,000	7,373,807	10 1½	5,526,418	7 7
1836	14,758,000	6,354,538	8 7½	4,717,630	6 4¾
1837	14,955,000	5,294,566	7 0¾	4,044,741	5 5
1838	15,155,000	5,186,389	6 10¼	4,123,604	5 5¼
1839	15,357,000	5,613,938	7 3¾	4,406,907	5 8¾
1840	15,562,000	6,014,605	7 8¾	4,576,965	5 10½
1841	15,770,000	6,351,828	8 0¾	4,760,929	6 0½
1842	15,981,000	6,552,890	8 2½	4,911,498	6 1¾
1843	16,194,000	7,085,595	8 9	5,208,027	6 5¼
1844	16,410,000	6,847,205	8 4¼	4,976,093	6 0¾
1845	16,629,000	6,791,006	8 2	5,039,703	6 0¾

From these tables it will be seen, that the total burden of the county rate and poor's rate of England, measured by the population,

was, in 1845, less than half its burden in 1813, as measured by the same test; and that the expenditure for the relief of the poor, tried by the same test, was about half the expenditure in 1813 and 1821. The ratio of the expenditure for the relief of the poor to the population was, in 1834, 8s. 9½d.; in 1837, 5s. 5d.; and in 1845, 6s. 0¼d. The county rate expenditure has risen, during the last half century, more than that for the relief of the poor. In the year 1792, the county rate expenditure is stated to have been L.222,628; in the year 1844, it was L.1,071,062. The increase of late years has likewise been considerable; at a period when the poor's relief expenditure has been stationary or diminishing. The payments for county and borough rates, which amounted only to L.604,203 in the year 1837, have, in the year 1845, reached the sum of L.1,279,962; that is to say, they have more than doubled in the last eight years.

Such being the amount of the local taxation of the United Kingdom, and such its importance, we have next to consider what objections are made to the justice and soundness of the principles upon which it is levied; and whether these objections rest on a solid basis.

The general policy of that portion of the local taxes which falls under the denomination of *tolls*, *dues*, and *fees*, has not often been called in question. As these payments are made as a sort of remuneration, for a benefit enjoyed or a service rendered, their incidence is usually considered equitable; yet the manner in which the turnpike tolls are raised is open to serious objections; and the pressure of this latter impost was so severely felt in South Wales a few years ago, that it gave rise to a formidable agrarian insurrection, which was only quelled by an alteration of the law, and a mitigation of the tolls.

It is, however, the other portion of the local taxes—that consisting of the *rates*—of which the policy and justice are most frequently called in question. The local rates levied in the United Kingdom do not fall short of L.11,000,000 a-year; of which sum nearly L.9,000,000 is levied in England alone. Let us now consider whether the incidence of these rates is consistent with sound principles of taxation.

The local rates of England are levied exclusively on *real* property. The rules for their imposition vary in some respects for the different rates; but it may be stated generally, that they are not levied on any sort of personal property, either vested or circulating, and that they fall exclusively on *real* property; although there are some sorts of real property—such as mineral mines, growing timber, and the class of hereditaments called in law *incorporeal*—which are not rateable.

The rate is in general assessed upon the occupier, not the owner; and it is assessed upon the net annual letting value of the tenement. It is therefore a tax on rent: in the case of *land*, it falls ultimately on the landlord; in the case of *houses*, where the rent is a mere remuneration for the cost of production, it probably falls on the occupier, and increases the annual cost of his house. The case of *tithes* is, however, different. The entire tithe, with certain limited deductions, including the cost of collection, is rated,—inasmuch as it is considered in the light of a net rent arising from land.

Real property, the subject of rating, includes not only land under cultivation, and tithe, but also houses and buildings of all sorts, coal-mines, quarries, wharfs, canals, railways, gas-pipes, and all other things yielding a profit, and permanently attached to the soil. It is therefore a mistake to suppose that the local rates fall exclusively on what is commonly termed the *landed interest*. All houses in town and country—all manufactories and buildings used in manufacturing and mining processes—are rated according to their annual letting value. The proportion which these latter classes of property bears to land is considerable, and it increases annually with the progress of improvement. Every new railway, dock, or similar public work, which is constructed, adds to the rateable property of the country, and in the parishes which are concerned in the improvement, shares the burdens which had been previously borne by the mere land. The opposition, as respects the incidence of the rates, is not between *agriculture* and *trade*, or between *town* and *country*, but between *real* and *personal* property.

The local rates may thus be described, generally, as taxes on the rent of real property. They are not an *income tax*, because they bear no relation to the amount of a person's income, so far as it is derived from professional services or the profits of trade. They are not a *property tax*, because they are not levied on money invested, or funded property. But they are imposed on real property, which may be made the subject of lease: and they are assessed upon that property, in proportion to the net rent which it would fetch in the market.

It is true that, according to the Act of 43 Eliz., as construed by the Courts at the beginning of the last century, inhabitants were held to be rateable for their *stock in trade*, which is *personal* property. This rateability, however, was subject to numerous limitations and exceptions: it applied only to residents, it did not extend to all trades; it was subject to a deduction for debts; and altogether the practical and legal difficulty of enforcing it was so great, that it was only introduced in a few parishes, and never had

a general operation. It is further to be observed, that only the stock of the *tradesman* or *artificer* was held to be rateable. *Farmer's* stock was from the beginning declared by the Courts not to be the subject of rating.

The principle upon which the poor's rate in Ireland is assessed, introduced by the Act of 1838, was borrowed from the English law. The Irish county cess is likewise levied exclusively upon real property.

The local rates of Scotland are not considerable in amount; the assessments for the poor in 1841 were only L.129,335. The latter rate, according to the recent act for amending the poor-law, (8 and 9 Vict. c. 83,) may be either assessed upon the annual net rent of lands and heritages within the parish exclusively, or partly upon the rent of land, and partly upon the *means and substance*—*i. e.* the income—of the inhabitants. This act, therefore, so far as it goes, retains the pre-existing practice, by which, in certain towns and parishes, the assessment for the poor was partly levied upon the principle of an *income tax.*

To the system of local taxation just described, the principal objections appear to be twofold:—

1. That the local rates are, to a great extent, taxes on the *rent of land,* and therefore inexpedient.

2. That they are exclusively assessed on *real* property; and do not comprehend the annual proceeds of money and other *personal* property.

1. The objection to the local rates, on the ground that they consist to a great extent of taxes on the *rent of land,* is made by Mr M'Culloch in his *Treatise on Taxation,* where he has discussed the subject at considerable length. His views are summed up in the following passage:—'Notwithstanding the 'low rate at which rents have been usually valued in assess-'ments for the poor, and other local burdens, the influence of 'the latter in discouraging improvements has been dwelt upon 'by all agricultural writers from Arthur Young downwards; 'and, conjoined with tithe, has been the principal cause of the 'slowness of agricultural improvement in most parts of Eng-'land during the last seventy or eighty years, as compared 'with its progress in Scotland. The more, indeed, that their 'operation is inquired into, the more clearly it will appear that 'taxes proportioned to the rent, or to the net or gross produce 'of the land, are *the bane of every country in which they exist.* 'They never can be otherwise than unequal; and, when carried 'to any considerable height, they hinder the spread of agricul-'tural improvement, and exercise a most pernicious influence 'over the public prosperity.'—(P. 61.)

It is difficult to admit the force of the reasons adduced by Mr M'Culloch, for his general and decisive condemnation of all taxes on the rent of land. That the local rates of England have been at various times and places a heavy burden, cannot be doubted; and that they may have partially retarded the improvement of agriculture, is possible; but they have produced this effect rather by their excess than by their mere incidence—rather as *heavy* taxes, than simply as taxes on *rent*. There is no valid reason for thinking, that a *moderate* tax on the rent of land, is necessarily a bad tax. The best tax which can be devised, would cease to be good if its *amount* was excessive. Mr M'Culloch, on the other hand, approves highly of taxes on the rent of *houses:* these, he thinks, 'are among the least 'exceptionable that can be devised,' (p. 69;) 'they are every 'where reckoned among the least questionable modes in which 'a revenue can be raised,' (p. 74;) and he considers the abolition of the late house tax 'as an ill-advised concession to vulgar 'and unfounded clamour,' (p. 70.) It is not clear what grounds exist for drawing so broad a distinction between taxes on the rent of land, and taxes on the rent of houses; or for holding the former to be among the worst and the latter among the best means of raising a revenue. If taxes on the rent of land discourage the application of capital to farming, and the improvement of husbandry, do not taxes on the rent of houses equally discourage building, and deteriorate the dwellings of the people? In many cases, according to the English law of rating, it is impossible to distinguish between the rate on the land, and the rate on the house: a farm-house, for example, is valued to the poor's-rate together with the farm; it is considered as constituting, together with the other improvements of the land, an integral part of the annual value of the tenement; according to the same principle as that adopted by the landlord and tenant in agreeing upon the *rent*.

2. The objection to the system of local taxation on the ground of the rates falling exclusively on *real* property, and not including *personalty*, is not only more current, but more powerful.* It must be admitted that these taxes do not comply with the first of Adam Smith's canons, viz. that each person's contribution to the revenue shall be as nearly as possible in

* See the evidence of the Rev. R. Jones, No. 4874, before the Lords' Committee on the burdens on real property. Compare the remarks on this subject in Sir R. Peel's speech in introducing the commercial measures of 1846. (27 Jan. 83 Hansard 270-6.)

proportion to his ability. Inasmuch as the contribution is in proportion, not to the entire sum of a person's means, but to that portion of them which consists in visible real property, it fulfils this condition but imperfectly. And this objection derives additional strength from the magnitude of the sum which is thus raised. There is no apparent reason why nearly L.11,000,000 sterling should be raised annually in the United Kingdom for the relief of destitution, the repression of crime, the maintenance of highways and bridges, the paving of streets, and the repair of churches, from the holders of real property, without any contribution from the holders of personal property. These, it is said, are purposes of general utility, to which fund-holders, jointresses, rent-chargers, and persons having capital employed in banking, commerce, and shipping, as well as persons deriving an income from professional services, ought to contribute a proportional share.

This objection would be unanswerable, if the taxes in question were levied by the *general* government. No valid reason could exist why the entire national expenditure should be defrayed by taxes levied exclusively upon the occupiers of real property. The general government would naturally approximate, as nearly as possible, to a proportionate taxation of the means of each contributor, and would impose a tax on income or on all property indiscriminately. But a local rate cannot be levied on these principles.

In the first place, an assessment of the local rates, upon the principle of an *income tax*, may safely be pronounced impracticable. In order to render a permanent income tax possible, it must be levied on a large scale; the machinery must be skilful, under efficient control, and free from the suspicion of partiality. But the local rates are, for the most part, imposed and levied by unpaid officers, according to a very rude and simple process. Moreover, the rates are made by persons within the parish, whose exercise of such inquisitorial functions as an income tax demands, would be deeply resented; and who, even if really impartial, would certainly be suspected of partiality. The local rates are levied in small sums, and upon occupiers generally; the smallest tenements are liable to the rate, and are in many parishes rated. Who would undertake to make a fair estimate of the incomes of thousands of small shopkeepers, traders, and artizans, in a parish such as Marylebone, Lambeth, Liverpool, Manchester, or Birmingham? At present, all persons are exempted from the income tax whose incomes are less than L.150 a-year. For a general tax, such a rule is quite practicable; but for a local tax, it would be impossible, inasmuch as it would

often throw the entire burden of taxation upon a small minority of the inhabitants of the parish. It should be observed, further, that there is a good ground for the rule laid down by the Courts, that the property to be rated must be *local* and *visible*. When the proceeds of a tax are paid into the general Exchequer, the locality of the property is immaterial. But when the application of the tax is necessarily local, the situation of the property must be taken into account. The principle of the English law is, that every occupier of lands and houses within a parish, is rated for parochial purposes, in proportion to the annual value of those lands or houses. But if a parishioner was rated, not in proportion to his property within the parish, but to his income, the most extraordinary results would be produced. For example, if all the Banks in Lombard Street were rated in proportion, not to their value as houses, but to the income of the Banks, nearly the entire burdens of the parish would probably be defrayed by these few houses, and the rest of the parishioners would escape taxation. Besides, if a person has a large income arising from money vested in the native or foreign funds,—from an estate in the West Indies, or from a mercantile house in Canton,—on what principle is he to be taxed for the benefit of one English parish rather than another? It is true, that the Scotch law, which taxes *means and substance* to the poor's rate, upon the principle of an income tax, attempts to meet the difficulty just pointed out; but the experience of Scotland as to the operation of this mode of local taxation, does not, on account of the limited extent of the assessments, afford any presumption that it could be advantageously introduced into England. For these various reasons, we consider it altogether impossible to levy nine millions a-year in England as a parochial income tax.

If, however, it should be admitted to be impracticable to make the local rates fall equally on all classes of persons, by levying them on the principle of an income tax, it might nevertheless appear possible at least to make them a *property tax;* and so to include money invested in the funds, or real security, shares of companies, &c., as well as the stock of manufacturers, artizans, and farmers. A property tax is, doubtless, more practicable for the purposes of rating than an income tax; but it is nevertheless liable to many of the same objections. The rating of money invested is subject to the difficulty arising from its not being local, which has been already mentioned. Even the rating of a farmer's or trader's stock is, as Mr M'Culloch has shown,* by

* *Treatise on Taxation*, p. 114.

no means an easy task. On the subject of rating stock in trade, we have the benefit of experience to guide us. Although it was decided in 1707, that stock in trade was rateable, no general attempt to rate it was ever made. And when the rateability of stock in trade was solemnly re-affirmed by the Court of Queen's Bench in 1840, Parliament was forced immediately to interfere; and a bill exempting stock in trade from rating has been annually passed since that time.

From these considerations it seems to us to follow, that as long as the rates continue, as they now are, to be parochial taxes, they must be levied on visible property, locally situate within the parish; and that they cannot be assessed on the principle of an income or property tax. While the rates retain their local character, the unfairness, so far as it goes, of exempting personalty, and assessing them exclusively on real property, is inevitable. The local expenditure renders a local assessment necessary; and a local assessment must be limited to property which can be identified locally, and must omit money, which, according to the legal proverb, 'has no earmark.' It may be added, that even if personalty was rateable, the incidence of the local rates upon the different species of property would not be thereby rendered equal. So long as the rates were made by parishes, the burden would not be diffused equally over the whole country. The great masses of personal property are in the towns; and it would be no benefit to a rural parish in Hampshire, or Norfolk, or Cumberland, to know, that the merchants and bankers of London and Liverpool were rated to the poor's rate in proportion to their incomes.

In order, therefore, to tax personalty in equal proportions with real property, for the purposes now defrayed out of the local rates, it would be necessary to abandon the principle of local taxation; and to transfer all this expenditure (which for the United Kingdom may be taken at about 11,000,000 a-year) to the general taxes.

But if a general transfer of this sort was made, the principle of management, by independent local authorities, must at the same time be abandoned. If the general government defrays the expenses, it must control them. The liability to pay must be accompanied by the power of regulating the payment. A local tax, with exclusively central management, and a general tax with exclusively local management, are equally absurd. Mr Coppock, the experienced clerk to the Stockport Board of Guardians, who was examined by the Lords' Committee on local burdens, clearly perceived this consequence. He recommended that the entire expenses of the relief of the poor should

be transferred to the Treasury; but he, at the same time, proposed a plan for abolishing the present local powers, and administering the relief by agents of the central government. We cannot, however, believe that this proposition, so subversive of all the principles upon which the relief of the poor has been always managed in this country, is likely to receive a serious consideration. We will only remark, in reference to it, that if the relief of the poor in England is made a charge upon the national taxation, the measure must be extended to the poor of Scotland and Ireland; and that the relief of the poor of all parts of the United Kingdom must, if managed exclusively by the central government, be administered upon the same principles.

The discussions which have recently taken place upon the law of settlement, have brought into prominent notice the various evils which are produced by the forced removals of the poor; and an opinion is gaining ground, that the only effectual remedy for these evils is to be found in the abolition of all settlement, accompanied by what is termed *a national rate.* By a national rate is meant a tax for the relief of the poor,—not levied by parishes, but imposed equally upon the community at large: it would therefore be equivalent to making the relief of the poor a charge upon the general taxation, and would involve that fundamental change in its administration to which we have above adverted.

An abolition of settlement does not necessarily imply a national rate; although the two propositions are commonly associated, and treated as involving one another.* It would be possible to abolish settlements, and to confer on every poor person a right to relief in the parish where he resides, or where he is at the moment, without extinguishing the parochial liability. But if settlements were abolished, and parochial chargeability were retained, a dangerous power would be given to the poor, of congregating in

* In illustration of the above view, we may refer to a recent resolution of the Board of Guardians of the Walsingham Union, in Norfolk, a copy of which has been circulated in print:—'That it has become essentially necessary that the law of settlement should be done away with altogether, and that the maintenance of the poor should be national and not parochial; and that as labour is the source of all value, and every description of property is made and supported by labour, every description of property should be rated for the maintenance of the poor." See also some similar resolutions of the Guardians of the Basford Union, in Nottinghamshire, printed in the *Justice of the Peace* for 5th December 1846.

bodies, and overwhelming single parishes by their applications. To render the abolition of settlements safe, it would be necessary to make the chargeability at least co-extensive with *unions*. We doubt, however, whether under any circumstances it would not be necessary, even for the protection and advantage of the poor themselves, to retain some settlement founded on residence, at least of a few months. Unless some such rule obtained, the different parishes and unions might vie with one another in giving inadequate relief, for the purpose of driving off the applicants. And thus a measure intended to promote the welfare, and diminish the sufferings of the poor, might end in producing a harsh treatment of the really destitute, and in increasing vagrancy with its attendant mischiefs.

A Parliamentary enquiry into the general operation of the English law of settlement, has been promised by the Government for next session. The subject is one of great complexity and difficulty, and public opinion does not hitherto appear to have fixed itself to any agreement, even upon some of the cardinal points. We trust that the investigation may be conducted with calmness, and in such a manner as to elucidate the question at issue, and to guide the fluctuating judgments of the public. We have, in the preceding remarks, sufficiently expressed our opinion as to the close connexion between a law of settlement, and the principle of local taxation, with respect to the relief of the poor; and we feel satisfied, that unless the present rating districts are considerably enlarged, an entire abolition of settlements and removals of the poor is a change which, however desirable it may be, cannot be safely ventured upon.

ART. IV.—*History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. Ninth Edition. 8vo. Boston: 1841.

History of the Colonization of the United States. By GEORGE BANCROFT. Ninth Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. Boston: 1841.

THE double title-page, as above given, suggests an explanation of the general scheme of Mr Bancroft's History. 'I have,' he says, 'formed the design of writing a history of the United 'States from the Discovery of the American Continent to the 'present time.' But the three volumes published together in 1841, form one complete work; and are what the second title-

page imports—a History of the Colonization by England of the countries now constituting the United States of America. In a notice at the end of the third volume, Mr Bancroft informs us, 'That this volume completes the History of the Coloniza-'tion of the United States. In the arrangement of my subject, 'the great drama of their independence opens with the attempts 'of France and England to carry the peace of Aix la Chapelle 'into effect. Should the propriety of the point of time selected 'for the division be questioned, I will ask for the present a sus-'pension of judgment.'

At this period, the thirteen colonies which afterwards declared and achieved their independence, were all firmly established. The forms of their colonial governments were determined, and the great difficulties which have always attended the first attempts to plant a colony had been happily overcome. The dominion of the metropolis appeared to be paramount and secure—and all struggles against her authority to have ended in a complete submission to her will. The colonial system was elaborately organized, and apparently securely established.

From this time a new order of things was to begin. A great nation had, in fact, been created by the labours of a century. The interference of that country, from which for the most part this new people had issued, now became irksome. All the dangers of colonization being overcome, the scattered offsets from their great parent stem began to regard themselves as one people, having common interests, and common enemies; and among the chief of these last, to consider that distant and haughty metropolis whence they derived their being, their language, and their institutions. The results from this altered condition of their existence, form the subject of the second, and yet unfinished portion of Mr Bancroft's History: and he says—'If my labours 'thus far are accepted by my country, no higher reward can be 'hoped for, than to hear, from the favouring opinion of the peo-'ple, the summons to go forward, and write the history of the 'American Revolution achieved by our fathers, not for them-'selves and their posterity only, but for the world.'

Important as that revolution must ever be considered, and exciting though it must naturally be to an American, still, the early struggles of the colonies for their very existence, is to the general reader the most interesting and suggestive portion of their history. The conquests of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, have indeed a species of marvel and romance attending them, to which the progress of the English upon the more northern portions of the continent offers nothing similar; nevertheless, a far more sustained and a wider interest belongs to the early

fortunes of our countrymen in those inhospitable regions. A blaze of renown surrounded Cortes, and his inferior cotemporary and countryman Pizarro. Enormous wealth at once flowed into the coffers of the Spanish monarch; a vast and fertile territory was quickly added to his dominions; and Spaniards, with their language and their religion, peopled the wide regions which extend from California almost to the southernmost point of South America. But a dark night succeeded this dazzling dawn. Political and religious despotism settled down upon the land—rendering the people unfit to govern themselves, and incapable of a steady obedience to any one else. The great power of Spain, and the great interest felt in the colonies, both by her Kings and by the Nation at large, gave an extraordinary impetus to the peopling of their new possessions in America. Cities arose, magnificent, rich, and for a time thronging with inhabitants, and busy with trade. Splendour and wealth and power attended the fortunate possessors of lands teeming with all the products of an exquisite climate. Convents, churches, and palaces were built, which vied with, if they did not surpass, those of Spain herself. And it seemed as if the Spanish dominion would soon extend from Cape Horn to the North Pole, and give her an overwhelming preponderance not only in America, but the world. But this brilliant and showy system contained within itself a fatal taint,—a certain cause of early and of rapid decline. This deadly disease lurked in the institutions which Spain established in her colonial dominions: it not only destroyed her colonial greatness, but sapped the foundations of her European power; and reduced her, from the towering supremacy which once threatened the whole of Europe as well as America, to that abject and powerless condition which she now exhibits.

The progress of the English colonies affords a striking contrast to all this sudden splendour and rapid decay. Their early struggles, and petty wars, were not for extensive power and almost countless wealth. They landed on a dreary shore, to brave the rigours of a most inhospitable climate, to combat savages as fierce as the clime, and more numerous than the intruders; to wring from a niggard soil a scanty existence, and to win a narrow footing for their humble homes, not only without the aid, but almost in direct opposition to the wishes, of the government of their native country. But these hardy and daring colonists brought with them that which was of greater value than the almost fabulous wealth of Mexico and Peru—the habit of self-government, and submissive obedience to the omnipotence of the Law;—attesting, with more authority than the most laborious antiquarian arguments, the ancient date of liberal

institutions in the land that gave them birth. Happily for America, the Kings of England, and the government, took little interest in the early fortunes of the colonies, and therefore did not, at the outset, interfere with the settlements formed by our countrymen. The reigning feelings in England, however, naturally put their stamp and impress on the institutions which were formed. The character of Englishmen determined the nature of the law and government established, and their self-relying and undaunted spirit was strongly manifest in every colony which they planted in America.

The great renown of Columbus (a renown indeed richly deserved) has obscured the history of the first discoverers of the American Continent; and the romantic exploits of the Spanish captains have so occupied the attention of mankind, that the equally daring, though not equally successful deeds of the English adventurers are comparatively unknown. England, nevertheless, which has given a people to the northern continent of America, and spread her language over it, sent forth Cabot, who was its first discoverer. 'In the new career of western adven-'ture,' says Mr Bancroft, 'the American continent was first 'discovered under the auspices of the English, and the coast of 'the United States by a native of England. In the history of 'maritime enterprise in the New World, the achievements of 'John and Sebastian Cabot are, in boldness, success, and results, 'second only to those of Columbus.—(p. 7.) * * * 'Yet the 'Cabots derived little benefit from the expedition which their 'genius had suggested, and of which they alone defrayed the 'expense. Posterity hardly remembered, that they had reached 'the American continent nearly fourteen months before Colum-'bus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the main land; and 'almost two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the 'Canaries. But England acquired, through their energy, such 'a right to North America as this indisputable priority could 'confer. Henry VII. and his successors recognised the claims 'of Spain and Portugal, only so far as they actually occupied 'the territories to which they laid pretension; and at a later 'day, the English parliament and the English courts derided a 'title, founded not upon occupancy, but upon a grant from the 'Roman Pontiff.'—(Vol. i. p. 10.)

This discovery of the continent of America occurred in June 1497; and in the latitude of fifty-six degrees north. In a second voyage, undertaken in the subsequent year, 1498, John Cabot and his son, Sebastian, sailed down the coast to a latitude which by Mr Bancroft is supposed to be probably as low as Albemarle Sound, and corresponding with that of Gibraltar. One great

purpose of this voyage was to ascertain 'what manner of landes 'those Indies were to inhabit.'—A circumstance the more remarkable, as to plant colonies was not the ordinary purpose of discovery in those days. The first object proposed by Columbus, was to discover a western route to India, and for a long period every subsequent navigator strove to attain it. The extraordinary wealth of Mexico and Peru, however, gave a new direction to the wild spirit of adventure then prevalent among all the great nations of Europe. Gold and silver were now the things sought by every sanguine adventurer, and no lands were deemed worthy of consideration, which did not supply these precious metals. In search of them, one adventurer after another roamed along the coasts, and over the immense territories of the continent, until subjects of different kingdoms had wandered from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Florida, and as far westward as the Missouri. Various nations laid claim to the same lands, each supposing, or at least asserting itself to be the original discoverer. For many years, the only result—the evil of which has continued to the present time—was an inextricable confusion, and complication of rights, the fruitful source of disputation and strife.

To France is due the honour of having been the first nation to form a comprehensive system of colonization in North America; and that, too, before the extravagant hopes respecting gold and silver had, by constant disappointment, been driven from men's minds. It is a curious fact, suggesting many interesting and important subjects for consideration and inquiry, that, in both hemispheres—in Hindostan and in America—France has preceded England with a great and systematic scheme of acquiring power and territory, and that, in both cases, her superior political forethought has been defeated. This result, also, is the more extraordinary, from the acknowledged superiority of French over Englishmen in so dealing with the natives of both regions, as to make them subservient to their preconcerted plan of aggrandisement. In the reign of Francis the First of France, (1534,) Jacques Cartier,* having discovered the great river St Lawrence, proposed a plan for the colonization of the country. It was supposed that a country lying in the latitude of the most southern part of France, would be blessed like it with a genial climate; and so sanguine were the hopes raised by the discoveries of Cartier, that the King issued a commission for the formation of a colony, and provided three well-furnished

* A plan for colonizing in North America was, indeed, proposed so early as 1518, by De Lery and St Just; but nothing seems to have been done in furtherance of it.—(*Mr Bancroft's Hist*, Vol. i. p. 15—n. 6.)

ships to carry out the emigrants—amongst whom were to be found young nobles who volunteered their services to establish a New France in the happy regions discovered by their adventurous countrymen. In this case, as in so many others, the hopes of the earliest settlers were cruelly disappointed. But the plan of establishing a colony was persevered in; and many years before any attempt was made by Englishmen to establish a settlement in America, the permanent foundations of many colonies were laid by France; all of which were included under the general name of La Nouvelle France, and one large portion of which has since received the name of Canada. In remarkable contrast to all that occurred in the early settlements of the English, the monarch, the court, the nobles, and the priesthood, manifested a marked interest in the fortunes of those who were thus endeavouring to extend the dominions of their country. We do not by this mean to assert, that the English government and monarchs of those days manifested no cupidity for the gold and silver which every part of the American continent was supposed to contain; for, in truth, they exhibited no small desire for immediate and extravagant gain; but for all else they cared nothing. They evidently had conceived no plan for an extensive system of colonization, the object of which was to extend the name and language and relations of the mother country—to create new marts for her trade, and an outlet for her superabundant population. In the instance of Raleigh a sort of countenance was afforded, which arose partly from romance, and partly from a hope of amassing great store of gold and silver. But the romance soon died away, and the gold and silver never were discovered. From the first, the colonies of England have struggled into existence beset by danger and distress. They were created by, and in turn created, stout hands and brave hearts. The early and dangerous efforts of the colonists have left their impress on the character of the people; and that bold, adventurous, yet wary spirit, which enabled them to create an Empire, has been left as a legacy to their multitudinous progeny, who seem indeed destined indefinitely to extend it.

The colonization of the thirteen provinces which eventually became the United States of America, was begun, in fact, in the year 1584, by Raleigh, (Virginia being the first English colony;) and it may, as far as England is concerned, be deemed to have been ended by Oglethorpe, who, in the reign of George II., and in the year 1732, established, by power of a charter from the King, the colony 'of Georgia, and placed it for twenty-one years 'under the guardianship of a corporation in trust for the poor.'—(Vol. iii. p. 419.)

Within the period of time which elapsed between these two epochs, is comprised the history of the colonization of the United States. Of the colonies thus planted, two stand out as prominent figures in this imposing picture. From the first moment of their existence to the present time, these two provinces have exercised an extraordinary and dissimilar influence upon the character of the whole *united* colonies; and if we desire to understand the history of this people, we must be thoroughly conversant with the fortunes of Virginia on the one hand, and New England on the other.

Virginia, originally a vast and almost undefined territory, was at various periods curtailed of its proportions, and came at last to signify the one, and, compared with its alienated territory, the small state or province denominated Virginia; while out of the extensive tracts subtracted from its dominion, various other states have been successively established. These states having no peculiar bond of union, formed each a distinct and separate integer in the union which afterwards took place. But the fortunes of New England were entirely different. That name is applied to provinces which, though separate as colonies, and as independent states, have still from their infancy been united by a union moral and political. The character of the people is the the same; the circumstances which called them separately into existence were of a nature to make them for many purposes a united body; and these circumstances, which in reality form the romance of their history, have given a peculiar and distinctive character to the people, and have endowed them with an extraordinary influence over the destinies of all the states with whom they have entered into confederacy. To the most casual observer, it must be evident that the leaven of the New England states has 'leavened the whole lump;' and out of a mass of very heterogeneous elements, has formed a singularly homogeneous people. Had the fanaticism of the New England Puritans never existed, it may safely be asserted, that the *United* States would not have been called into being.

Virginia was established by a set of daring, enthusiastic, and even chivalrous adventurers. The character of the people was affected by that of their great leader; and to this hour, the spirit of Raleigh seems to hover over that country to which his perseverance and adventure first led the way, and gave a name.

Maryland strange to say, a Catholic province, might be deemed the chosen birth-place of perfect religious tolerance. The kindly nature of Calvert, (Lord Baltimore,) 'far from 'guarding his territory against any but those of his persuasion, 'as he had taken from himself and his successors all arbitrary

'power by establishing the legislative franchises of the people, 'so he took from them the means of being intolerant in religion 'by securing to all present and future liege people of the 'English king, without distinction of sect or party, free leave 'to transport themselves and their families to Maryland. 'Christianity was by the Charter made the law of the land, but 'no preference was given to any sect; and equality of religious 'rights, not less than in civil freedom, was insured.'—(Vol. i. p. 243.)

Massachusetts in like manner was the offspring of religious enthusiasm; but, while the Catholic sought a safe home for himself in the wilderness, and gave shelter to all others, of whatsoever creed, who wished for a quiet haven—the Puritan, fleeing also from oppression, withdrew himself from the *corrupt* communion of all churches but his own—made his own will the paramount law, and laid the foundations of what he termed a 'perfect republic.'

In curious contrast with the institutions established by the people in Massachusetts, and in Maryland by the kind-hearted Lord Baltimore, were those of the succeeding colony of Carolina. 'Massachusetts and Carolina were both colonized,' says Mr Bancroft, 'under proprietary charters, and of both, the charters 'were subverted; but while the proprietaries of the former were 'emigrants themselves, united by the love of religious liberty, 'the proprietaries of the latter were a company of English 'courtiers, combined for the purpose of a vast speculation in 'lands. The government established in Massachusetts was 'essentially popular, and was the growth of the soil; the constitution of Carolina was invented in England. Massachusetts 'was originally colonized by a feeble band of suffering yet 'resolute exiles, and its institutions were the natural result 'of the good sense and instinct for liberty of an agricultural 'people; Carolina was settled under the auspices of the 'wealthiest and most influential nobility, and its fundamental 'laws were framed with forethought by the most sagacious 'politican [Shaftesbury,] and the most profound philosopher '[Locke,] of England. The King, through an obsequious judiciary, annulled the government of Massachusetts; the colonists 'repudiated the constitutions of Carolina. The principles of the 'former possessed an inherent vitality, which nothing has yet 'been able to destroy; the frame of the latter, as it disappeared, 'left no trace of its transitory existence, except in the institutions which sprung from its decay.'—(Vol. ii. p. 129.)

Still further to heighten the apparent discord among the materials, which were in after days to unite into one formidable

people, the next group of colonies were originally settled by foreigners. The Dutch West India Company acquired possession of an immense tract of territory in the centre of the seaboard of the continent—and the colony of New Netherlands, out of which were carved New Jersey, Delaware, and New York, was the offspring of this commercial corporation. The people of Sweden also contributed their quota to this heterogeneous combination.

'The first permanent colonization of the banks of the Dela-'ware is due to Oxenstiern.

'Yet more than four years passed away before the design 'was carried into effect. We have seen Minuits, the first 'governor of New Amsterdam, forfeit his place amidst the 'strifes of faction. He now offered the benefit of his experience 'to the Swedes, and leaving Sweden probably near the close of 'the year 1637, he sailed to the Bay of Delaware. Two vessels, 'the Key of Calmar and the Griffin, formed his whole fleet; 'the care of the Swedish government provided the emigrants 'with a religious teacher, with provisions, and merchandise to 'traffic with the natives. Early in the year 1638, the little 'company of Swedes and Finns arrived in the Delaware Bay; 'the lands of the southern cape, which the emigrants from 'hyperborean regions named Paradise Point, to the falls in the 'river near Trenton, were purchased of the natives; and near 'the mouth of Christian Creek, within the limits of the present 'state of Delaware, Christina Fort, so called from the little girl 'who was then Queen of Sweden, was erected. Delaware was 'colonized.'—(Vol. ii. p. 287.)

Next came Penn, laying the foundations of Pennsylvania, upon the quaker doctrines of morality and religion.

'Meantime, the news spread abroad, that William Penn the 'quaker had opened an asylum to the good and the oppressed 'of every nation, and humanity went through Europe, gathering 'the children of misfortune. From England and Wales, Scot-'land and Ireland, and the Low Countries, emigrants crowded 'to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine, it was 'whispered that the plans of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxen-'stiern were consummated; new companies were formed under 'better auspices than those of the Swedes; and from the high-'lands above Worms, the humble people who had melted at the 'eloquence of Penn, the quaker emissary, renounced their Ger-'man homes for the protection of the quaker King. There 'is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence 'which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn in-'spired. The progress of his province was more rapid than the

'progress of New England. "In August 1683, Philadelphia 'consisted of three or four little cottages;" the conies were yet 'undisturbed in their hereditary burrows; the deer fearlessly 'bounded past blazed trees, unconscious of foreboded streets; the 'stranger that wandered from the river banks, was lost in the 'thickets of the interminable forest; and two years afterwards, 'the place contained about six hundred houses, and the school-'master and the printing-press had begun their work. In three 'years from its foundation, Philadelphia gained more than New 'York had done in half a century. This was the happiest 'season in the public life of William Penn. "I must without 'vanity say"—such was his honest exultation—"I have led the— 'greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a— 'private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever 'were in it, are to be found among us."'—(Vol. ii. p. 394.)

Pennsylvania was the twelfth colony; and when Oglethorpe, towards the middle of the next century, founded that of Georgia, the celebrated thirteen provinces, which in a few years were to proclaim themselves independent as the United States of America, were permanently established.

To any observer who considers the peculiar character, and apparently hostile nature, of these various communities, their subsequent close union must be matter of astonishment. And we are naturally led to inquire into the remarkable circumstances which created, and maintained through great perils, their voluntary association. The explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in their early history—and it appears to have been Mr Bancroft's purpose, by a careful, accurate, and copious narrative of the strange fortunes which attended the creation of these infant states, to supply to his country and the world the solution of the problem here proposed. To say that he has done this without being subject to the prepossessions and even prejudices of his countrymen, would not be the truth—and would, in fact, be hardly a compliment. Mr Bancroft is a zealous republican —and belongs, moreover, to that class of politicians who are in America denominated the Democratic Party. He is proud of his country, jealous of her fame, (too jealous sometimes,) and exulting, when he contemplates her future destiny. He writes, therefore, with an earnest purpose, and strong feelings—but also with a kindness and generosity, which win favour for the writer, as well as faith for his History. A citizen of Massachusetts, he has produced a work which may be taken as an accurate, and it is certainly a pleasing, exhibition of the tone of feeling now prevalent among the leading minds of New England. The fierce old Puritan spirit has there been refined and sublimated by

the principles to which, while resisting the mother country, the people of New England were obliged to appeal. Single-handed, they had no chance of success in a struggle with England. But before they could hope to form alliance with, and receive aid from any of their colonial brethren, it was necessary for them to cast off the intolerance and bigotry which their ancestors had brought with them from their native land. Calamity too, and danger, and all the many severe trials which attended the early settlement of their barren country, tended much to soften the asperity of the Puritan's character. Wise and generous principles of civil and religious liberty, by degrees subverted the stern dogmas of the ancient faith. Unrestrained discussion led to the dissemination of doctrines of the most extended benevolence; till at length the prevalent tone—that which may indeed be considered the fashion of New England, and of its literature—is one of gentleness and peace, and brotherly love. In their Law, this kindly spirit is evinced, by enactments founded on the widest and most confiding principles of tolerance and liberality. But in their Literature, still in its infancy, it manifests itself in a species of exaggerated sentimentality, which imparts an air of weakness and almost effeminacy to most of the productions even of those who are deservedly honoured as their chief writers, philosophers, and statesmen. Their enthusiasm loves a stilted and affected phrase—their eloquence is florid unto weakness—and their style is not often, we may indeed say never, distinguished by that severe and masculine taste which always attends great thoughts, and which alone befits a great people.

To an English reader, this work, however, will recommend itself, not merely by the kindly spirit which pervades it, but also by the novelty of much of the information it contains, and by the manner in which that information is conveyed.

The circumstances which attended the formation of each separate colony are, to that colony, matters of the greatest interest, and the subject of most earnest research. In the mighty turmoil of our greater world these events passed almost unheeded, and were soon forgotten. While the foundations of Virginia and Massachusetts were laying, the great revolution of 1640 was preparing. The restoration of the Stuarts, and all the grievous consequences of that great change, left the people of England little time or inclination to watch the progress of the disputes which occurred among the emigrants in America; or even to notice the wars which they waged with the rival colonies of Holland and Sweden. The state of Rhode Island might receive its remarkable charter from the profligate Charles—Pennsylvania take laws from its benevolent founder—Locke and Shaftes-

bury might indulge in their experiments at legislation for Carolina; but the people of this country regarded them not. Time went on; and, amongst us, the struggles, distress, and eventual success of these colonies, were unknown. Neglect, happy in its consequences, was for many years their portion. At length it was found that a great people, 'bone of our bone, and flesh of 'our flesh,' had risen up in America. How this had happened we knew not—cared not: their present worth was all we sought to know—their past fortunes we were content should be consigned to oblivion. The colonists, however, regarded their early history with very different feelings. They look back with reverence and love to the memory of those who led their forefathers to the wilderness. The stories of their great deeds—of their valour, patience, and wisdom, are sacred legends for their descendants—carefully stored up in the recollections of each succeeding generation—dwelt upon with rapture, and related to their children with enthusiastic veneration. The condition of the United States of America with respect to their history is peculiar. Every portion of it is authentic. The origin of most of the nations of the earth is enveloped in obscurity—a mythic narrative has supplied the place of authentic story. The imagination of successive, and more polished ages, has been employed in weaving that web of fiction with which the vanity of every people has sought to piece out the past. To exalt, adorn, and to believe these fictions, has usually become a portion of the national religion. The less there was known, the greater was the scope for the skill of the poet, and the art of the priest. The mythic heroes became patterns of virtue—after the fashion of their people—exaggerated models of national excellence. Thus, the very obscurity of a nation's origin contributed to exalt and refine its character. To this species of influence, whether for good or evil, the national character of the American people has never been subjected. Leaving a civilized nation, they carried with them all the means and appliances of the highest civilization the world then knew; and among these the printing-press, to which very early they gave perfect freedom. Every step of their progress has been recorded, and is known. The leaders of their various emigrations are no fabulous demigods, endowed with virtue and skill at the will of the rhapsodist and chronicler. What faults they had have been severely noted; the good they did has not 'been interred with their bones,' but lives recorded in the recollections of a grateful people. In truth, the race of men who thus went forth to found a great Empire, were many of them well worthy of a nation's love; and England, who gave them birth, who bred, nourished, and educated them,

may take an honest pride in the influence which their memory still exercises over the many millions who now swarm throughout the vast regions of America. If we wish to read the history of America with profit, and to derive from it the many valuable lessons which it can impart, we must school ourselves to view it in this spirit. We must check the risings of our hurt pride, and subdue the angry feelings generated by the unfortunate conflict with our colonies. We should endeavour to read with American as well as English feelings. The history is a history of English colonization. Our mission as the founders of Empires is far from being yet fulfilled. Africa, a large part of America, and the whole of Australasia, not to speak of the vast islands of the Indian seas, are destined to receive a new people, language, religion, arts, and literature, from England. Our first great experiment was made in America. The story of our doings there is a wonderful, endless series of instructive lessons, much needed by ourselves and our rulers. A century of experiments included nearly every possible scheme which can be devised for the establishment of a colony. Every mistake was committed—every right method was eventually hit upon—and we have only carefully to study the progress of each colony, to watch steadily the working of each scheme as it was devised and acted on, and we shall be able to deduce a never-erring code for our conduct; both as a nation colonizing and as colonists, from the frequent examples furnished by American history.

The provinces which were most distinguished for their success, and which ultimately took the lead in uniting the colonies, and maintaining the confederacy when formed, were Virginia in the south, and Massachusetts, together with the New England states generally, in the north. These two states, however, were established on very opposite principles, and had consequently to struggle against very dissimilar obstacles.

Though the colonization of Virginia may be truly ascribed to Raleigh's adventurous and persevering spirit, yet his efforts to found a colony proved for the most part disastrous. From the first discovery of the continent of America in the reign of Henry VII. down to the reign of James I., many, and even contradictory PATENTS had, by the successive Monarchs, been granted to various persons, aptly termed adventurers. Attempt after attempt followed to turn these grants to profit; but up to the year 1606 they all signally failed, bringing distress, ruin, and oftentimes destruction, upon the daring but inexperienced adventurers. In this year, at the solicitation of men of great wealth and influence, James granted to a company of merchants and persons of high rank, 'leave to deduce a colony into

'Virginia,' and to that end issued a patent ample in power and in territory. This 'first colonist charter,' as it is termed by Mr Bancroft, naturally excites great interest in the mind of the historian, and as naturally is subject to his severe animadversion. James was, indeed, amazingly tickled with the idea of becoming a legislator for a new people; and in the formation of a code for the government of the future province, he displayed the narrow bigotry and vehement despotism of his character. He assumed to be the possessor and King, by right of discovery, of the whole of such parts of the continent as were not actually occupied by the colonies of other nations. And in furtherance of this right, he created two rival companies, and gave to each a territory larger than the great kingdoms of Europe.

'A belt of twelve degrees on the American coast, embracing 'the soil from Cape Fear to Halifax, excepting perhaps the little 'spot in Acadia then actually possessed by the French, was set 'apart to be colonized by two rival companies. Of these, the 'first was composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, in 'and about London; the second, of knights, gentlemen, and 'merchants, in the west. The London adventurers, who alone 'succeeded, had an exclusive right to occupy the regions from 'thirty-four to thirty-eight degrees of north latitude, that is from 'Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland; the western 'men had equally an exclusive right to plant between forty-one 'and forty-five degrees. The intermediate district, from thirty-'eight to forty-one degrees, was open to the competition of both 'companies.'—(Vol. i. p. 121.)

The company held of the King by homage and rent—and in return was endowed with certain extraordinary powers as proprietors of the soil; but the whole, or nearly the whole, political administration was centred nominally in the King. He appointed and dismissed at pleasure a controlling council sitting in London, as well as a council for each colony, which should reside within its limits. Every political power was thus reserved to the Monarch. 'Thus,' exclaims Mr Bancroft, with an astonishment not wonderful in an American of the present day—'Thus 'the first written charter of a permanent American colony, which 'was to be the chosen abode of liberty, gave to the mercantile 'corporation nothing but a desert territory, with the right of peo-'pling and defending it, and reserved to the monarch absolute 'legislative authority, the control of all appointments, and a hope 'of ultimate revenue. To the emigrants themselves it conceded 'not one elective franchise, not one of the rights of self-govern-'ment. They were subjected to the ordinances of a commercial 'corporation, of which they could not be members; to the domi-

'nion of a domestic council, in appointing which they had no 'voice; to the control of a superior council in England which 'had no sympathies with their right, and finally, to the arbitrary 'legislation of the sovereign. Yet, bad as was the system, the 'reservation of power to the king, a result of his vanity, rather 'than of his ambition, had, at least, the advantage of mitigating 'the action of the commercial corporation. The check would 'have been complete, had the powers of appointment and legis-'tion been given to the people of Virginia.'—(Vol. i. p. 122.)

The struggles that followed on the settlement of the colony, had for their end the attainment, by the people, of all the powers reserved to the King and Company—but to the end of their colonial existence the claims of the Virginian colonists went no further. A sentimental loyalty to England, a love of her, as *home*, was ever evinced by them; they complained of her commercial monopoly; they liked not, and they opposed, the powers of the proprietary; and they soon adopted a system of self-government, in accordance with the prevailing opinions in England and America. But they never assumed to be an independent people, owning, indeed, allegiance to the crown of England, but none to parliament—none to England herself. The form of society in Virginia tended entirely to aristocratic power and distinction. The great possessions of a small number of landed proprietors induced them to imitate the nobles of England—with them they wished to be on an equality—but they viewed with sentiments of very vehement dislike the levelling doctrines of the Puritans of the north. A jovial, profuse, and ostentatious people, it required a long course of folly and despotism on the part of the English parliament to wean them from the attachment to home; and to unite them with the grave, religious, starched, thrifty, and grasping New Englanders. These latter, from the very beginning of their colonial existence, laid claim to national independence; and, for a time, the prevalent doctrines in England itself fostered this bold spirit, and made the desire to escape from English dominion, the leading sentiment in the minds of the New England colonists.

The changing fortunes of the great English parties had always an immediate and marked influence upon the colonists in America; and a curious instance of this is afforded by the uses to which the company of adventurers in London, and their meetings, were turned by the patriotic party. The discussions which took place respecting the government of their settlements, became a means of calling in question the prerogatives to which King James laid claim. Under the guise of providing for the well-being of their colonists, they assaulted the powers of the

Monarch in England, and sought to establish the most liberal doctrines for the government of their own country, upon the ruins of the dominion which he endeavoured to maintain in America. The legislative authority reserved by the King was openly avowed to be illegal; and the right of the colonists to be deemed English subjects was asserted to be inherent in them—of which, in fact, they could not be deprived by an act of prerogative—and for the full enjoyment of which they were in no measure indebted to the royal liberality, but solely to the law alone. The progress of the Reformation also singularly advanced the cause of the colonists. All the old foundations of the law were called in question by those who claimed a liberty of conscience; and lax notions on the subject of allegiance became extensively prevalent. To those who deemed religion, and religious belief, the one absorbing and paramount business of life, the doctrines of the law on this head appeared entirely a subservient and secondary consideration. They assumed, that the doctrine which declared allegiance to be indelible was false as well as mischievous. The rights of conscience they considered to overrule the prerogative of the Crown. If those rights were invaded, they believed they could solemnly withdraw from subjection to that power which was guilty of the invasion, and from community with that people which permitted the encroachment. This, in a few words, was the received doctrine among the godly of New England—that which was, in fact, never forgotten—though not always, from characteristic caution, openly avowed. During the Protectorate, the New England colonies were favoured brethren, who were allowed to make for themselves what laws, and pursue what conduct, best pleased them. They, deeming their dominion the reign of the saints on the earth, assumed infallibility; and, with a fiery zeal, sought to extirpate error by the sword and by the fagot. They revelled in the thought of their own irresponsibility; gravely declared themselves an independent people; and prepared to resist, by every means in their power, the enforcement of the law which declared them subject to the Parliament of England.—(Vol. i. p. 440.) This is admitted by Mr Bancroft, though not with the frankness which such a subject demanded. He says, 'The history of Massachusetts is the 'counterpart to that of Virginia; the latter obtained its greatest 'liberty by the abrogation of the charter of its company; the 'former by a transfer of its charter, *and a daring construction of* '*its powers, by the successors of the original patentees.*'—(Vol. i. p. 345.)

What is meant by this transfer and daring construction, appears in the subsequent story of the company. 'On the sug-

'gestion of the generous Matthew Cradock, the governor of the 'company, it was proposed that the charter should be transferred 'to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the 'colony; and the question immediately became the most im- 'portant that could be debated. An agreement was at once 'formed at Cambridge, in England, between men of fortune 'and education, that they would themselves embark for America, 'if, before the last of September, the whole government should 'be *legally* transferred to them and the other freemen of the 'company who should inhabit the plantation. * * * Two 'days after the contract had been executed, the subject was again 'brought before the court. A serious debate ensued the next 'day, when it was fully, and with general consent, declared, that 'the government and the patent should be transferred beyond 'the Atlantic, and settled in New England.

'This vote was simply a decision of the question—Where the 'future meetings of the company should be held? and yet it 'effectually changed a commercial corporation into an indepen- 'dent provincial government.'—(Vol. i. p. 352–3.)

In other words, a power not granted was illegally usurped; and the bold spirit which dictated the proceeding, continued ever after to be manifest in the conduct of Massachusetts. The first band of settlers who went out under the charter, seized upon two ministers of the name of Browne, who professed Episcopal doctrines; they were treated as if they had been criminals, and were ignominiously sent back to England. Mr Bancroft makes hereupon this somewhat extraordinary remark—'They (the 'Brownes) were banished from Salem because they were church- 'men. Thus was Episcopacy first professed in Massachusetts, 'and thus was it exiled. The blessings of the promised land 'were to be kept for Puritan dissenters.' It is difficult to ascertain whether Mr Bancroft here indulges in a bitter sneer at his brethren, or whether he adopts their language, and seriously believes it an exculpation. The intolerance of the Puritans is evidently a stumbling-block in his way. His reason and better nature revolt against the atrocities he describes; but the narrow prejudices of his people interfere with his judgment, and induce him to frame an unsatisfactory apology for a tyranny which, when exercised *against* his favourites, he visits with an honest and vehement indignation.

The Puritan who, in Europe, had suffered under persecution, did not blame his oppressors because they were persecutors. What he complained of was, that they, in his person, persecuted the truth. He, in his turn, was ready with the rod of the magistrate to punish dissent—because such dissent was error. The

true principles of religious toleration were utterly repudiated by by him. 'God forbid,' said Dudley, one of their most esteemed leaders, 'our love for the truth should be grown so cold that we 'should tolerate errors.' Cotton, a shining light among his brethren, exclaimed, 'better tolerate hypocrites and tares, than 'thorns and briers.' 'Polypiety,' cried out another of these reverend men, 'is the greatest impiety in the world. To say 'that men ought to have liberty of conscience, is impious igno-'rance.' 'Religion,' said another, 'has no eccentric motions.' This was the open, honest avowal of the doctrines on which they were prepared to act—and in accordance with which they did act. They declared Massachusetts to be 'a perfect republic.' Open dissent was banished from the province, and visited with the punishment of death if the dissenter ventured to return; and men and women were, under this atrocious law, banished, whipt, and executed! Mr Bancroft condescends, not indeed directly to defend, but to extenuate the enactment. He declares that the act admits of no defence; and then, with an astonishing inconsistency, proceeds by a sophistical argument to justify the deed on the plea of necessity, and to extenuate its horrors, by showing that the powers of Europe have been equally guilty. Thus the impartiality of the historian is lost in the zeal of the advocate. In truth, Mr Bancroft's zeal has in this case most signally outrun his discretion and judgment. By attempting to prove that the institutions of America, from the first, were faultless, and her people impeccable, distrust is inevitably raised in the mind of every judicious reader; and the important benefit is lost, which might have been derived from a philosophic explanation of the manner in which the character and institutions of a remarkable people were gradually developed and moulded into that form which they have at length attained. The remarkable phenomenon in the matter before us, is the present tolerance of difference in religious belief, manifested both by the laws and the manners of America; as compared with that iron bigotry with which they started in their career. The duty of a mere chronicler is merely truly to narrate the facts which constitute his history; that of the philosophic historian—and to that character Mr Bancroft aspires—is to search for, and to explain the hidden causes of the remarkable change which took place. To deny the first step in the narration, to repel the statement of intolerance as a 'calumny,' and to assert that the people of New England were from the first as forbearing in the case of religious belief, as by the law of the United States* we may presume them to be at

* Judging by some late proceedings towards Catholics in New

present, may find favour with the zealots of his own country, but will assuredly, before the tribunal of the world at large, throw discredit upon his labours, and distrust upon his evidence.

The declaration of the leaders of the Massachusetts colony, as to the nature of their allegiance, is a signal event in the history of the colonies. In it, we can perceive the germ of that independence, which they in after years successfully demanded. The people of the majority of the colonies, never thought of, never desired to be an independent people. They were driven by an invincible necessity to fight for independence, in the end; and they reluctantly yielded obedience to its hard decree. But the proud Puritan, when he shook the dust from his feet, and bade adieu to his native land, determined at the same time to shake off his allegiance also. The feelings of nature might for an instant sway his stern spirit—and as he saw the shores of his birth-place sink into the sea, in the agony and tenderness of the moment he might exclaim, FAREWELL, DEAR ENGLAND! But as he turned him to the west, and looked towards the future, the past with all its regrets, its ties, and its gentle recollections, was swept from his heart. He was excited by the hope of building up a perfect church—a fiery zeal for the maintenance and extension of his own opinions, which he arrogantly deemed the only soul-saving truth, occupied his whole mind, and supplied the place of home and friends and family. 'I shall call that my 'country,' wrote John Winthorp, one of the founders of Massachusetts, to his father, 'where I may most glorify God, and 'enjoy the presence of my dearest friends.' And when, having arrived in America, sickness and death and misery were all around him, he wrote to his wife, whom, on account of her pregnancy, he had left in England—'We here enjoy God and 'Jesus Christ, and is not this enough? I thank God, I like so 'well to be here, as I do not repent my coming. I would not 'have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflic-'tions. I never had more content of mind.' The stern fanaticism which dictated this language, was not likely to be checked in its course by the comparatively feeble ties of national allegiance. It was soon proposed 'to form a peculiar government,' and in their current jargon, to colonize the 'BEST'—meaning those who agreed with them. These proceedings, however, attracted the

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England, we fear the spirit of intolerance is not wholly departed from the minds of the people. It is to be hoped, however, that this was but a transient ebullition of holy zeal, and that the thorough feeling of tolerance evinced by all the leading minds of America, will keep down and extinguish every contrary tendency.

attention of the English Government, and brought down upon the colonists Laud with a *Quo warranto?* A lucky death cut short the legal proceedings, and in the convulsions which immediately followed in England, the colony was for a time forgotten. When the Parliament had conquered the King, it sought to extend its power to the colonies, and began to question the validity of the Massachusetts charter. The colonists determined to resist the Parliament, as the Parliament had resisted the King. Their general court met in November 1648, to deliberate upon what they were pleased to call, the usurpations of Parliament; and having expelled one deputy because he was faithless, that is, of opinion opposite to their own, they deliberated with closed doors, 'on the nature of the relation with England'—and then agreed, 'that Massachusetts owed to England the same allegiance as 'the free Hanse Towns had rendered to the empire; as Normandy, when its dukes were Kings of England, had paid to the 'monarchs of France.' And they resolved to accept no new charter from the Parliament, because that would imply a surrender of the old. The court next addressed Parliament to the same effect; and Edward Winslow, the agent for Massachusetts in England, publicly denied that the jurisdiction of Parliament extended to America. 'If the parliament of England should 'impose laws upon us,' he said, 'having no burgesses in the 'House of Commons nor capable of a summons, by reason of the 'vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed.' The Parliament evaded the difficulty, by an ambiguous answer—which, if circumstances had allowed, would most probably have been interpreted, so as to let in their supreme dominion. Mr Bancroft says the Parliament magnanimously (we should say cunningly) replied—'We encourage no appeals from 'your justice. We leave you all the freedom and latitude that 'may in any respect *be duly claimed by you.*"*—(Vol. i. p. 443.)

After the Restoration the question of English supremacy was again mooted: the struggles of the colony with Charles II. and his brother James, plainly prove Massachusetts to have been, in fact, the birth-place of American independence. In 1671, Charles said to the privy council, there is fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation; and it was afterwards by the council declared, 'that they (the people of Massachusetts) were a

* The transatlantic Puritans found favour in the eyes of Cromwell—who, when he had conquered Ireland, offered the New England people estates, and a settlement in that island. The offer was declined by them, because they thought 'their own government the happiest and wisest this day in the world.'—Vol. i. p. 444.

'people almost upon the brink of renouncing any dependence 'upon the crown.' Mr Bancroft assumes 'that the privy 'council was overawed by the moral dignity which they could 'not comprehend.'—(Vol. ii. p. 89.) The truth is, that Charles was rapacious and indolent—he hated all trouble, but particularly did he detest that labour which brought no money. From Massachusetts he could hope for no spoil, and he consequently gave it the great benefit of his neglect. James, however, was of a different character—the moral dignity, of which the historian somewhat grandiloquently speaks, was no obstacle in his path. His advice and influence were predominant in the later years of his brother Charles; and the courage that dared, by a *quo warranto*, to avoid the charter of the corporation of London, was not likely to quail before that of Massachusetts Bay. The colony had openly resisted the enforcing of the Act of Navigation; acting throughout, as they did consistently, in accordance with their before declared interpretation of the law of allegiance. In England, however, at no time was this interpretation admitted by the lawyers; and now, when the King appealed to the judges and courts of Westminster, judgment was at once given in favour of the Crown; and in the year 1684, the charter of Massachusetts which had been granted by Charles I. was declared void.

A result followed upon this judgment, which cannot be accounted for by any principles of law, but which can be explained by a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the case of Massachusetts. The general attack made upon the several corporations in England and in the colonies, was an exceedingly unpopular act, because it was considered a violent, not to say illegal stretch of the prerogative; and when the Revolution of 1688 followed, a general resumption of their charters was permitted, with the almost single exception of Massachusetts.* The lawyers indeed endeavoured to account for this exception, by saying, that in the case of Massachusetts judgment had been given, whereas in the other cases the resignation of the charters had been voluntary. This statement, however, is not in accordance with the fact. In the case of the city of London, judgment was given after solemn argument; whereas in that of Massachusetts it followed as of course, because of the non-appearance of the defendants. London, nevertheless, resumed her charter, but the Revolution government refused the same favour to Massachusetts. 'Somers and King William were less 'liberal to Massachusetts than Clarendon and Charles II.'†

* Bermuda did not resume its former charter.

† Clarendon and Charles II. always evinced a remarkable liberality,

The question naturally arises, why was this? The answer is to be found in the pretensions of Massachusetts. London did not claim to be independent of Parliament; neither did Virginia or the other colonies; but Massachusetts, openly and in set argument, laid claim to a separate national existence. She had successfully maintained this position before the Long Parliament, and had for years asserted it in the early times of the Restoration. But the Revolution of 1688 was a revolution in favour of the Parliament against the Crown. It established parliamentary supremacy; and the time had not yet arrived when a power in America could resist the authority of Parliament. Massachusetts, therefore, succumbed; but her's was a forced obedience. The old doctrines of her political creed were in secret cherished by her people, taught and supported by her ministers, and influenced every act of her government.

During these various struggles respecting their political institutions, the colonists increased rapidly in numbers—and became rich as well as numerous. Some years before our Revolution, they had not only succeeded in thus firmly establishing their own colony, but had made the first and most important step towards that Federal Union, by which in fact they have become an independent people. The colonies of New England entered into confederacy, and styled themselves the united colonies of New England. This event is thus described by Mr Bancroft—

'Immediately after the victories over the Pequods, (1637,) at a time when the earliest synod had gathered in Boston the leading magistrates and elders of Connecticut, the design of a confederacy was proposed. Many of the American statesmen, familiar with the character of the government of Holland, possessed sufficient experience and knowledge to frame the necessary plan; but time was wanting; the agents of Plymouth could not be seasonably summoned, and the subject was deferred. The next year it came again into discussion; but Connecticut, offended "because some pre-eminence was yielded to Massachusetts," insisted on reserving to each state a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy. This reservation was refused; for in that case, said Massachusetts, "all would have come to nothing."

'The vicinity of the Dutch, a powerful neighbour, whose claims Connecticut could not single-handed defeat, led the colonists of the west to renew the negotiation; and with such success that, within a few

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in every institution framed under their auspices, for the colonies. The most striking instance of this was afforded by the charter of Rhode Island, which remained for years after the American Revolution the written political code of the state. Of late years, it has been modified, and made somewhat less democratic than was the original royal charter.

years, THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND were "made all as one." Protection against the encroachments of the Dutch and the French, security against the tribes of savages, the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace, these were the motives of the confederacy. . . .

'The union embraced the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, but to each its respective local jurisdiction was carefully reserved. The question of state rights is nearly two hundred years old. The affairs of the confederacy were intrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony. Church membership was the only qualification required for office. The commissioners, who were to assemble annually, or oftener if exigencies demanded, might deliberate on all things which are the proper concomitants or consequents of a confederation. The affairs of peace and war, and especially Indian affairs, exclusively belonged to them; they were authorized to make internal improvements at the common charge; they, too, were the guardians to see equal and speedy justice assured to all the confederates in every jurisdiction. The common expenses were to be assessed according to population.'—(Vol. i. pp. 420-21.)

This plan was executed so early as the year 1643, just twenty-three years after the first pilgrims set foot in New England; and very little more than fourteen years after the date of the charter granted by Charles I. to the Company of Massachusetts Bay. The highest sovereign rights are by this confederation assumed as their own—and communion refused with every one not of their creed. The ambitious and the exclusive spirit of the Puritan was manifest in every provision of the Union.

One other passion was also manifested by these colonists that may be deemed eminently English. Their hatred of the French on their continent, could only be equalled by their desire to possess themselves of the extensive territories which France had acquired, and by which, indeed, they were eventually completely surrounded. The danger which threatened the colonists was great and imminent; and the spirit with which they met it evinced alike their courage and their wisdom.

In the year 1690, while the government of Massachusetts was entirely in the hands of the people, who, on the news of the revolution of 1688, expelled the governors of James, and before Parliament had asserted its authority, a *Congress*—the first American Congress—was called in New York, on the invitation of Massachusetts; and this Congress determined to make war on the French possessions, and attempt the conquest of Acadia and Canada. We need no other evidence to prove, that the desire for an independent existence was no new conception, first produced in the year 1776. 'The conquest of New France was 'the burning passion of New England, in harmony with its

'conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free. [1682.] 'The early Anglo-Saxon rule, interpreting every doubtful question in favour of liberty, declared the children of freemen to be 'free. Virginia was humane towards men of the white race; was 'severe towards the negro. Doubts arose if the offspring of an 'Englishman by a negro woman should be bond or free; and the 'rule of the Roman law prevailed over the Anglo-Saxon. The 'offspring followed the condition of its mother. Enfranchisement 'of the population was not encouraged; *the female slave was not 'subject to taxation;* the emancipated negress was tithable. The 'death of a slave from extremity of correction was not accounted 'felony; since it cannot be presumed—such is the language of 'the statute—that prepensed malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate. 'The legislature did not understand human passion; no such 'opinion now prevails. Finally, it was made lawful for persons 'pursuing fugitive coloured slaves to wound or even to kill 'them. The master was absolute lord over his negro. The 'slave and the slave's posterity were bondsmen; though afterwards, when the question was raised, the devise of negro children in *posse*, the future increase of a bondwoman, was void. As 'property in Virginia consisted almost exclusively of land and 'labourers, the increase of negro slaves was grateful to the pride 'and to the interests of the large landed proprietors. After a long 'series of years the institution of slavery renewed a landed aristocracy, closely resembling the feudal nobility; the culminating 'point was the period when slaves were declared to be real 'estate, and might be constituted by the owner adscripts to the 'soil.' [A.D. 1705—1727.]—(Vol. ii. p. 194.)

These laws were all passed by the people of Virginia, and some of them by legislatures chosen by universal suffrage. How, then, can it be asserted that slavery was instituted, and maintained, in opposition to the wishes of the emigrants?

The guilt, and there was much guilt, must be shared by all concerned in this terrible and nefarious traffic. The misery and mischiefs still remain; and cannot, alas! by any legislation, be at once utterly eradicated. If the slaves were white, a sudden emancipation would put an end to the legal distinction, and in a few years no traces of it would remain. But the difference of colour renders impossible all hope of any such sudden and thorough eradication of the evil. If the slaves were, to-morrow, to be all made freemen, the social ban would still remain—the curse of his skin would stick to the unfortunate negro. In a case so fraught with difficulties, it is not the part of a wise or good man to excite angry feelings, to bandy abuse, or to attempt by any sophistry or arti-

fice to hide or extenuate the evil. We fear, indeed, that the efforts of the zealous but indiscreet friends of freedom have, in many cases, increased instead of alleviating the misery of the slave. We should recollect that it is not always cupidity that renders the slave-owner jealous of any interference. Fear, ever wakeful fear, besets them all, and they dread, as a consequence of the abolitionist teaching, not simply the loss of property but life itself. They feel that they, their families, their friends, their very country, is on the verge of destruction. We need not, therefore, wonder at the jealous watch which they keep against the intrusion of any doctrines or doings which may be followed, as they believe, by such terrible consequences. With their honest terrors we can sympathise, and pity those who feel it. But there is another class of slave-holders against whom we confess our anger rises, and for whose arrogance and cruelty we would cheerfully assist in contriving a punishment. We mean those who declare slavery not only to be no evil, but an absolute necessity *in a perfect republic.* If there were any danger of such doctrines prevailing, we should be prepared, at any risk, to oppose them by every species of abolitionist agitation. But there is no such danger. A few extravagant, crack-brained demagogues of the South, excited by what Mr Bentham delighted to call 'an interest-begotten prejudice,' may sometimes rave after this fashion; but no rational American denies the dreadful evil which slavery has entailed on his country. There is none who does not ardently desire to put an end to this calamitous institution. One fundamental rule, indeed, there is which every honest politician is bound religiously to follow—and that is, to oppose the *extension* of the curse. It may be impossible, as we believe it is, to eradicate, at once, the institution and its consequences from those states in which it has been long established. But no desire of gain, no plan of party aggrandizement, can justify the propagation of this moral pestilence. We must be permitted to doubt of the sincerity of any man's lamentations over the evils of slavery, who seeks by his vote, or his influence, or his countenance, 'to *rivet* the *unjust*, *wasteful*, and 'unhappy system upon the rising institutions' of the states which have yet to be formed under the American constitution.

We cannot take leave of this work without again enforcing upon the mind of the English reader, the necessity of perusing it with a catholic spirit. All that is of chief importance in it, is entitled to his esteem. The real liberality—the general fairness —the labour and conscientious research it evinces—deserve, and we are assured will receive, his warmest approbation. There are some peculiarities, however, of style—some modes of expression

—some habits of thought which are novel; and may, perhaps, not prove entirely grateful to our cisatlantic taste. But Mr Bancroft's is an American not an English production, and must be judged by a reference to American feelings. We treat a German or a French work after this fashion—and this one, although written in our language, is not subject to our conventional criticism. On one account we are sincerely glad that we are called upon to make this remark. The great incubus on American literature is imitation. Every thing has to be fashioned on an English model; and nothing is deemed worthy even by Americans, which has not received the sanction of English fashion. We desire, however, to see our transatlantic offspring approve themselves a people, in the real and great sense of that term, by making for themselves a national literature. Let them bring their quota to the world's wealth of wisdom; and considering who and what they are, that quota—the debt which they owe to this common stock—ought to be ample, and worthy of their material greatness. Let them to the exploring of the vast, and yet untrodden regions of thought, bring the same adventurous and daring spirit, which distinguished their ancestors who led the way into the wilderness—and the grateful world will hail them as worthy descendants of their great progenitors.

The present high position of Mr Bancroft, bestowed as it has been in consequence of his historic labours, is not only an honour to himself, but to his country, by whom it was conferred. And this, it should be remembered, is no solitary occurrence. The government of the United States has been willing to acknowledge and reward the literary merit of her citizens of every party —thus holding out a great and due incitement to men of superior ability to take an active part in the political proceedings of their native land. We cannot indeed subscribe to that philosophy which would have us believe, that the United States is destined to be left by her more gifted sons to the guidance and control of inferior and more turbulent spirits. In the case before us, we sincerely hope that the occasion of more widely extending his knowledge of mankind, may lead to the dissipation of any prejudice which yet lingers in the mind of the historian; and that his European experience may enable him, in the volumes which are yet to appear, to describe with increased efficiency for the world's instruction the many worthy examples of ability and virtue which his country's annals afford.*

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* The volumes requisite to complete the 'History of the United States,' are, we understand, preparing for the press.

ART. V.—1. *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.* Von E. PLATNER, C. BUNSEN, &c., *mit Beyträger*, von B. G. NIEBUHR. 8vo. 3 vols. Stuttgart: 1829–1842.—(Description of the City of Rome. By E. PLATNER, C. BUNSEN, &c. With Contributions, by B. G. NIEBUHR.)

2.—*Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms.* Von CHRISTIAN KARL JOSIAS BUNSEN. Folio. Munich: 1844.—(The Basilicas of Christian Rome. By CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAH BUNSEN.)

WHATEVER interest can attach to any department of topographical or antiquarian discussion, must unquestionably attach to the general subject of these volumes. Whatever may be the importance generally of an accurate study, or still more of an actual view, of celebrated places, belongs peculiarly to the sight of capital cities. Whether, as in Italy, the life of the people has flowed from the towns; or, as in Germany, the life of the towns has flowed from the people: whether, like London, the capital is the city of a great nation; or, like France, the people is the nation of a great city: whether, like Venice or Athens, they are the creations of a great republic; or, like Berlin and St Petersburg, the creations of a great sovereign,—there is always something in the insight afforded by the first glance into the history of their inhabitants, which nothing else can supply. Such emphatically is the interest which is attached to Rome; with this great distinction, however, that it is attached to her, not as the capital of the modern Papal States, nor even as the capital of the ancient senate and people, but as the Metropolis of the World, in a sense which is true of no other city before or since. This is the peculiar charm of Rome. Its works of art, ancient and modern, are in part accidentally connected with it—in part shared by other less distinguished places. Its importance, in the general history of the world, is equalled, if not surpassed, by Athens and Jerusalem; but its significance, as the capital of the ancient civilized world, is what it possesses alone; and what leaves on all who are affected by it at all, the most abiding impression which they carry away from its walls. What is true of the topography of Greece as a country, is true of the topography of Rome as a city. It is a true instinct which has prefaced all the histories of Greece by a description of the country, and not of the particular towns; and the histories of Rome by a description of the city, and not of the country in which it was situated. Whatever details may occur of Athenian or Spartan localities in Thirlwall, are lost in the interest

of his general sketch of Greece. Whatever notices may occur of Italian geography in Arnold, will be found rather in his lectures on modern history than in his history of Rome.

And to this great subject have been devoted the labours not of mere antiquarians or topographers, but of men who, whilst they have acquired an European celebrity for the depth and universality of their knowledge, have also taken an interest in the fortunes of ancient Rome amounting almost to personal enthusiasm. Few educated Englishmen who have visited Rome for the last twenty years, can forget the kindness and information they have received from the little colony of Germans which still is clustered on the western height of the Capitol, though time has deprived it of some of its most distinguished ornaments. Of these, many are doubtless altogether unknown to the English public; but two of the names in the title-page of the *Description of the City of Rome*, will at once arrest the attention of every reader. One is the illustrious historian Niebuhr, who here added the last finish to his almost intuitive knowledge of the state of ancient Rome; and whose dwelling-place beside the Theatre of Marcellus rightly claims a place * in the history of the city, with which his name must be for ever associated. The other is his successor Bunsen, of whom it would be superfluous to speak to Englishmen, were it not almost necessary to recall his earlier fame, as the friend of Niebuhr, and the restorer of Roman topography, before it is eclipsed by his more recent works in History and Theology—were it not a pleasure to have again brought before us the recollections of that delightful residence on the brow of the Tarpeian height, so long the resort of all that was most elevated and enlightened in Roman society.

To enter into the details of this great work would here be out of place. Yet it is impossible, in turning over its pages, not to conjure up those images of greatness, which, having been once seen, can never pass away from the mind; and which—the description, not even one which like this unites the strictest topographical accuracy with the most fervent poetical enthusiasm, can entirely reproduce them—are yet susceptible of such a degree of illustration as will illustrate their inseparable connexion with the events which they have witnessed.

It is no slight gain, even at the outset, to one who contemplates Rome with historical eyes, that, through all the vicissitudes of her fortunes and buildings, it is still easy to discern the primitive arrangement of

* As in Mr Merivale's excellent *History of the Romans under the Empire*, in the publications of the *Useful Knowledge Society*—now, alas! ended, or at least interrupted.

place. This is more important as a ground of actual study than many are aware of. In most celebrated places, especially those of modern history, the chief advantage of ocular inspection, or of minute realization of localities, consists merely in the greater vividness with which the images of the past are thus recalled. Whatever connexion may exist between the place and the event is either accidental, or, if the congruity be so striking as to compel the belief in some deeper coincidence, it belongs to an order of Providence which we cannot interpret. But in the more primitive history of the human race, or of particular nations, this connexion is not imaginary but real; the influence of the physical features of a country on the original character of its inhabitants, is as clearly one of the secondary means of Providential agency as any that can be named. Hence it is that no spots are so really instructive to the traveller in Greece, as the primeval sanctuaries of Delphi and Lebadea, or the patriarchal fastnesses of Tiryns and Mycenæ;—hence, we should imagine, the history of the Jewish people would receive a more lively illustration from the Terebinths of Hebron, or the Granite precipices of Sinai, than from the sight even of Jerusalem itself,—connected as it chiefly is with a period when the first awful impressiveness of natural scenery was beginning to fade away before a higher and more universal influence. In like manner, the Englishman of the twenty-fifth century after the foundation of Rome, may still watch at their very cradle one at least of the powers which helped to produce the Roman people. When we stand on the slope of the Alban hills—on the rim of the crater of their extinct volcano, and look down into the calm lake reposing, Avernus-like, within it, under the shade of its surrounding forests—we have before us the very scene which brooded over the mysterious infancy of the first founders of the Roman name; with an influence as potent as that which, in their own august mythology, the twins were supposed to have drunk in with their first breath from the wolf who suckled them. When we feel the ground of the seven hills swelling beneath our feet —when we trace their original fastness-like character in the precipitous face of the Capitoline cliff, or the abrupt and wooded slope of the Aventine—when we observe the two outlying ramparts of the Janiculan and the Pincian ranges, warding off such incursions as swept away the towns in the open plains, yet allowing of such expansion as would afterwards befit the mistress of the world;—when we see this, and contrast it with the situation of almost every other ancient town in Italy—the Etrurian and Volscian fortresses on the narrow crests of their native rocks, the Campanian cities lost in the luxuriance of their level and

fertile plains—it is difficult not to recognise something of that fore-shadowing of the future destinies of the Eternal City, which the Romans themselves delighted to trace in the prophetic augury of the twelve vultures of Romulus; or the refusal of Terminus to leave his wonted place amongst the gods of the Capitol. The race, the language, the institutions, the religion of the Romans have perished—the very facts of their early history have disappeared; but the framework from which all these received their impression at the time when they were most susceptible of outward impressions, still remains,—mutilated, but not destroyed or deprived of its peculiar meaning.

Again, we have said that it is the peculiar distinction of Rome to have been not merely *a* capital, but *the* capital of the the world in a sense in which no other city has been or is likely to be again—that, though never the capital of Italy, it yet did eventually become the capital of the ancient civilized world. And it is precisely of this closing period—not of the period of its growth and of its struggles—that the Roman ruins bear the deepest impress. We do not deny that even the times of the commonwealth derive considerable light from the sight of the Forum; and it is one of the greatest merits of the French *Essay* which Chevalier Bunsen has published on the subject, that, now for the first time, a representation of that immortal spot has been laid before us; which is not only true, but gives to almost every existing vestige an intelligible object and meaning. What a mist is rolled away from our eyes the moment that we are allowed to trace the course of the *Via Sacra* up to the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter on its rightful place upon the Tarpeian rock, and to find the true direction of the Forum in the open space between the Capitol and the Colosseum; instead of being dragged aside by the perverse ingenuity of Italian Topographers to look for it between the Capitol and the Tiber! How naturally does the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators rise before us, when, in the substructions which lie immediately beneath the scene of their imprisonment in the Mamertine prison, we recognise the basements of the Temple of Concord, in which the Senate was convened to pronounce the fatal sentence! How lively is the interest with which we regard the three pillars which stand immediately in front of the ancient Treasury, hewn out of the Capitoline rock, when we discover in them the remains of the Temple of Saturn, whose gates the Tribune vainly endeavoured to defend, against the attempts of Cæsar to appropriate the treasures of the state which lay behind it!

Still when from particular details we turn to the general effect

of the whole scene, there can be no doubt that it is not Republican, but Imperial Rome, which rivets our attention. It is almost startling to observe the peculiar significance of almost all that remains of that time, when its material and outward aspect most truly represented its inward life. Let any one look over the mass of ruins within the city, as he stands on the tower of the Capitol,—the Temple of Vespasian, vindicating by its solitary grandeur its just title to the recently recovered name which connects it with the restorer of the city, after the desolation which had laid it waste from Galba to Vitellius—the crash of the Palace of the Cæsars on the hill from which it derives its name—the huge mountain of the Amphitheatre of Titus—the three triumphal arches, each with the mark of destiny on its front: or let him gaze on that perhaps yet sublimer view without the city, which is commanded by the terrace of the Lateran Church—the desolate Campagna, with the ever-varying lights and shades empurpling its deep indentations—the long files of broken aqueducts advancing as if in melancholy cavalcades towards the city which they never reach; and he will feel that he has seen the ruin of the most august power that was ever enthroned upon the earth—he will understand how truly the Apocalyptic Seer saw in the imperial city which sat upon the Seven Hills, though in a greater and more awful form, a true revival of no less than the ancient Babylon.

Lastly, the Roman antiquarian has one more province to explore of the deepest historical interest—the city not of the Republic, not of the Cæsars, but of the early Christians. We say advisedly of the early Christians; for of the Rome of later Christendom—of the great capital of the Papacy, there is nothing, or hardly any thing, on which the historical eye can fasten. One transient gleam from the life of Rienzi lights up the scene in front of the modern Capitol—one or two edifices are connected with the name, and only with the name, of Innocent III. But, generally speaking, in the interval between the eighth and the sixteenth century, the chasm is complete. Of no city in the world perhaps has the historical continuity been so entirely broken. We leap at once from the age of Gregory I. to the age of Leo X. There is hardly any great town of northern Europe, which has so little impress of the middle ages, as the city which rose as it were from the grave to be their capital. Already when we turn from the ruins of the Forum to the Modern Rome, we find that its interest for the artist has begun—but its interest for the historian has vanished—it has ceased to be the metropolis—it has become what it has been ever since—the Museum, of the world. But,

as we said, there is in the history of the city of Rome—between the last stage of its earlier existence, of which there remains so much, and the first stage of its second existence, of which there remains so little—one memorable field of debatable ground, which, for historical interest, can vie with all that precedes and with all that follows. We know not what might be the light thrown upon the early condition of the Christian society by the scenes of its first vicissitudes in Palestine or Asia Minor; but we much doubt whether even these can furnish any thing which so vividly calls before us an image of the first centuries of the Christian era, as the localities and monuments of Rome. We do not now speak of the ecclesiastical traditions in which it abounds at every turn—but of the two great vestiges of those momentous times which have been indisputably preserved to us in the CATACOMBS and in the BASILICAS. Of the former, we will only say, that a more striking proof could hardly be given of the imperfect manner in which the so-called Histories of the early Church have been written, than the slight* notice which even the best of them has bestowed upon the whole state of life and society, which is implied in the existence which is expressed in the monuments of the Roman Catacombs. We do not profess to have studied the subject, but surely one glance at those endless galleries, chapels, and cemeteries of the 'sub-'terraneous city'—one glance at the rude sculptures, the ill-spelt epitaphs, the humble implements of trade, now preserved in the 'Lapidarian Gallery,' through which the visitor of the Vatican passes, on his way to the splendid works of art which adorned the cotemporary chambers of the palaces of Nero, and the baths of Titus, is a better illustration of the triumph of the weak things of the world over the things that are mighty, than the declamations of a hundred apologists; and opens a far deeper view into the life of the first ages of Christianity, than the most elaborate descriptions of sects and heresies which crowd the pages of the ordinary ecclesiastical history.

Of the Basilicas, however, the work of Chevalier Bunsen invites us to speak more particularly; and to this subject, and the thoughts which it suggests, we will now confine ourselves—restricting our remarks to the historical question to which the work professes to be an answer, namely, What was the original idea which the Christians of the first centuries conceived of a place of worship?—What was the model which they chose for

* We must make an exception in favour of Mr Milman's 'History of Christianity,' Book iv. c. 4.

themselves when, on emerging from the Catacombs, they looked round upon the existing edifices of the civilized world?

For nearly two hundred years, as is well known, set places of worship had no existence at all. In the third century, notices of them became more frequent, but still in such ambiguous terms, that it is difficult to ascertain how far the building or how far the congregation is the prominent idea in the writer's mind; and it is not, therefore, till the fourth century, when they became so general as to acquire a fixed form and name, that our inquiry properly begins.

Of the public edifices of the heathen world, three kinds alone were likely to attract the Christian architect of this period, for the purpose of Christian assembly and worship. The one to which the instincts of a large part of modern Christendom would have most naturally turned, seems, by ancient Christendom, at least in the Western provinces, to have been most immediately rejected. The *Temple*, though occasionally adopted by the Eastern Emperors,* and in some few instances, as the Pantheon, at Rome itself, was never incorporated into the institutions of Western Christendom. It was not only that all its associations, both of name and place, jarred with the most cherished notions of Christian purity and holiness, but also that the very construction of the edifice was wholly incompatible with the new idea of worship, which Christianity had brought into the world. Let any one who has seen the Temple of Isis at Pompeii (we mention this as, perhaps, the most complete specimen now extant of a heathen temple at the time of the Christian era) reflect on the impossibility of amalgamating elements so heterogeneous. It was exactly in accordance with the genius of heathenism, that the Priest should minister in the presence of the god, withdrawn from view in the little cell or temple that rose in the centre of the consecrated area; but how should the president of the Christian assembly be concealed from the vast concourse in whose name he acted, and who, as with the voice of many waters, were to reply 'Amen' to his giving of thanks? It was most congenial to the feeling of Pagan worshippers that they should drop in, one by one, or in separate groups, to present their individual prayers or offerings to their chosen Divinity; but how was a Christian congregation, which, by its very name of ἐκκλησια, recalled the image of those tumultuous crowds which had thronged the Pnyx or Forum, in the days of the Athenian or Roman Commonwealth, to be brought within the

* Bingham, viii. 3.

narrow limits even of the outer courts, much less of the actual edifice which was supposed to be the dwelling of the God? Even the Temple of Jerusalem itself—pure as it was from the revolting recollections which invested the shrines of the heathen deities, and present as it was, no doubt, to the minds of Christians, even after a desolation of two hundred years—was obviously inadequate to become the visible and outward home of a religion to which the barriers of Judaism were hardly less uncongenial than those of Paganism itself. A Temple, whether heathen or Jewish, could never be the model of a purely Christian edifice. The very name itself had now, in Christian phraseology, passed into a higher sphere; and however much long use may have habituated us to the application of the word to material buildings, we can well understand how instinctively an earlier age would shrink from any lower meaning than the moral and spiritual sense attached to it in those Apostolical Writings which had taught the world that the true temple of God was in the hearts and consciences of men. And therefore, in the words of Bingham, 'for the first three ages the name is scarce ever' (he might have said never) 'applied to Christian places of worship;' and though instances of it are to be found in the rhetorical language of the fourth, yet it never obtained a hold on the ordinary language of Christendom.

It is to a wholly different quarter that we are to look for an answer to our inquiry. We have spoken of the abuse of the appellation of Temple in later times; it is perhaps even more to be lamented that the word *Church*, or *Ecclesia*, already fraught with meanings sufficiently complicated, should have been additionally burdened in later times, by the expression which has identified it with the material building; when we might have retained the original and unambiguous title of *Basilica*, 'which' (again to use the language of Bingham) 'ever 'since it came into use, has been the common name of all churches' down to the commencement of the middle ages.

What, then, was the ancient heathen structure, whose title has thus acquired a celebrity so far beyond its original intention? It is, as Chevalier Bunsen strikingly observes, the especial offspring and symbol of Western civilization;—Greek in its origin, Roman in its progress, Christian in its ultimate development,—the word is co-extensive with the range of the European family. In the earliest form under which we can catch any trace of it, it stands in the dim antiquity of the Homeric age—at the point where the first beginnings of Grecian civilization melt away into the more primitive forms of Oriental society. It is the gateway of the Royal Palace, in which the ancient Kings,

Agamemnon at Mycenæ, David at Jerusalem, Pharoah at Thebes or Memphis, sat to hear and to judge the complaints of their people; and of which the last* trace was preserved at Athens in the 'King's Portico' under the Pnyx, where the Archon King performed the last judicial functions of the last shadow of the old Athenian royalty. But it was amongst the Romans that it first assumed that precise form and meaning which have given it so lasting an importance. Judging from the great prominence of the Basilicas as public buildings, and from the more extended application of them in the imperial times to purposes of general business, the nearest parallel to them in modern cities would doubtless be found in the Town-hall or Exchange. What, in fact, the rock-hewn semicircle of the Pnyx was at Athens—what the open platform of the Forum had been in the earlier days of Rome itself—that, in the later times of the Commonwealth was the Basilica—the general place of popular resort and official transactions; but, in accordance with the increased refinement of a more civilized age, protected from the mid-day sun and the occasional storm by walls and roof. Still, the original idea of a hall of justice, which came with the name from Greece, was never lost at Rome; and it was characteristic of the Eternal City, that the predominant image which was impressed on its public buildings was not commercial, or religious, or even political, but judicial. A long hall divided by two rows of columns into a central avenue, with two side aisles, in one of which the male, in the other the female appellants to justice waited their turn; whilst the middle aisle was occupied by the chance crowd that assembled to hear the proceedings, or for purposes of merchandise; a transverse avenue which crossed the others in the centre, and, if used at all, was occupied by the advocates and others engaged in the public business; the whole building closed by a long semicircular recess, (the form, it is said, most convenient for hearing,) in the centre of which sat the prætor or supreme judge, seen high above the heads of all on the elevated † 'tribunal,' which was deemed the indispensable symbol of the Roman judgment-seat.

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* It is perhaps doubtful how far the *form* of the word 'Basilica,' though of course itself purely Greek, was ever used with this acceptation in Greece itself. Στοα βασιλεως is the designation of the Athenian portico, and οικος or ναος βασιλεως is Eusebius' expression for the Christian Basilica.

† The 'judgment hall' or prætorium of the Roman magistrates in the provinces had no further resemblance to the Basilica, than in the apparent coincidence of name which must frequently have arisen from their formation out of the palaces of the former kings of the conquered

Such was the form of the Basilica, as they met the view of the first Christians in the different forums of the imperial city. It needs but few words to account for their adaptation to the use of a Christian church. Something, no doubt, is to be ascribed, as Mr Milman well remarks, to the fact, (*History of Christianity*, iv. 26,) that 'as these buildings were numerous, and attached to any 'imperial residence, they might be bestowed at once on the 'Christians without either interfering with the course of justice, 'or bringing the religious feelings of the hostile parties into col-'lision.' Still, the instances of actual transformation are exceedingly rare—in most cases it must have been impossible, from the erection of the early Christian churches on the graves, real or supposed, of martyrs and apostles, which, according to the almost universal practice of the ancient world, were necessarily without the walls of the city, as the halls of justice, from their connexion with everyday life, were necessarily within. It is on some such grounds as these, we imagine, that M. Bunsen conceives there must have been something in the type itself of the Basilica, at least not uncongenial to the early Christian views of worship, independent of any causes of mere accidental convenience. What this was has been anticipated, in what has been said of the rejection of the temple. There was now a 'church,' a 'congregation,' an 'assembly,' which could no longer be hemmed within the narrow precincts, or detained in the outer courts of the heathen τεμενος or enclosure—where could they be so naturally placed as in the long aisles which had received the concourse of the Roman populace, and which now became the 'nave' of the Christian Cathedrals? Whatever distinctions existed in the Christian society, were derived, not as in the Jewish temple, from any notions of inherent religious differences, between different classes of men, but merely, as in the Jewish synagogue, from considerations of order and decency; and where could these be found more readily than in the separate places still retained by the sexes in the aisles of the Basilica; or the appropriation of the upper end of the building to the clergy and singers, from whose ministrations it became transformed into the choir or chorus? There was a law to be proclaimed, and a verdict to be pronounced, by the highest officers of the new society; and what more natural, than that

nations. But so necessary was the elevation of the judge's seat considered to the final delivery of the judicial sentence, that, as has been made familiar to us in one memorable instance, (John, xix. 13,) the absence of the usual tribunal was supplied by a tesselated pavement, which the magistrate carried with him, and on which his chair or throne was placed before he could pronounce sentence.

the Bishop should take his seat on the lofty tribunal of the prætor, and thence rebuke, exhort, or command, with an authority not the less convincing, because it was moral and not legal? There was lastly a bond of communion between all the members of that assembly, to which the occupants of the Temple and the Basilica had been alike strangers—what more fitting than that the empty centre of the ancient judgment hall, where its several avenues and aisles joined in one, should now receive a new meaning; and that there, neither in the choir nor nave, but in the midst of them all, should be erected the Altar or Table of that communion which was to belong exclusively neither to the clergy nor to the people, but to bind both together in indissoluble harmony? *

Such, according to the work before us, was the history of the Basilica:—First, the Greek portico or colonnade, attached to the royal palace—Secondly, the Roman hall, whether of justice or exchange, in which the simple columns of Grecian architecture were blended with the arch and vault of Rome—Hellenic in its origin, but only acquiring, through the power of Rome, its connexion with the destiny of the civilized world—Thirdly, the earliest edifice of Christian worship—attesting, by the mere fact of its origin, the triumph of that faith which had thus turned to its own especial purposes the halls where Christians had once pleaded for their lives; as Socrates, on the same charge of impiety, had in the Athenian prototype of the very same building pleaded before them—the triumph well described in the address of one of the earliest Christian Poets to one of the latest Emperors, which is at once our best testimony to the fact, and to the moral which these pages have brought before us—*Basilica, olim negotiis plena, nunc votis pro tuâ salute susceptis.*

Varieties in this adaptation of the Basilica to the Christian Church there must indeed have been, even from the first. The partial adoption of the Temple in the Eastern provinces we have already noticed; and, although the form of the Basilica even there was never entirely lost, yet it is impossible

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ages, which did undoubtedly express the feelings of their age, is there any such ground for that sickly extravagance of modern superstition, which would see the morals of a whole age or system only through the medium of their works of art. Much less are we justified in drawing any such elaborate conclusions in an age of the church when Christian architecture could hardly be said to exist—where every original effort of Christian art was necessarily repressed and overwhelmed, by the magnificent structures which rose over against them in the buildings of the Roman Empire.

Still, whether we trace any direct connexion or not between M. Bunsen's view of the origin of the Basilica, and the state of the early Church, there is certainly no contradiction between them;—even if we may not look upon the Basilica as a proof of the genuine tendencies of the first ages of the Christian commonwealth, we may at least use it as an illustration of them;—even if we may not class it amongst those outward objects in which the genius of a great period naturally embodies itself, we may avail ourselves of its aid to remind us of those movements out of which it actually arose; and to show us that if there was any thing in the fourth century of that symbolism, which some now hold up as the very essence of Christianity, it is at least capable of an interpretation as far asunder as the poles, from the symbolism of Durandus or of Laud.

In the first place, it may no doubt have been an accident that the first Christian place of worship should have been taken from an edifice so expressive of the popular life of Greece and Rome,—so exact an antithesis to the seclusion of the Jewish and Pagan Temple. But if it was an accident, it is strikingly in accordance with all that we know of the strength of the popular element of the early Church,—not merely in its first origin, when even an Apostle did not pronounce sentence on an offender, or issue a decree or appoint an officer, without the concurrence of the whole society; but even in those later times, when Augustine fled from city to city to escape from the elevation which he was destined to receive, from the wild enthusiasm of an African populace;—when a layman, a magistrate, an unbaptised catechumen was, on the chance acclamation of an excited mob, transformed into Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan. It is precisely this true image of the early Church, the union of essential religious equality with a growing distinction of rank and order, that the Basilica was to bring before us in a visible and tangible shape. It might have been unnatural, if the whole constitution, the whole religion of the three first centuries, was, as some would tell us, wrapt up in the institution of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons;

if the current of popular energy had been dried up at its source by the terrors of the Vatican, or frozen into sudden stagnation by the caution of Lambeth. But it could not have been deemed altogether strange, in an age that still caught the echoes of that contest which convulsed the early Christian society, between the last expiring efforts of the free government of the Church, and the first germ of the absolute despotism of the clergy. It would be most instructive if we could regard its several elements as the counterpart in architecture, to that struggle which in literature is represented to us in the conflicting editions of Ignatius, and which, whether we believe in the Longer Epistles or the Shorter, the seventeen, the seven, or the three—alike tells us that there was a popular cause which insisted on making itself heard—that the absorption of all the offices of the Church into a single order, or a single individual, was not so instantaneously brought to pass, as some of our late Anglocatholic friends would have tried to make us believe.

Again, the rise of the first edifice of Christian worship, not out of the Jewish Temple, or even the Jewish Synagogue, but out of the Roman hall of justice, may be regarded as no inapt illustration of another fact of early Christian History, not so much disputed as that which we have just mentioned, inasmuch as it has been fortunate in escaping the notice of controversialists; but still of great importance to the right understanding of those times, and far too little dwelt upon by our ordinary ecclesiastical writers. We are often reminded both *in bonam et malam partem* by the polemics of opposite schools, of the identity of early Christian customs and institutions with those of the older dispensation. Few topics have been more popular in modern times, whether in praise or blame, than the Judaic character of the worship, ministry, and teaching of the three first centuries. But the indisputable share which the Gentile world has had in the material buildings of the Christian Church, immediately suggests a doubt whether it may not have also contributed something to the no less complex structure of its moral fabric. The influence of Judaism on the first century, was undoubtedly very great. On the one hand, the early sects had all more or less something of a Judaizing character; on the other hand, even the Apostles could not have been what they were had they not been Jews. But the fall of Jerusalem was in truth the fall of the Jewish world—it was in itself a reason for the close of the apostolic age—a death-blow to the influence of the Jewish nationality on the future fortunes of the world at large. Something, no doubt, both of its form and spirit lingered on, in the institutions of that great society which sprung out of its ruins; but Judaism itself had expired, and,

however much the mere ceremonial and superficial aspect of the Patristic age may bear a Jewish physiognomy, it is to the influences at work in the social fabric of the Roman Empire itself, that we must seek the true springs of action in the Christian Church, —so far as they came from any foreign source. It is therefore with something more than a mere artistical interest that we find the Bishop seated on the chair of the Prætor—the forms of the cathedral already wrapt up in the halls of Æmilius and of Trajan. It is in exact accordance not only with the more general influence to which the Christian society was exposed, from the rhetorical subtleties, the magical superstitions, the idolatrous festivals, and the dissolute habits of the heathen world at large, but also with the more especial influence which the purely political spirit of the Roman State exercised over some of their most peculiar institutions—with the fact that the very names by which the functions of their officers are described, sprung not from the religious, but from the civil vocabulary of the times—and are expressions not of spiritual so much as of political power. 'Ordo' (the origin of our present 'orders') was the well-known name of the municipal senates of the empire; 'ordinatio' (the original of our 'ordination') was never used by the Romans except for civil appointments; the 'tribunes of the people' are the likeness which the historian of the *Decline and Fall*, and the author of *The Church of the Fathers*, alike recognize in the early Christian Bishops; the preponderance of the Gentile spirit of government, and the revival of the spirit of the Roman Senate in the counsels of Cyprian, was the thought which forced itself on the mind of the last English historian of Rome, in spite of many earlier prepossessions: even the Papacy itself, according to the pregnant expression of Hobbes, which, however inadequate as a complete account of it, is yet true as far as it goes, was but 'the 'ghost of the dead Roman Empire sitting upon the grave there-'of.' Evils and abuses innumerable no doubt flowed from the excess of this influence on the Christian Church, but in itself it was a true instinct, which no declamations about the contrast of civil and spiritual power were able completely to extinguish. The free spirit of the Roman citizen felt that it could breathe no where so freely as in the bosom of the Christian society. The Christian minister felt that no existing office or title to power was so solemn as that of the Roman magistrate; and Christianity could pay no more striking act of homage to the greatness of the expiring Empire, than in this declaration of its belief, unconscious if we will, that the hall of Roman justice was not too secular for a place of Christian worship.

Yet once more—we have seen how the very name of Basilica

leads our thoughts back to the period of Roman greatness and Grecian refinement—we have seen how naturally the several parts of the heathen and the secular edifice adapted themselves to their higher Christian use—we have seen how, on the one hand, as if by an exact inversion of the Divine rebuke, the den of thieves was changed into the house of prayer—the words of heavenly love spoken from the inexorable seat of Roman judgment—the halls of opposition and wrangling converted into the abodes of peace and worship;—how, on the other hand, the idea of the public and social life which the Basilica had brought with it from Greece—the idea of an irresistible law and universal dominion which had been impressed upon it by the genius of Rome, first found their complete development under the shadow of that faith which was to preserve them both to the new world of Europe. Surely it is no idle fancy, to trace in this transfiguration of the ancient images of Gentile power and civilization, at least a shadow of that higher purpose which 'shapes mens' ends, rough 'hew them as they will,'—a sign, however faint, of the true spirit of that faith which here found its earliest outward expression. Had unrestrained scope been given to the tendency which strove to assimilate all Christian worship to the outward religious ceremonial of Judaism or Paganism, it might have perpetuated itself by adopting in all cases, as it certainly did in some, the type, if not of the Roman, at least of the Jewish temple. Had the stern indifference to all forms of art prevailed every where, and at all times, during the three first centuries, as it did during the ages of persecution, and in the deserts of the Thebaid, it would probably have swept away outward localities and forms of worship altogether.

A higher spirit, undoubtedly, than either of these tendencies represent, there has always been in the Christian Church, whether latent or expressed;—a spirit which would make religion to consist not in the identification of things with itself, nor yet in a complete repudiation of them—but in its comprehension and appropriation of them to its own uses;—which would look upon the world neither as too profane, nor too insignificant, for the regard of Christians, but rather as the very sphere in which Christianity is to live and to triumph. To what extent such a spirit may have co-existed with all the counteracting elements which it must have met in the age of Constantine, we do not pretend to say: but if the view above given be correct, it is precisely such a spirit as this which is represented to us in outward form by the origin of the Christian Basilica. It is precisely such a monument as best befitted the first public recognition of a religion whose emphatic distinction it was, that

it embraced not one nation only, nor one element of human nature only, but all the nations, and all the various elements of the whole world. The connexion of the details of the Basilica with the popular theory of Church government may possibly have been overstrained—but the very fact of its existence attests the triumph of a principle, far more deeply connected with the cause of Christian freedom, than can be the case with any arrangement of government however liberal. The Gothic Cathedral may have had its origin quite independently of its precursors in Italy, and may have been a far truer exponent of the whole range of Christian feeling; but neither it, nor any other form of Architecture could have won its way into the Christian world, unless the rise of the Basilica had first vindicated the application of Gentile art, whether Roman or Teutonic, to sacred purposes. The selection of the Halls of Justice may have been occasioned by merely temporary and accidental causes; but the mere fact of the selection of such sites or such models, unhallowed by ancient tradition, or primeval awe, was in itself a new phenomenon—was in itself the sign that a Religion was come into the world, confident of its own intrinsic power of consecrating whatever it touched, independently of any outward or external relation whatever.

We cannot take leave of these volumes without an expression of gratitude to the country which has produced them. We often hear alarm at the influx of German literature into England—at the increasing interest taken by the rising generation in works of German philosophy and theology. That Germany has much to answer for in hasty speculation and capricious theorizing, we readily acknowledge; but the Works before us are amongst a thousand proofs that the Germans, as a nation, possess that which we cannot dispense with, unless we appropriate it for ourselves. They teach us by example not only how to collect facts, but how to arrange them. They make us feel that we have gained by criticism at least as much as we have lost; that those who walk in the steps of the great Scholar, who has well been called not the destroyer, but the restorer of Roman History, will give us back more than they have taken from us. The materials were already at hand in the works of Italians or of Englishmen—but what a contrast between Nibby and Niebuhr—between Bingham and Bunsen! It is not by translating German works, but by studying them with an English spirit—not by divesting ourselves of our English character, but by lighting it up with the Promethean spark of German research, that the chasm between the two nations can really be bridged over with advantage to either. And we trust

we shall not be suspected of national vanity, if we express our firm conviction, that the English History and Theology which may arise out of such a union would be as much greater than any thing which has yet appeared in Germany, as it would be than any thing which has yet appeared in England; and that so far from any dangerous result to Christian belief, amongst us, there is no prospect, humanly speaking, which holds out so fair a hope of a thoroughly deep and sound appreciation of the true ends and principles of Christianity, both by the spirit and the understanding, in the Church and in the World.

ART. VI.—*Over-Population and its Remedy; or, an Inquiry into the Extent and Causes of the Distress prevailing among the Labouring Classes of the British Islands, and into the Means of Remedying it.* By WILLIAM THOMAS THORNTON. 8vo. London: 1846.

OUR chief subject of difference with Mr Thornton lies in the first word of his title-page, and the first lines of his book. 'By over-population,' he says, 'is to be understood, 'throughout the following pages, that condition of a coun-'try in which part of the inhabitants, though able-bodied 'and capable of labour, are *permanently* unable to earn a *suffi-'ciency* of the necessaries of life.' We confess ourselves unable to understand this definition; and, even if this be our fault, and not the author's, we wish he had not adopted, as a comprehensive title for the evils which affect the labouring classes, a word which seems to us rather calculated to raise unnecessary controversies than to convey definite ideas. And we are quite sure that if 'over-population' exists among us, Mr Thornton has not succeeded in the difficult task of pointing out its 'remedy.' But, viewing his work as what it more justly might profess to be—an inquiry into many circumstances connected with the 'condition-of-England-question,'—particularly as regards the agricultural classes, with suggestions respecting measures now or lately under consideration for their relief, we have found in it much to instruct us, and not a little to praise, even where we are forced to disagree.

There is one sense, undoubtedly, in which the word 'over-'population' may be used with sufficient, if not absolutely strict accuracy. Wherever the bad economy of labour causes it to be expended in part unproductively, there over-population

may be said to exist. If, by the habits of a country, two men, with inferior skill and machinery, are required to execute work which one might perform, the labour of one of the two is redundant. Thus, in agriculture, (to employ the instance which appears most familiar to Mr Thornton, and is generally used by him for the purpose of illustration,) there is a certain proportion between capital and labour which, with the existing appliances of skill and machinery, may be termed the most advantageous. In the present state of agricultural skill, there is a certain extent of land which a certain number of labourers can cultivate to the greatest advantage; that is, with the greatest net return above wages and profits. The same land, divided between a much greater number of Cottiers, cultivating it by the spade, might yield a larger gross return; but the net return, over and above the wages of the cultivator, would be much less. Labour is not so productive in the latter as in the former case; and the land is over-peopled. In this sense, the handloom weavers form a class of redundant workmen. Ireland is over-peopled by Cottiers. Every country, indeed, suffers more or less from the same evil; for there is probably no country where, in some department or other of industry, many more hands are employed than would be necessary to create the greatest amount of surplus wealth, if labour were properly divided, and existing skill properly applied. Inveterate habits, monopolies, customs influencing the tenure of land, the slowness of the process by which surplus labour is absorbed, after the derangements occasioned by changes in fashion, and improvements in machinery,—all these are causes tending to produce and maintain 'over-population,' in this sense of the word.

But this is not Mr Thornton's meaning. He is not one of those who consider that the waste of labour is in itself, and of necessity, an evil. He is an admirer, as we shall by-and-by see, of the system of cultivation by small proprietors, or small tenants, under which a large proportion of labour is necessarily expended with little or no return. And we are fully prepared to agree with him thus far,—that the condition of a community in which much labour is expended for small returns is not, necessarily, an unhappy one. We can imagine a state of society in which industry, and skill, and intelligence, are exerted to the utmost pitch—in which capital is accumulated in comparatively few hands, and applied in the most advantageous manner—in which much surplus wealth exists, and riches and luxury abound—and yet the labourers, the mass of the community, may be habitually poor, discontented, improvident. On the other hand, it is equally possible to suppose a community in which land is

divided into small portions—in which great manufacturing and commercial capitals do not exist—in which very little surplus wealth is produced—and yet in which the bulk of the people are morally and physically thriving. Over-population, in countries like these, is only theoretically an evil, in as far as it interferes with the production of wealth. But the production of wealth is by no means so important to the real well-being of a nation, as its distribution. To attempt to stop the accumulation of capital, the consolidation of farms, the economising of labour, where the tendencies of things are working in that direction, would be simply madness. But it might be scarcely less unwise to exchange existing happiness for prospects of wealth; and to convert (could such a thing be done) the people of Tuscany, Flanders, and the better parts of Switzerland, into communities made up of capitalists and day labourers.

'Over-population,' he says again, 'may be shortly defined to 'be a deficiency of employment for those who live by labour; or 'a redundancy of the labouring class above the number of per-'sons that the fund applied to the remuneration of labour can 'maintain in comfort.' If so, the mere fact that a number of agricultural labourers and their families are supported wholly or partly out of the poor-rates, in our agricultural districts, is no proof of general over-population; though Mr Thornton sometimes appears to treat it as such. So long as paupers are supported out of the rent, or surplus revenue of the land, it is plain that, in a country not exporting raw produce, pauperism does not indicate a redundant population. The Dorsetshire landlord is said to spend a fifth or a sixth of his rent in the support of the poor: That is to say, a proportion of the raw produce which is raised from his land is used or exchanged for food and clothing for paupers. If the paupers did not exist, he would expend it on maintaining additional servants, or in procuring comforts and luxuries. These must be either of English manufacture, or foreign produce, purchased with English manufactures. Either way, the income which he now devotes to the maintenance of paupers in his parish, would maintain an additional population, either as servants or artizans. If his parish be 'over-peopled,' then Lancashire is under-peopled to the same extent. This is a case of vicious distribution of the funds for the maintenance of labour, not of *general* over-population. And thus Mr Thornton himself remarks, that in Kent, (which previously swarmed with paupers,) 'since the passing of the new Poor-Law, the rate of wages has 'not fallen, but remains at the old amount of 10s. or 12s. a-'week; thus showing, that previously, while so many of the 'poor were maintained in idleness, *the funds for profitably em-*

'*ploying them were not really wanting, but were merely misdi-*
'*rected.*'

But neither in a country exporting raw produce is pauperism an evidence of general over-population, so long as the paupers are maintained out of the surplus produce of the soil; although the phenomena seem, at first sight, still more to favour the popular notion. The Polish proprietor finds his estates burdened with the maintenance of many aged and infirm, probably of a few unemployed able-bodied persons of the serf or labouring class. The surplus produce out of which he supports them, would, if they were out of the way, be exported, and exchanged for articles of luxury, to be consumed by himself and his family. But do these pauper families, simply because they are unproductive, prove that Poland is over-peopled? If so, troops of retainers of noble houses—numerous and burdensome standing armies—all the idle classes, maintained out of the surplus produce of the soil,—might equally be regarded as instances of 'over-population.' England, in the fifteenth century, was a country exporting raw produce. She had, it may be, fewer paupers in proportion to her population than now. But out of her four millions of people, she had some thirty thousand Monks and Friars, and twice or three times as many idle followers of the great households, with sword and target. Surely it would be an abuse of words to say that England was therefore 'over-peopled,' at a period when, if the scanty chronicles of the poor say true, wages were higher than they have been either before or since.

Pauperism, therefore, does not of itself prove over-population; to which truth, indeed, Mr Thornton himself, though sometimes forgetful of it, bears testimony; as when he speaks of the great number of paupers in the most flourishing parts of Switzerland and in Holland,—countries which even he does not pronounce 'over-peopled.' The true question, to suit Mr Thornton's own definition, is, whether the idle or exuberant population presses on the fund for the maintenance of labour; and consequently causes the labourers to be maintained in less 'comfort,' to earn less wages, than would otherwise be the case? Are wages, whether in England or in Poland, lower than they would be if pauperism was removed—not merely indirectly, on account of the greater stimulus which a different system might give to industrious habits, but directly, because part of the wages are taxed to support paupers?

This is a question which it would be extremely difficult satisfactorily to answer. Perhaps it is in its very nature unsusceptible of a complete solution. Yet the affirmative answer, assumed as an hypothesis, forms the very basis of Mr Thornton's

theory; and of all those theories which make over-population the main cause of national suffering. When we say that labourers are more numerous than the fund for their maintenance can maintain *in comfort*, we mean, in nine cases out of ten, no more than this—that the labourers are not so well off as we would have them. But, if we are to prove over-population by the absence of *comfort*, we must have some more accurate definition of the word. The real test cannot be Mr Thornton's, or Mr Alison's imaginary standard of comfort. Comfort is one thing in the cottage of the English field labourer—another in the lodging of the town artizan—another in the Irish hut—another among the Lazzaroni basking on the shore of the Mediterranean. And the notions of comfort which prevail in these several localities are the same, generally speaking, which have prevailed there at least for some generations. How was the standard originally fixed? Mr Thornton answers by a rapid and well-drawn sketch of the vicissitudes and present condition of the labouring-classes in various parts of Europe; avowedly with the view of establishing the proposition,—that 'the originally happy condition of 'the peasantry has been the cause of its own continuance; 'that the people are comfortable now because they have 'never been otherwise; and because the wish to retain their 'advantages has prevented them from increasing beyond the 'number that could be *adequately* provided for.' *Adequately* to what purpose, and according to what standard? Where is the *datum* line of adequate subsistence for the labouring-class, every deviation from which for the worse, is to be taken as a symptom of over-population,—as every deviation for the better is, we suppose, of under-population; for there is certainly as much reason for the one conclusion as for the other? Why has the Norwegian peasant his cottage and land, his four meals, his meat and beer, his strong homespun woollens, and sound education? Because he and his forefathers have so willed it, says Mr Thornton. Why does the Neapolitan clothe himself in rags, and subsist on garlic and macaroni? Because he and his ancestors have chosen to remain lazzaroni ever since the fall of the Roman Empire, for any thing we know to the contrary. 'Becoming 'inured to misery, they likewise became careless of the future. 'They are wretched now because wretchedness has, during 'many generations, been the portion of their forefathers.'

But it is obviously a loose way of reasoning to argue that Italy is therefore over-peopled; Norway (we presume) under-peopled. For any proof that Mr Thornton adduces, labour may have been equally dear in the latter country—equally cheap in the former—the standard of comfort the same as now in both, for

a period extending much further back in history than it is worth while to enquire. And what is true of those countries respectively, is true of different parts of England. When Mr Thornton maintains that Dorsetshire is over-peopled, because agricultural wages in that county are said to be seven shillings a-week,—considerably less than the average of England,—we might just as well argue that Northumberland and Lincolnshire are under-peopled, because their wages are full as much above the average. All that is really shown by the fact is, that a different condition of the labouring-class exists in the several counties.

Population can be shown to be redundant in Mr Thornton's sense, only where there has been a considerable and permanent fall in the rate of wages. Wherever this has occurred, there has been either an undue increase of labourers, or a diminution of the fund for their maintenance. Suppose, for instance, a sudden and copious accession to their numbers: wages would fall; their condition would deteriorate; so would their productive powers. The work which had been formerly well done by two would now be ill done by three. And at last the rate of wages would become permanently fixed at a lower standard. During the state of transition, such a country might properly be described as labouring under an excess of population. But when wages and habits had settled at a new level; when the wealthier generation had gone by; when all things had adapted themselves to the altered circumstances; though the later state of the country would be far less happy than the earlier, still the term 'over-population' would cease to describe that state. There might be hands enough, and no more, to do the existing work with existing skill, and for wages suited to the existing standard.

Could it therefore be shown, which we do not believe it can, that the condition of the labouring classes in England has, in the course of some generations, undergone that change for the worse which we have here supposed *immediate*, it would still be a careless and unmeaning use of the word to call England 'over-peopled.' Nor is this a mere philosophical cavil. The notion we here impugn has been the source of many mistakes, and is likely to produce more. It was, perhaps, from ideas similar to Mr Thornton's—namely, that the poor-laws, under the old system of abuses, produced a permanent over-population—that many of those who supported their reform, entertained the belief that its direct effect would be to raise wages. The expectation, we fear, was fallacious. And the disappointment of hopes which had no substantial foundation, may have contributed to direct a portion of popular feeling against a law of which the real value lay far deeper,—in the indirect influence it was intended to

exercise, first on the moral, and ultimately on the physical, well-being of the people.

Mr Thornton, however, thinks it sufficient for his purpose, if he can show that there has *at any time* been a depreciation of the condition of the English peasantry. He carefully examines Sir F. Eden's well-known storehouse of statistical facts, and traces the condition of the mass of the people, even from the Saxon times to the present;—following the same course, and arriving at many of the same conclusions, with Malthus. Both allow, that in as far as the accessible evidence goes, the reward of labour was never so high as in the fifteenth century: both are forced—if any reliance is to be placed on tables of wages and prices—to fix the golden age of 'merry old England' in the middle of the obscure and turbulent period of the 'wars of the Roses.' But Mr Malthus, while admitting the evidence, regarded the high wages of the reigns of Henry VI. and VII., from whatever cause they may have arisen, as exceptional. He thinks, that compared with what they were both before and after, 'they were evidently peculiar, and could not, therefore, be permanent.' Mr Thornton, while he cannot deny, what the same authorities prove, that this temporary elevation followed an 'extraordinary rise,' endeavours to account for it by an extraordinary extension of employment—a very easy mode of getting over a difficulty, for it is purely an hypothesis—yet seems anxious to represent it as the normal state of the English peasantry;—to establish that their subsequent decline must be regarded as an abandonment of the 'high social position' which they had attained, as a proof of their redundant numbers,—as an 'exchange of the ease and comfort 'which they had once enjoyed, for difficulties and privations.' 'How has it happened,' he asks, 'that the numbers of the people 'are now, and have been throughout the last three hundred and 'sixty years, in excess to their *former proportion* to the amount of 'employment? For the present *degradation* of the English lab-'ourer has not been effected within a recent period; the golden 'age of the working class was followed *without any interval* by the 'iron age which still subsists.'—Now if this be so—if in point of fact wages fell, more than three centuries ago, from their boasted height to a state of depression which has continued ever since—of what possible practical utility can it be to compare the present condition of things with one so utterly past and forgotten? How very idle a proposition it is, were it a true one, that England is now over-peopled—in comparison, not with the times of our fathers and forefathers—but in comparison with the England of Chaucer and Lydgate!

That the fall from this state of prosperity *was* great and rapid,

Mr Thornton is forced to show from the same authorities on which he relies for the prosperity itself. From the end of the reign of Henry VII. to the middle of that of Elizabeth, wages, generally speaking, seem to have had a downward tendency. Nor are the causes easy of ascertainment. Even Malthus rather evades than meets the question; and Mr Thornton's solution is not convincing. The change from agriculture to sheep-farming may have rendered population temporarily abundant in some districts; the conversion of a great number of small owners of long leases, particularly under the monasteries, into farmers at rack-rent, (a change not yet completed in the western parts of England;) the disuse of the custom of employing large bodies of idle retainers,—all these circumstances may have had a more or less injurious effect for the time on the condition of the labourers. Even with the high authority of Malthus against us, we are much inclined to think that the fall in the value of the precious metals, which followed the discovery of America, had more share than any other cause, in producing that continuous and steady fall of real wages which took place during the greater part of the sixteenth century.

Be this, however, as it may, the condition of the agricultural labourer 'began sensibly to improve' towards the end of the same century. 'Although,' says Mr Thornton, 'agricultural 'labourers were now raised a good deal above the depth to 'which they had sunk, they were very far from having regained 'the prosperity which they had once enjoyed;' but he should have added, that this 'once' refers only to the exceptional period already mentioned. There seems to have been a stationary or declining period about the time of the Rebellion; when for several years very high prices prevailed. But from 1670 to 1770 or thereabouts, there was a decided increase of comfort; and this seems to have been the period of the principal changes in the outward condition and habits of the labourer, from those of earlier times—the substitution of wheaten for inferior bread—glass windows for shutters—finer for coarser clothing. Yet, says Mr Thornton, throughout the first half of the reign of George III., the condition of the English peasantry 'must 'have presented a very melancholy aspect to all who could 'perceive how much the foundations of their independence 'were *undermined*.' Why undermined? Mr Thornton himself shows that they had enough to subsist on, and work to do. The ordinary traditions of the time represent them rather as a coarse, bold, thriving race, than as suffering, oppressed, and half starved. But we are to look still further, it seems, for the threatened period of deterioration, which appears ever to recede

before us. In 1795, it is true, bad times for the peasantry began. War, and bad seasons, and the anti-jacobin terrors,—which produced the worst tampering with principle in the poor-law administration that had yet been seen,—told heavily against them. 'Many persons living can well recollect how 'severe the sufferings of the labouring class were at that time, 'and with what difficulty they continued to struggle through 'them.' But the evil was only temporary. About 1810, wages again began to rise. 'Agricultural wages were considerably 'higher between 1811 and 1820, than in the ten years im-'mediately preceding.' Let us proceed to the next decennium. Money wages fell (1820—1823,) but not in proportion to the fall in the price of provisions. 'From a comparison of wages 'and prices, it does not appear that the labourer's condition 'was now *further* deteriorated,' (we have just seen that it had been *improving* for ten years before.) 'On the contrary, it 'was probably, if any thing, a little *improved*, though the 'alteration either way was too small to deserve notice.' This brings us to 1830. No one, we think, will suppose that any changes which have taken place since that year, amount to a substantial fall of wages, or deterioration of the condition of the peasantry. And now, with Mr Thornton's own chronicle of wages fairly analysed, we are surely entitled to ask our readers, where is the evidence of that falling off in the condition of the English people, which is the very foundation of his theory? We have not prayed in aid the evidence afforded by the advance of manufacturing industry: we restrict our enquiry to the field selected by our author himself, that of agricultural labour. And we ask again, on what authority is it that he affirms, that 'during the last forty or fifty years, the English peasantry 'have been continually and rapidly *declining*;' when his own Statistics prove, as we have shown, that, from 1811 to 1830, agricultural wages were gradually *rising?* The truth is, we cannot help suspecting, that Mr Thornton began by assuming his hypothesis of a redundant population and declining wages, and afterwards examined the evidence on the subject. Much too fair and honest to mis-state that evidence, and yet too wedded to his theory to modify it, he has suffered himself to slip into the inconsistency of proving one thing, and then assuming another, as the foundation of further argument.

The conclusion to which we are irresistibly led is, that there is no proof of the condition of agricultural labourers in England having deteriorated for the last three centuries at least. What may have been their condition in earlier times, is matter for anti-

quarian investigation, rather than of real importance at present. To say that in England there is now a 'redundancy of popula-'tion,' compared with England under the Plantagenets, or England under the Heptarchy, is mere shadowy assumption, utterly unserviceable towards any of the serious purposes of the day. The urgency of present questions is too great, the demand on the energy and resources of every well-wisher to his country, too pressing, to admit of trifling with subjects of such vital interest. If art did less, nature did far more for the individual man, than she is permitted to do at the present day. When Manchester was a village, when wolves and bears were chased at Highgate, when three-fourths of England were covered with forests, the mere freedom of space and elbow-room was in itself a source of many pleasures, of which the very memory is faded away. Nor was the labourer's physical condition to be deplored. He had, in general, abundance of coarse food; for the best lands alone were cultivated, and inferior kinds of stock were cheaply fed in the woods and commons. His dress and lodging were miserable enough, no doubt; but probably less so in proportion, than those of the Baron. His life was, indeed, exposed to fearful evils from which we now live in happy exemption;—famines very different from their so-called successors—epidemics of a very different order from our cholera—lawless violences —savage laws. But the chance of great catastrophes never goes for much in the estimate of human happiness. The very serf of those days, except when he happened to quarrel with the royal foresters, was, in some respects, freer, and therefore happier, than the modern hind;—from whom the common, the village green, the field-path, have one by one been taken by law, until he is as effectually barred out from the enjoyment of nature as the cotton-spinner shut up in his factory. These times can never return; but the great substitute for the physical enjoyments of earlier days is to be found in intellectual development and culture.

Fortunately, Mr Thornton's misconceptions of the subject, if such they be, lie on the surface only, and affect his judgment on theoretical subjects rather than on practical ones. Assuredly he is no sentimental economist,—attributing the sufferings of the poor to the hard-heartedness of the rich, and the grinding tyranny of capital; or to any other of the false grounds on which the easy philanthropy of the day loves to expatiate. No one can more plainly assert the stern and unpopular truth, that the labourers are themselves responsible, in the long run, for most of the evils which beset their condition. No one more distinctly

shows that the ultimate causes of prosperity or suffering lie in the habits and the wills of men themselves—formed and exercised from generation to generation. It may, therefore, be urged, that his use of the word 'over-population' is harmless, even if not philosophically accurate. But, unfortunately, it gives encouragement to errors from which Mr Thornton may be free; but which are easily deducible from the expressions he has permitted himself to employ. The very name of over-population is provocative of quackery. It invites the projector and the speculator. A redundant population, on the one hand; on the other, unpeopled continents, waste lands, bogs, fens to reclaim—swamps to drain, roads to make, factories to construct,—these things stand in such inviting approximation, that it is no wonder there are many who cannot be brought to look beyond the first and most attractive project. And thus, fallacies refuted day after day by sad experience, are again and again reduced into experiment; for there are some follies which never grow old—some speculators who, after the bursting of an hundred bubbles, will still watch with unaltered faith and enthusiasm the stately outset of the hundred-and-first.

If it be true, as Mr Thornton believes, that the source of the evils which afflict the labouring classes is mainly in themselves; if we are able to show that the price of a man's industry is ultimately determined by the value which he himself sets upon it, —by his own self-respect and self-restraint—then it is evident that the remedies, or pretended remedies, may be classed under two heads. The first are those which attack the root of the evil; the latter, its outward symptoms. The first are directed against the causes which produce the anomalies complained of; the latter, to redress the anomalies themselves. The first resemble a medical treatment founded on principle; the latter, the exhibition of specifics, or, in plain English, quack medicines. Education, well-regulated poor-laws—(so far as these are not simply measures of police,) laws interfering with contracts, and regulating times and conditions of labour, sanitary provisions, institutions for the encouragement of saving;—all these, and many more, whether well or ill conceived, belong to the first class. The effect they may produce—or by far the greatest part —must be indirect, not direct. They must act by reforming the labourer, not by improving his outward condition. They may render him fit to earn higher wages, but they do not, in the first instance, raise his rate of wages. They are to give him greater strength and higher faculties; but they do not increase his remuneration irrespectively of augmented strength and powers. Poor-law systems of indiscriminate relief—emigration,

home colonization, allotments, public works,—these belong to the second class. They are empirical remedies, the object of which is directly to ameliorate his condition, not to render him capable of securing a better condition for himself.

Omitting free-trade, as now, happily, a *fait accompli*, let us take a glance at the other remedies of both descriptions here chiefly dwelt on. That Mr Thornton is a supporter of the principle of the Poor-Laws' Amendment will easily be supposed; after the indications we have given of his views respecting the original causes of that uneasy state of the labouring classes which he calls over-population. We do not purpose making any extracts from this part of his work; but those who read it, if they do not find much that is original on this hacknied subject, will find that his views are enforced with simplicity and straightforwardness, which may, perhaps, produce an effect in quarters where severer logic would be thrown away. His home-thrusts against the false benevolence and popular cant of the day, will come with greater force from one whom the general tenor of his book shows to be any thing rather than an adherent of the well-abused sect of modern Economists. And he claims for himself no more than that common justice which he is ready to show to others. 'One who devotes a volume to an inquiry into the best means 'of promoting the welfare of the poor, may fairly claim credit 'for taking some interest in the subject, however widely his 'views respecting it may differ from those of his critics. He 'may entertain all the opinions expressed above with regard to 'poor-laws, and yet be a sincere and very ardent friend of the poor. 'Measures for increasing the dependence of the poor upon charity 'can only benefit one portion of the labouring class, in the same 'proportion as they injure another; and, if carried far, must 'inevitably involve all in ruin. The true way to improve the 'condition of the able-bodied is, in all cases short of the want 'of the necessaries of life, to throw them entirely on their own 'resources; but, at the same time, to augment these resources 'to the utmost—to make their own industry their sole depend-'ence, but to enlarge the field within which that industry may 'be exerted. To make them public pensioners, is at best only 'to alter the distribution of the fund for the payment of wages; 'but, to produce any unalloyed advantage, the equilibrium 'between that fund and the number of persons dependent upon 'it must be restored—the one must be augmented, or the other 'must be diminished.'

Of Education, considered merely with reference to its indirect action in improving the habits and strengthening the character, and thereby putting into men's own hands the means to improve

their economical position, Mr Thornton speaks with great decision and plainness. He knows that 'almost any intellectual 'exercise is better than none at all;' and he knows the reason—not because of the mere value of the knowledge acquired, but because no knowledge whatever can be acquired without exertion, and discipline, and self-restraint. No man who does not start with this conviction can be hearty in the great work of our day. 'In the largest sense of the word,' he says, 'every one of 'the measures already recommended in these pages for the 'advancement of the labouring class, may be regarded as con-'tributing to education; for it is only by its influence on the 'mind, that an accession of comforts can tend to dissuade people 'from premature marriages. Even mere schooling, however, 'is calculated to have some effect of the same kind. Whatever 'exercises the mind, developes its powers; mental power can 'only be expanded in thought; and a man who thinks at all, 'is never so likely to think as when he is about to act. To 'whatever sort of culture, therefore, the mind be subjected, 'there is every probability that more or less free thought will 'be among the products.' Thus much for the slowest in its operations, most distant in its fruits, and least encouraging to the sanguine and the impatient—but assuredly the most substantial of all the remedies which wisdom can suggest—for the evils of our present condition.

With similar good sense and moderation Mr Thornton speaks of sanitary regulations, 'short time' acts, and other interferences with the habits or the contracts of labouring people. At the same time, we wish he had devoted a little more attention to the principle of this class of public measures. They form, in truth, one of the most important topics of the day. England has been long in unlearning its inveterate prejudices, in favour of the interference of government with private enterprise, to protect particular classes and interests. Perhaps it has now to learn the lesson, that there are other objects for the sake of which government may be rightly called on to interfere, to an extent as yet unusual. When the 'let-alone' policy was first advocated by Economists, the interference which they had in view, and denounced as noxious, was altogether of the first description. Their earliest endeavours were directed towards liberating society from the sordid tyranny of Class Interests, employing the State as their engine of selfish oppression. It is not unnatural, but it is surely illogical, to extend the same objections to a species of interference exerted with an entirely different object. Spain prohibited the cultivation of the vine in the Americas in order to protect the Spanish vine-growers. China prohibits the cultivation of opium

as a drug pernicious to public health and morality. Whether China be right or wrong, it is obvious that to condemn her policy on the same ground on which we condemn that of Spain is to confound matters essentially different. There are already instances too numerous and notorious to require enumeration, in which governments interfere to prevent or limit contracts—not with a view to the supposed pecuniary advantage of one or other of the contracting parties—not to protect the public in general from nuisance or inconvenience—but simply to protect the contractor himself from the consequences of an engagement fraught with physical or moral evils, which he is unable to appreciate; still more reasonably, to protect others from being driven by the hard necessity of competition to bind themselves, knowingly, to their own prejudice. It is a mere evasion to say that these are exceptional cases. Once admit the principle, that government may rightly exercise such influence—and the usage of every day sanctions it—and every case seeming to call for it, is to be argued on its own merits. And so it must be with reference to the limitation of the hours of labour—the most knotty question of this class now before the public. Its supporters urge that the duration of labour which men will engage to undergo is too much for their bodily and mental health. They say that even high wages, thus acquired, bring little of blessing with them to men spiritless from over-exertion, in homes rendered squalid and uncomfortable; because there is neither time nor inclination left for the exercise of household economy. They say that hasty marriages, early deaths, constant improvidence, brutish and irrational habits of living, are the necessary concomitants of a state of things in which the whole six days are devoted to toil. They even affirm that man deteriorates with these evil influences, not only in his higher qualities, but also in his inferior capacity as a machine of production, and that with shorter labour he might do more or better work. The time is surely past for answering these arguments by mere assertions of general doctrine. Fair reasons must be given for supposing that the point has been already reached, (some point there evidently must be,) at which further interference would do more harm, by diminishing the productiveness of the fund for the maintenance of labour, than it could do good, by its influence on the character of the labourer. And, since every step which the legislature has hitherto taken in the same direction has been met with similar objections and denunciations, none of which have yet been realized, the burden of proof seems to lie rather on the opponents than supporters of further reform.

To leave the consideration of fundamental remedies, and turn to others of a very different description, we find Mr Thornton attaching even less value to Emigration than we might ourselves be disposed to attribute to it. But if little disposed to embrace this once favourite project, he makes up for it by his admiration of the more modern *panacea* for agricultural evils—small farms, or small allotments. We must, however, distinguish—though Mr Thornton does not—between two very different matters. When he argues, that the subdivision of *farms* would be beneficial to the landlord, because 'no rents are more punc-'tually paid than those of *cottage allotments*,' he is certainly in some danger of leading his readers into a confusion exceedingly prevalent on this subject. The subdivision of farms, and the formation of cottage allotments in aid of wages, are altogether different processes;—different in their object, as well as their probable effects. They have absolutely nothing to do with each other; or rather, they are inconsistent schemes. The system of cottage allotments pre-supposes large farms, and a considerable demand for farm labourers. The system of small farms supposes the absence or the scarcity of mere farm labourers as a class, and the general cultivation of the land by the hands of its occupiers.

With regard to cottage allotments, the subject has been already so much canvassed, that we do not intend at present to resume it. The subdivision of farms, to which Mr Thornton appears equally attached, is a matter of far greater consequence, and requires more attentive investigation. He begins by misconceiving, if we understand him rightly, the ordinary economical objection to it. 'The one thing needful,' he says, 'is to make land yield the largest possible surplus, after 'adequately remunerating the cultivator.' And small farms, he maintains, yield a larger surplus produce and rent per acre, than large ones. Therefore, 'labour is much more productive on 'small farms than on large ones.' Now, were it even the fact that small farms pay a higher rent per acre than large ones, we have already seen that it would by no means follow that labour was more productive. Twenty Cottiers, by spade cultivation, may make a given number of acres yield a larger return, perhaps a larger rent, than a single farmer and two labourers. But unless the surplus of the return, after paying wages and replacing stock, is greater in the proportion of twenty to three, it is plain that each man's labour is less productive in the first case than the last. More is drawn from the land by accumulating labour on it. But, after a certain point has been

reached, the greater the quantity of labour, the less is the net return which each man's labour yields. Now it is precisely this net return which makes nations rich. Precisely in proportion to their surplus revenue over the remuneration of the producers, in the shape of profits and wages, is their power to pay taxes, maintain armies, execute great works, besides the mere raw article of population.

So far is clear enough. But when we are investigating the happiness, not the wealth of nations, then, as we have seen already, the prospect becomes far more doubtful; and questions of more difficult solution press upon our attention. It is vain to endeavour to conceal from ourselves the evils of a system under which man's labour is rendered as productive as possible by the assistance of large capitals; but under which the labourer is necessarily dependent entirely on that capital for his employment. Large farms, and a landless peasantry, go inevitably together. And, let us disguise the fact as we may, it is only too true that the landless labourer's condition, is rarely as happy in a mere physical point of view—never as high in the social scale, by reason of the moral qualities which it engenders—as that of the small proprietor, or the farmer with a fixed interest in the soil.

But these are idle comparisons at best. It would be as impossible, we fear, notwithstanding Mr Thornton's persuasives, to subdivide our farms, and scatter our great manufacturing and commercial wealth among more numerous holders, as to stop the progress of human skill and enterprise. Every thing tends the other way;—not only our habits and institutions, but, more especially, all our improvements in mechanical skill and social science. It is needless to expatiate on the advantages which large capitalists have over small ones, in every department of business. However ingenious the arguments Mr Thornton adduces to the contrary, they are too familiarly known to require to be controverted. Now the practical limit to the concentration of capital in few hands—and the only one—is the difficulty of superintending a large business, increasing as the business extends. It is this difficulty, varying in different instances, which, more than any other circumstance, determines the relative amount of capitals ordinarily invested in different kinds of business. Now every improvement in commercial knowledge and practice—communication, locomotion, machinery, and so forth—tends to diminish this difficulty. Banking, for instance, and Bills of Exchange, are inventions which, by simplifying commercial transactions, must have infinitely increased the facility of wielding commercial

capital, and of transferring the trade of the world from pedlars to merchants. It is impossible to conjecture the effect which roads, and canals, and post-offices, and stage-coaches must have had in the same direction. But what shall we say of railways, and the electric telegraph! How enormous must be the advantages which these will afford to the great capitalist, by enabling him to concentrate, under his single direction, far greater forces, and put in practice far greater combinations, than he possibly could before; and how greatly will they tell in his favour in his struggle with his poorer competitor! No one can mistake the tokens of progressive change throughout Britain in this respect. Perhaps one of the most striking economical signs of the times—more so than the increase of farms—is the growing application of large capitals to retail business. Already great retail houses are extending branches over the country; and the ancient race of small shopkeepers is probably doomed to a complete, though gradual, extinction.

As far, then, as human sagacity can forecast, the course of things, unless altered by some revolution, will continue to tend towards the division of society into the classes of landlords, holders of fixed incomes, large capitalists, and labourers. And we know, inasmuch as the like causes in social economy produce the like effects, what peculiar developments, both of good and evil, will be encouraged by the process. There is only one corrective to the tendency in capital to accumulate in few hands, which appears already in action, and which may, not improbably, assume dimensions and importance heretofore unknown. We mean the principle of Commercial Association. Though individual competitors cannot maintain the struggle against large capitalists, there is no reason, except practical difficulties, why numbers acting in co-operation should not. And here also the tendencies of the age are very much towards diminishing those difficulties, and facilitating such unions. The spread of joint-stock companies is a striking innovation on old habits. It is curious that Mr Thornton, in his panegyric on small farms, dwells on the circumstance, that their occupiers are able to form partnerships of this kind; in other words, one of the chief advantages which he discovers in small farms is, that the farmers may, by a process of combination, throw their holdings, as it were, into large ones! He instances the association of small proprietors in France and other countries for purposes of irrigation and drainage—nay even for manufacturing beet-root sugar, and making large cheeses. These instances are curious, precisely because they are directly contrary to his own conclusions. They show men's practical sense of the advantages of large operations in agriculture; and the struggle which small

capitalists will make to get out, as it were, of their natural position, and share in the advantages of large ones. There is no class of experiments for which we are inclined to form such hearty wishes of success; or from which, could they be realized, we should prognosticate so much of good to society.

But we must conclude,—leaving untouched some remedial topics, at present, much in discussion; but which the reader will find, for the most part, well disposed of by Mr Thornton. His book forms a useful addition to the means of information regarding the philosophy of social life, and we therefore recommend it to public notice and favour.

ART. VII.—1. *Des Pensées de Pascal. Rapport à L'Académie Française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage. Par* M. V. COUSIN. 8vo. Paris: 1843.

2. *Pensées, Fragments, et Lettres de Blaise Pascal: publiés pour la première fois conformément aux manuscrits originaux, en grande partie inédits. Par* M. PROSPER FAUGÈRE. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1844.

So much has been written of late years respecting Pascal, and so much that is worth reading, that we do not know that we should have been induced to make him the subject of present criticism, had it not been for the appearance of the above remarkable volumes of M. Faugère.

It seems strange to say, that the most popular work of an author who has been dead two hundred years, and who has obtained a world-wide reputation—a work which has passed through numberless editions, and been translated into most European languages—has never been published in an authentic form till now. Yet this is strictly true of the *Pensées de* Pascal.

It is not possible to convey to the reader a just idea of the merits of this improved edition, or the circumstances which led to it, without relating some of the more important incidents of Pascal's life. A formal biography, however, it cannot be necessary to give; for who has not read some account of the life of Blaise Pascal? It will be sufficient briefly to advert to the principal facts of this great man's history, and the dates of their occurrence.

He was born at Clermont, in Auvergne, in the year 1623, and died in the year 1662, at the early age of thirty-nine.

When we think of the achievements which he crowded into that brief space, and which have made his name famous to all generations, we may well exclaim with Corneille, 'A peine a-t-il 'vécu, quel nom il a laissé!'

It is well known that Pascal exhibited from the earliest childhood the most precocious proofs of inventive genius, especially in the department of mathematics. Having, if we may believe the universally received tradition, been willingly kept in ignorance of Geometry, lest his propensity in that direction should interfere with the prosecution of other branches of knowledge, his self-prompted genius discovered for itself the elementary truths of the forbidden science. At twelve years of age, he was surprised by his father in the act of demonstrating, on the pavement of an old hall, where he used to play, and by means of a rude diagram, traced by a piece of coal, a proposition which corresponded to the thirty-second of the First Book of Euclid.* At the age of sixteen, he composed a little tractate on the Conic Sections, which provoked the mingled incredulity and admiration of Descartes. At nineteen, he invented his celebrated Arithmetical Machine; and at the age of six-and-twenty, he had composed the greater part of his mathematical works, and made those brilliant experiments in Hydrostatics and Pneumatics which have associated his name with those of Torricelli and Boyle, and ranked him amongst the first philosophers of his age. Yet, strange to say, he now suddenly renounced the splendid career to which his genius so unequivocally invited him, and gave himself up to totally different studies. This was principally attributable to that strong religious impulse which was imparted to his mind at this period—rendered deeper by early experience in the school of affliction. From the age of eighteen, he was a perpetual sufferer. In 1647, when only in his twenty-fourth year, he was attacked by paralysis. His ill health was mainly, if not wholly, occasioned by his devotion to study; and of him it is literally true, that his mind consumed his body.

So complete was his abandonment of science, that he never returned to it but on one memorable occasion, and then only for a short interval. We allude, of course, to the remarkable problems which he solved respecting the curve called the Cycloid. The accounts which have been transmitted to us by his sister, of the manner in which these investigations were suggested and completed—accounts which are authenticated by a letter of his

* His sister, Madame Perier, has left an interesting and circumstantial account of this matter, in the life of her brother.

own to Fermat—strongly impress us with the vigour and brilliancy of his genius. We are assured that, after long abandonment of mathematics, his attention was directed to this subject by a casual train of thought suggested in one of the many nights which pain made sleepless. The thoughts thus suddenly originated, his inventive mind rapidly pursued to all the brilliant results in which they terminated; and in the brief space of eight days the investigations were completed. Partly in compliance with the fashion of the age, and partly from the solicitation of his friend the Duke de Roannes, he concealed for a time the discoveries at which he had arrived, and offered the problems for solution to all the mathematicians of Europe, with a first and second prize to successful candidates. If no solution were offered in three months, Pascal promised to furnish his own. Several were forwarded, but as none, in the estimation of the judges, completely fulfilled the conditions of the challenge, Pascal redeemed his pledge by publishing his own, under the name of Amos Dettonville,—an anagram of Louis de Montalte, the name under which the 'Provincial Letters' had appeared. This was in 1658-9, when he was thirty-six years of age.

With this brief exception, Pascal may be said to have practically abandoned science from the age of twenty-six. Yet he did not at once become a religious recluse. For some years he lived a cheerful, and even gay, though never a dissipated life, in Paris, in the centre of literary and polite society, loved and admired by a wide circle of friends, and especially by his patron, the Duke de Roannes. To the accomplished sister of this nobleman, M. Faugère conjectures (as we think plausibly) that Pascal was secretly attached, but, from timidity and humility, 'never told 'his love.' Perhaps, in part, from the melancholy which this hopeless attachment inspired, but certainly much more in consequence of the deeper religious convictions, produced by a memorable escape from an appalling death, in 1654, his indifference to the world increased; and he at length sought for solitude at Port Royal, already endeared to him by the residence there of his sister Jacqueline.

Here it is well known he produced his immortal 'Provincial 'Letters;' and, when death cut short his brief career, was meditating an extensive work on the fundamental truths of religion,—especially on the existence of God and the evidences of Christianity,—for the completion of which he would have required 'ten years of health and leisure.' An outline of the work had been sometimes (and on one occasion somewhat fully) imparted in conversation to his friends, but no part of it was ever completed. Nothing was found after

his death but detached 'Thoughts' (interspersed with some on other subjects) on the principal topics appropriated to such a work. They were the stones of which the building was to have consisted, many of them unhewn, and some few such as the builder, had he lived, would no doubt have laid aside. The form in which the Thoughts were put together comported but too well with their fragmentary character. It appears that he did not even use a Commonplace Book; but when, after profound meditation, any thought struck him as worth recording, he hastily noted it on any scrap of paper that came to hand, often on the backs of old letters; these he strung together on a file, or tied up in bundles, and left them till better health and untroubled leisure should permit him to evoke a new creation out of this chaos. It is a wonder, therefore, that the *Pensées* of Pascal have come down to us at all. Never, surely, was so precious a freight committed to so crazy a bark. The Sybil herself was not more careless about those leaves on which she inscribed her prophetic truths, than was Pascal about those which contained the results of his meditations. Of these results, however, we are in part defrauded, by something far worse than either the fragility of the materials on which they are inscribed, or their utter want of arrangement. Many of the 'Thoughts' are themselves only half developed; others, as given us in the literal copy of M. Faugère, break off in the middle of a sentence, even of a word. Some casual interruption—frequently, no doubt, some paroxysm of pain, to which the great author, in his latter years, was incessantly subject—broke the thread of thought, and left the web imperfect for ever.

It is humiliating to think of the casualties which, possibly in many cases, have robbed posterity of some of the most precious fruits of the meditations of the wise; perhaps arrested trains of thought which would have expanded into brilliant theories or grand discoveries;—trains which, when the genial moment of inspiration has passed, it has been found impossible to recall; or which, if recalled up to the point at which they were broken off, terminate only in a wall of rock, in which the mountain path, which had been before so clearly seen, exists no longer. It is humiliating to think that a fit of the toothache, or a twinge of the gout, *might* have thus arrested—no more to return—the opening germ of conjecture, which led on to the discovery of the Differential Calculus, or the Theory of Gravitation. The condition of man, in this respect, affords, indeed, one striking proof of that combined 'greatness and misery' of his nature, on which Pascal so profoundly meditated. It is wonderful that a being, such as he, should achieve so much; it is humiliating that he

ast depend on such casualties for success. On the precarious
ntrol which even the greatest men have over their own minds,
'ascal himself strikingly says,—'The mind of this sovereign of
the world is not so independent as not to be discomposed by the
first *tintamarre* that may be made around him. It does not
need the roar of artillery to hinder him from thinking; the
creaking of a vane or a pulley will answer the purpose. Be
not surprised that he reasons ill just now; a fly is buzzing in
his ears—it is amply sufficient to render him incapable of sound
deliberation. If you wish him to discover truth, be pleased to
chase away that insect who holds his reason in check, and
troubles that mighty intellect which governs cities and king-
doms! *Le plaisant dieu que voila!* O *ridicolosissimo eroe!*'*

On the imperfect sentences and half-written words, which are
now printed in the volumes of M. Faugère, we look with some-
thing like the feelings with which we pore on some half-defaced
inscription on an ancient monument—with a strange commix-
ture of curiosity and veneration; and, whilst we wonder what the
unfinished sentences may mean, we mourn over the malicious
accident which has, perhaps, converted what might have been
an aphorism of profoundest importance into a series of unmean-
ing cyphers. One of the last things, assuredly, which we should
think of doing with such fragments, would be to attempt to alter
them in any way; least of all, to supplement them, and to
divine and publish Pascal's meaning. There have been learned
men, who have given us supplements to the lost pieces of
some ancient historians;—erudite Freinsheimiuses, who hand
us a huge bale of indifferent Latin, and beg us only to think it
Livy's lost *Decades*. But what man would venture to supplement
Pascal? Only such, it may be supposed, as would feel no
scruple in scouring an antique medal, or a worthy successor of
those Monks who obliterated manuscript pieces of Cicero, that
they might inscribe them with some edifying legend.

Alas! more noted people than these were scarcely more
scrupulous in the case of Pascal. His friends decided that
fragments which he had left behind him, imperfect as
were, were far too valuable to be consigned to oblivion; and
far all the world will agree with them. If, further, they
selected whatever appeared in any degree coherent, and
these *verbatim et literatim*, in the best order they co

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* ...gère, tom. ii. p. 54. It may be proper to observe, ...
... *Pensées* are from this new and soleı

vise, none would have censured, and all would have thanked them. But they did much more than this; or rather, they did both much more and much less. They deemed it not sufficient to give Pascal's Remains with the statement, that they were but Fragments; that many of the thoughts were very imperfectly developed; that none of them had had the advantage of the author's revision,—apologies for any deficiencies with which the world would have been fully satisfied; but they ventured upon mutilations and alterations of a most unwarrantable description. In innumerable instances, they changed words and phrases; in many others, they left out whole paragraphs, and put a sentence or two of their own in the place of them; they supplemented what they deemed imperfect with a prefatory exordium or a prefatory conclusion, without any indication as to what were the respective ventures in this rare species of literary copartnery. It must have been odd to see this committee of critics sitting in judgment on Pascal's style, and deliberating with what alterations, additions, and expurgations it would be safe to permit the author of the *Provincial Letters* to appear in public. Arnauld, Nicole, and the Duke de Roannes were certainly no ordinary men; but they were no more capable of divining the thoughts which Pascal had not expressed, or of improving the style where he had expressed them, than of completing a sketch of Raphael.

It appears that, large as was the Editorial discretion they assumed, or rather, large as was their want of all discretion, they had contemplated an enterprise still more audacious—nothing less than that of completing the entire work which Pascal had projected,—partly out of the materials he had left, and partly from what their own ingenuity might supply. It even appears that they had actually commenced this heterogeneous structure; and an amusing account has been left by M. Perier, both of the progress the builders of this Babel had made, and of the reasons for abandoning the design. 'At last,' says he, 'it was resolved to 'reject the plan, because it was felt to be *almost* impossible *tho-* 'roughly to enter into the thoughts and the plan of the author, 'and, above all, of an author who was no more; and because it 'would not have been the work of M. Pascal, but a work alto- 'gether different—*un ouvrage tout different!*' Very different indeed! If this *naïve* expression had been intended for irony, it would have been almost worthy of Pascal himself.

M. Perier also tells us, that if this plan had but been practicable, it would have been the most perfect of all; but he candidly adds, *il était aussi très-difficile de la bien executer.* But though the public was happily spared this fabric of porphyry

and common brick, it will not be supposed by any reader of M. Cousin's *Rapport*, or of M. Faugère's new edition of the *Pensées*, that Pascal's editors did not allow themselves ample license. 'En effet,' says the former, 'toutes les infidélités qu'il est 'possible de concevoir, s'y rencontrent—omissions, suppositions, altérations.' . . . . . 'J'ai donné des échantillons nombreux de tous les genres d'altérations — altérations de mots, altérations de tours, altérations de phrases, suppressions, substitutions, additions, compositions arbitraires et absurdes, tantôt d'un paragraphe, tantôt d'un chapitre entier, à l'aide de phrases et de paragraphes étrangers les uns aux autres, et, qui pis est, décompositions plus arbitraires encore et vraiment inconcevables de chapitres qui, dans le manuscrit de Pascal, se présentaient parfaitement liés dans toutes leurs parties et profondément travaillés.'*

Subsequent Editors have taken similar liberties, if not so flagrant. While the original Editors left out many passages, from fear of the Jesuits, Condorcet, in his edition, omitted many of the most devout sentiments and expressions, under the influence of a very different feeling. Infidelity, as well as superstition, has its bigots, who would be well pleased to have their *index expurgatorius* also.† Unhappy Pascal! Between his old Editors and his new, he seemed to be in the condition of the persecuted bigamist in the fable, whose elder wife would have robbed him of all his black hairs, and his younger of the grey. Under such opposite editing, it is hard to say what might not at last have disappeared.

It had, as we have stated, been long felt that no thoroughly trustworthy edition of Pascal's 'Thoughts' had yet been published; that none knew what was precisely his, and what was not. M. Cousin, in the valuable work from which we have just quoted, demonstrated the necessity of a new edition, founded upon a diligent collation of original munuscripts. This task M. Faugère has performed with incredible industry and exactitude, in the two volumes mentioned at the head of the

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* *Rapport, Avant-Propos*, pp. ii. ix.

† 'Condorcet, par un préjugé contraire, supprima les passages empreints d'un sentiment de piété ou d'élévation mystique. . . . Par exemple, on ne retrouve pas, dans l'édition de Condorcet, ces pages ravissantes où Pascal, pénétrant dans les plus hautes régions du spiritualisme Chrétien, caractérise la grandeur de la sainteté et de la charité, comparée à la grandeur de la puissance et à celle de l'esprit.'—FAUGERE, *Introduction*, p. xxix.

present article. We must refer the reader to his interesting 'Introduction' for the proof of this statement. There he has given the details of his editorial labours. Suffice it to say, that every accessible source of information has been carefully ransacked; every fragment of manuscript, whether in Pascal's own hand, or in that of members of his family, has been diligently examined; and every page offers indications of minute attention, even to the most trivial verbal differences. Speaking of the Autograph MS. preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, a folio, into which the original loose leaves are pasted, or, when written on both sides, carefully let into the page—*encadrés*—he says, 'We have read, or rather *studied*, this MS. page by page, 'line by line, syllable by syllable, from the beginning to the 'end; and, with the exception of some words which are illegible, 'it has passed entire into the present edition.' As the public, in the former editions, did not exactly know what was Pascal's and what was not, M. Faugère has been compelled to do what, under other circumstances, it would not have been desirable, and indeed hardly just, to do—what, indeed, any author of reputation would vehemently protest against in his own case. He has been obliged to give every fragment, however imperfect, *literatim et verbatim*. The extracts, as we have said, often terminate in the middle of a sentence, sometimes even of a word. As M. Vinet has justly observed, in relation to this feature of M. Faugère's labours, Pascal himself would hardly have been satisfied 'with either his old editors or the new.' At the same time, it must be confessed, that, apart from this circumstance, it is deeply interesting to contemplate the first rude forms of profound or brilliant thought, as they presented themselves to the ardent mind of Pascal. This M. Faugère has often enabled us to do, more especially in the singular collection of the rough notes for the 'Provincial Letters.'—(Tom. i. p. 293-314.) It is like looking at the first sketch of a great painting of Raphael; or, as M. Vinet observes, 'we are taken into the great sculptor's *studio*, and behold him at work, chisel in hand.'

M. Cousin, we should think, must be satisfied with the accuracy and completeness of this edition; and also of the insufficiency of his own argument that Pascal was in fact a 'universal sceptic,' who embraced the truths of religion, not as a hypocrite, indeed, but in the exercise of a blind faith—in fact, in a sort of paroxysm of despair; or because he believed, that what he had proved false in physics was still true in morals, 'that nature abhors a *vacuum*.' M. Cousin, in part, founds his theory on the fact, that the first editors had tamed down some of the more startling statements of Pascal, and omitted others; and that a new edition would reveal the sceptic in his full

dimensions. He must now, we should think, see his error. There is little or nothing which argues Pascal's abiding conviction of the *sufficiency* of the evidence for the fundamental truths of religion, or the Divine origin of Christianity, to be found in the old editions, which does not re-appear in the new, and with much new matter to confirm it. To this subject we shall return, after offering some observations on the genius and character of Pascal.

In one respect, his genius strongly resembled that of a recent subject of our criticism—Leibnitz. His was one of the rare minds, apparently adapted, almost in equal measure, to the successful pursuit of the most diverse departments of philosophy and science—of mathematics and physics—of metaphysics and criticism. Great as was his versatility, it may be doubted, whether in that respect he did not yield somewhat to Leibnitz, as also in his powers of acquisition, and most assuredly in the extent of his knowledge. It is not, however, to be forgotten, that he died at little more than half the age of the veteran philosopher of Germany; and that there can be no doubt that, for his years, his attainments were very extensive. Still it is true, that that perfectly unique characteristic of Leibnitz—his equal aptitude and appetite for reading and thinking, for the accumulation of knowledge and for original speculation—could never have been in the same degree a characteristic of Pascal; and still less in such amazingly diversified directions. Pascal followed in this respect the predominant law of all very inventive minds. He was fonder of thought than of books—of meditation than of acquisition. Even this tendency of mind manifested itself within a more restricted sphere; ample enough, it is true—that of philosophy and theology. To Leibnitz, jurisprudence, history, and antiquities were nearly as familiar as these.

But if the character of Pascal's genius was less excursive than that of Leibnitz, and the literary element in it far less active, these points of inferiority were amply compensated by a superiority in other qualities, in which there can be no comparison between them. In inventiveness, they may perhaps have been equal —but even here, only in mathematics; in moral science—the science of man—we know of nothing out of Bacon, who may be said to set all comparison at defiance,—certainly nothing in Leibnitz, that will bear comparison in depth, subtlety, and comprehensiveness, with some of the 'Thoughts' of Pascal. But, in another characteristic of true genius—and which, for want of another name, we must call *felicity*—neither Leibnitz, nor, we might almost affirm, any one else, can, in the full import of the term, be compared with Pascal. Endowed with originality the

most active and various, all that he did was with *grace*. Full of depth, subtlety, brilliancy, both his thoughts and the manner in which he expresses them are also full of beauty. His just image is that of the youthful athlete of Greece, in whom was seen the perfection of physical beauty and physical strength; in whom every muscle was developed within the just limits calculated to secure a symmetrical development of all;—the result of the whole being the largest possible amount of power and flexibility in union.

In all the manifestations of Pascal's mind, this rare felicity is exuberantly displayed;—in the happy methods by which he lighted on truth and pursued scientific discovery; in the selection and arrangement of topics in all his compositions; in the peculiar delicacy of his wit—so strongly contrasted with all the ordinary exhibitions of that quality of mind, with which his coarse age was familiar; and, above all, in that indescribable elegance of expression which uniformly characterises his finished efforts, and often his most negligent utterances, and which even time can do nothing to impair. Let us be permitted to say a word or two further on these topics.

In his scientific writings, we seem to discern the traces of this felicity almost equally in the *matter* and the *form*. In relation to the former, there is probably a little illusion practised upon us. In reading his uniformly elegant and perspicuous exposition of his own scientific discoveries, we are apt to underrate the toil and intellectual struggles by which he achieved them. We know that they were, and must have been, attended with much of both —nay, that his shattered health was the penalty of the intensity of his studies. Still, it is hardly possible to read his expositions without having the impression that his discoveries resembled a species of inspiration; and that his mind followed out the first germinant thought to its consequences, with more ease and rapidity than is usually exemplified. We can scarcely imagine it would have been necessary for him to have undergone the frightful toils of Kepler, had he been led into the same track of discoveries. And, in fact, whatever illusion his ease and elegance of manner may produce, we know that his achievements were rapidly completed. It was so with the problems on the Cycloid; it was so with his discoveries in Pneumatics and Hydrostatics. In fact, though his *Traité de l'Equilibre des Liqueurs*, and that *De la Pesanteur de l'Air* were not composed till 1653, they seem to have been only another form of the treatise he promised in his *Nouvelles Expériences touchant le Vide*, published in 1647; and of which that tract was avowedly an abridge-

ment. Indeed, as already said, Pascal had nearly quitted these investigations before the completion of his twenty-sixth year.

There was no scientific subject which Pascal touched in which the felicity of his genius—the promptitude and brilliancy of his mind—did not shine forth. We see these qualities eminently displayed in his *Traité du Triangle Arithmétique*—in the invention and construction of his Arithmetical Machine—in the mode of solving the problems respecting the Cycloid, in which, while employing Cavalieri's 'Method of Indivisibles,' he proposes to remove the principal objection which had been made to it, by conceptions which bring him within a step of the Fluxions of Newton, and the Calculus of Leibnitz. The same qualities of mind are eminently displayed in the manner in which he establishes the hydrostatic paradox; and generally in the experiments detailed in the *Nouvelles Experiences*, and the other connected pieces;—most of all in that celebrated *Crucial* experiment on the Puy-de-Dôme, by which he lastingly decided the cause of the suspension of the mercury in the barometrical tube. As there are few things recorded in the history of science more happily ingenious than the conception of this experiment, so never was there any thing more pleasantly *naïve* than the manner in which he proposes it, in his letter to M. Perier. 'You doubtless see,' says he, 'that this experiment is decisive of the question; and 'that if it happen that the mercury shall stand lower at the top than 'at the bottom of the mountain, (as I have many reasons for think-'ing, although all those who have meditated on this subject are 'of a contrary opinion,) it will necessarily follow, that the 'weight and pressure of the air are the sole cause of this suspen-'sion of the mercury, and not the *horror of a vacuum;* since it is 'very certain, that there is much more air to press at the base 'than on the summit of the mountain; while, on the other hand, 'we surely cannot say, that nature abhors a vacuum more at the 'bottom of a mountain than on the top of it!'*

* Descartes claimed the suggestion of this brilliant experiment. All we can say is, that Pascal, who was the very soul of honour, repeatedly declares, that he had meditated this experiment from the very time he had verified Torricelli's, and only waited the opportunity of performing it. On the other hand, Descartes was jealous of the discoveries of others, and, as Leibnitz truly observes, slow to give to them all the praise and admiration which were their due. With all his great powers, he had but little magnanimity. It is possible that he may have thought of a similar experiment, and that he may have conferred upon the subject with Pascal; but, if the latter speaks truth, it is impossible that he should

The usual felicity of his style is seen throughout his philosophical as well as his other works. They appear to us to possess the highest merit which can belong to scientific composition. It is true that, in his purely *mathematical* writings—partly from the defective notation of his age—itself a result of the want of that higher Calculus, which was reserved for Newton and Leibnitz—he is often compelled to adopt a more prolix style of demonstration than would have been subsequently necessary; but even here, and still more in all the fragments which relate to natural philosophy, his style is strikingly contrasted with the clumsy expression of the generality of contemporary writers. His Fragments abound in that perspicuous elegance which the French denominate by the expressive word *netteté*. The arrangement of thought and the turn of expression are alike beautiful. Probably no one ever knew so well when to stay his hand.

But it is, of course, in his writings on moral and critical subjects in which we should chiefly expect this felicity to appear; and here we may well say, in the eloquent language of M. Faugère, it is a 'style grand sans exagération, partout 'rempli d'émotion et contenu, vif sans turbulence, personnel 'sans pédanterie et sans amour-propre, superbe et modeste 'tout-ensemble;' or, as he elsewhere expresses it, 'tellement 'identifié avec l'âme de l'écrivain qu'il n'est que la pensée elle-'même, parée de sa chaste nudité comme une statue antique.' By the confession of the first French critics, the *Lettres Provinciales* did more than any other composition to fix the French language. On this point, the suffrages of all the most competent judges—of Voltaire and Bossuet, D'Alembert and Condorcet—are unanimous. 'Not a single word occurs,' says the first, 'partaking of that vicissitude to which 'living languages are so subject. Here, then, we may fix 'the epoch when our language may be said to have assumed a 'settled form.'—'The French language,' says D'Alembert,

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not already have determined upon it. Indeed, it is hardly probable that, had it been originally a conception of Descartes, he would not have made the experiment for himself, and thus gained the honour undisputed and undivided.—Pascal was, in like manner, accused of having appropriated the honour of Torricelli's experiments. Nothing can be more perfectly beautiful than the manner in which he vindicates his integrity and candour, in his letter to M. de Ribeyre on this subject. He shows triumphantly, that, in his original *Nouvelles Expériences*, he had not only not claimed, but had most distinctly disclaimed, all credit for the experiments in question, and had been at much pains to give honour where honour was due.

'was very far from being formed, as we may judge by the 'greater part of the works published at that time, and of which 'it is impossible to endure the reading. In the "Provincial 'Letters," there is not a single word that has become obsolete; 'and that book, though written above a century ago, seems as 'if it had been written but yesterday.' And as these Letters were the first model of French prose, so they still remain the objects of unqualified admiration. The writings of Pascal have, indeed, a paradoxical destiny:—'flourishing in immortal youth,' all that time can do is to superadd to the charms of perpetual beauty the veneration which belongs to age. His style cannot grow old.

When we reflect on the condition of the language when he appeared, this is truly wonderful. It was but partially reclaimed from barbarism—it was still an imperfect instrument of genius. He had no adequate models—he was to create them. Thus to seize a language in its rude state, and compel it, in spite of its hardness and intractability, to become a malleable material of thought, is the peculiar characteristic of the highest species of mind: nothing but the intense fire of genius can fuse these heterogeneous elements, and mould them into forms of beauty. As a proof, it may be remarked, that none but the highest genius *has* ever been equal to this task. Genius of less than the first order will often make improvements in the existing state of a language, and give it a perceptible impulse; but none but the most creative and plastic power can at once mould a language into forms which cannot become obsolete;—which remain in perpetuity a part of the current literature, amidst all the changes of time and the sudden caprices of fashion. Thus it required a Luther to mould the harsh German into the language of his still unrivalled translation of the Scriptures; in which, and in his vernacular compositions, he first fairly reclaimed his native language from its wild state, brought it under the yoke, and subjected it to the purposes of literature. Pascal was in a similar manner the creator of the French. Yet each performed his task in a mode as characteristic as the materials on which they operated were different. Energy was the predominant quality of Luther's genius; beauty of Pascal's. The rugged German, under the hand of Luther, is compelled to yield to an irresistible application of force; it is the lightning splitting oak and granite. The French, under that of Pascal, assumes forms of beauty by a still and noiseless movement, and as by a sort of enchantment;—it is 'the west wind ungirding the bosom of the 'earth, and calling forth bud and flower at its bidding.'

It may be thought strange by some that the orderly employ-

ment of an unformed language should be represented, not only as so signal a triumph, but as an index of the highest genius. But it will not appear unphilosophical to those who duly consider the subject. If, even when language has reached its full development, we never see the full capacities of this delicate instrument put forth except by great genius, how can we expect it when the language is still imperfect? As used in this rude state, language resembles the harsh music of the Alpine horn, blown by the rude Swiss herd-boy: it is only when the lofty peaks around take it up that it is transmuted by their echoes into exquisite melody.

The severely pure and simple taste which reigns in Pascal's style seems, when we reflect on those vices which more or less infected universal letters, little less than a miraculous felicity. One wonders by what privilege it was that he freed himself from the contagion of universal example, and rose so superior to his age. Taste was yet almost unfelt; each writer affected extravagance of some kind or other;—strained metaphor, quaint conceits, far-fetched turns of thought, unnatural constructions. These were the vices of the day; not so much perhaps in France as in England, but to a great extent in both. From all these blemishes Pascal's style is perfectly free; he anticipated all criticism, and became a law to himself. Some of his observations, however, show how deeply he had revolved the true principles of taste in composition. His 'thoughts' *sur l'Eloquence et Style*,* are well worth the perusal of every writer and speaker. In one of them he profoundly says, 'The very same sense is materially 'affected by the words that convey it. The sense receives its 'dignity from the words, rather than imparts it to them.' In another, he says, 'All the false beauties that we condemn in 'Cicero have their admirers in crowds.' And, in a third, he admirably depicts the prevailing vice of strained antitheses: 'Those,' says he, 'who frame antitheses by forcing the sense, 'are like men who make false windows for the sake of symmetry. 'Their rule is not to speak justly, but to make just figures.' The time spent on his own compositions, however, shows that even such felicity as his own could not dispense with that toil, which is an essential condition of all perfect writing—indeed of all human excellence; and is one other proof of the extreme shallowness of that theory which would have us believe that, to attain perfection, genius alone is all-sufficient. He is said, when engaged on his *Lettres Provinciales*, to have sometimes employed twenty days in perfecting a single letter.

Another circumstance which, as we have said, indicates Pas-

* *Faugère*, vol. i. p. 249.

cal's felicity of genius, is the peculiar delicacy and refinement of his *wit*. We say its delicacy and refinement, for the mere conjunction of great wit with great aptitude for science, we do not consider as a felicity peculiar to Pascal. It is the *character* of that wit. As to the conjunction of distinguished wit in one or other of its many forms, with elevated genius, it is far too common to be regarded as a peculiarity of his mind. Paradoxical as the statement may at first sight appear to many who have been accustomed to consider wisdom and wit as dwelling apart, we doubt whether there is any one attribute so common to the highest order of mind, whether scientific or imaginative, as some form or other of this quality. The names of Bacon, Shakspeare, Plato, Pascal, Johnson, Byron, Scott, and many more, will instantly occur to the reader. It is true that the history of the species reveals to us minds either really adapted so exclusively to the abstrusest branches of science, or so incessantly immersed in them, that, if they possess the faculty of wit at all, it is never developed. Aristotle and Newton—though some of the few sayings of the former which tradition has preserved are not a little racy—may be named as examples. But, in general, and the whole history of science and literature will show, that this attribute, in one or other of its thousand varieties, has formed an almost perpetual accompaniment of the finest order of minds. And we may add, that, *a priori*, we should expect it to be so. That same activity of suggestion and aptitude for detecting resemblances, analogies, and differences, which qualify genius for making discoveries in science, or, under different modifications, for evoking the creations of imagination, may well be supposed not to desert their possessor, when, for playful purposes, and in moments of relaxation, he exercises himself in the detection of the analogies on which wit and drollery are founded. Yet, clear as this truth seems to be, and strongly as it is corroborated by the history of genius, the opposite opinion has been, we believe, oftener expressed, and the highest order of mind pronounced incompatible with such a conjunction.

It is not, then, the activity, but the peculiar delicacy of Pascal's wit, which renders this feature of his genius so truly worthy of admiration;—the more admirable, when it is remembered that the wit of that age, and especially among polemics, so generally took the form of gross scurrility and buffoonery; and, even when it did not sink so low as that, was overgrown with every species of quaintness and affectation. Almost in no instance was it found pure from one or other of these debasements. The wit of Pascal, on the contrary, appears even now exquisitely chaste and natural—attired in a truly Attic simplicity of form and

expression. In one quality—that of irony—nothing appears to us to approach it, except what we find in the pages of Plato, between whom and Pascal (different, and even opposite, as they were in many respects) it were easy to trace a resemblance in other points besides the character of their wit. Both possessed surpassing acuteness and subtlety of genius in the department of abstract science—both delighted in exploring the depths of man's moral nature—both gazed enamoured on the ideal forms of moral sublimity and loveliness—both were characterized by eminent beauty of intellect, and both were absolute masters of the art of representing thought—each with exquisite refinement of taste, and all the graces of language. The Grecian, indeed, possessed a far more opulent imagination, and indulged in a more gorgeous style than the Frenchman; or rather, Plato may be said to have been a master of all kinds of style. His dramatic powers, however, in none of his Dialogues, can be greater than those which Pascal has displayed in his *Lettres Provinciales*. Nothing could be happier for his purpose—that of throwing into strong light the monstrous errors of the system he opposed—than the machinery he has selected. The affected ignorance and *naïveté* of M. Montalte, in quest of information respecting the theological disputes of the age, and especially the doctrines of the Jesuits—the frankness of the worthy Jesuit Father, of whom he seeks instruction, and who, in the boundless admiration of his Order, and the hope of making a convert, details without hesitation, or rather with triumph, the admirable contrivances by which their Casuists had, in fact, inverted every principle of morals, and eluded all the obligations of Christianity—the ironical compliments of the supposed Novice, intermingled with objections, and slightly expressed doubts, delivered with an air of modest ingenuousness, which covets only further light—the arch simplicity with which he involves the good father in the most perplexing dilemmas—the expressions of unsophisticated astonishment, which but prompt his stolid guide eagerly to make good every assertion by a proper array of authorities—a device which, as Pascal has used it, converts, what would have been in other hands only a dull catalogue of citations, into a source of perpetual amusement—the droll consequences which, with infinite affectation of simplicity, he draws from the worthy father's doctrines—the logical exigencies into which the latter is thrown in the attempt to solve them,—all these things managed as only Pascal could have managed them —render the book as amusing as any novel. The form of Letters enables him at the same time to intersperse, amidst the conversations they record, the most eloquent and glowing invectives

against the doctrines he exposes. Voltaire's well-known panegyric does not exceed the truth—'That Molière's best comedies do 'not excel them in wit, nor the compositions of Bossuet in sub-'limity.' 'This work,' says D'Alembert, 'is so much the more 'admirable, as Pascal, in composing it, seems to have *theologized* 'two things which seem not made for the theology of that time '—language and pleasantry.'

The success of the work is well known. By his inimitable pleasantry, Pascal succeeded in making even the dullest matters of scholastic theology and Jesuistical casuistry as interesting as a comedy; and, by his little volume, did more to render the formidable Society the contempt of Europe, than was ever done by all its other enemies put together.

The Jesuits had nothing for it but to inveigh against the letters as 'the immortal liars'—*les menteurs immortelles.* To their charge of having garbled citations, and tampered with evidence to produce an unfair impression against the Society, (practices utterly abhorrent from all Pascal's habits of mind and dispositions of heart,) he replies, with the characteristic boldness and frankness of his nature—'I was asked if I repented of 'having written *Les Provinciales.* I reply, that, far from 'having repented, if I had to write them now, I would write yet 'more strongly. I was asked why I have given the names of the 'authors from whom I have taken all the abominable propo-'sitions I have cited. I answer, that if I lived in a city where 'there were a dozen fountains, and that I certainly knew that 'there was one which was poisoned, I should be obliged to ad-'vertise all the world to draw no water from that fountain; and 'as they might think that it was a pure imagination on my part, 'I should be obliged to name him who had poisoned it, rather 'than expose all the city to the danger of being poisoned by it. 'I was asked why I had employed a pleasant, jocose, and 'diverting style. I reply, that if I had written in a dogmatical 'style, it would have been only the learned who would have 'read, and they would have had no necessity to do it, being 'at least as well acquainted with the subject as myself: thus, I 'thought it a duty to write so as to be comprehended by women 'and men of the world, that they might know the danger of 'those maxims and propositions which were then universally 'propagated, and of which they permitted themselves to be so 'easily persuaded. I was asked, lastly, if I had myself read all 'the books I have cited. I answer, No; for in that case it would 'been necessary to have passed my life in reading very bad books; 'but I had read through the whole of Escobar twice, and, for 'the others, I caused them to be read by my friends. But I have

'never used a single passage without having myself read it in 'the book cited, or without having examined the subject on 'which it is adduced, or without having read both what pre- 'cedes and what follows it, in order that I might not run the 'risk of quoting what was, in fact, an objection for a reply to it, 'which would have been both censurable and unjust.'

The moral aspects of Pascal's character are as inviting as those of his intellect: here, too, he was truly great. Some infirmities, indeed, he had, for he was no more than man; he is nevertheless one of the very few who as passionately pursue the acquisition of moral excellence, as the quest after speculative truth; who, practically as well as theoretically, believe that the highest form of humanity is not intellect, but goodness. Usually it is far otherwise; there is no sort of proportion between the diligence and assiduity which men are ordinarily willing to expend on their own intellectual and moral culture. Even of those who are in a good degree under the influence of moral and religious principles, and whose conduct in all the more important instances of life shows it, how few are there who make that comprehensive rectitude, the obligation of which they acknowledge, and the ideal of which they admire, the *study* of their lives, the rule of their daily actions in little things as well as great; or who analyse their motives and school their hearts (in the habitual expressions of thought and feeling) in conscious obedience to it! Nor can it be regarded as other than an indication that there is something wrong about human nature, that of those three distinct orders of 'greatness,' which Pascal has so exquisitely discriminated in his *Pensées*—power, intellect, and goodness—the admiration inspired by the two first should be so much greater than that inspired by the last. The reverence for genius, in particular, often degenerates into something like idolatry; so much so, as to lead to the proverbial, but most culpable extenuation of grave faults on the part of biographers, who cannot bear to see a spot on the bright luminary they admire. Even if moral excellence be theoretically allowed to claim equal enthusiasm, it, in fact, rarely receives it. How vivid, after all, is the sentiment which the intellect of a Bacon or a Shakspeare usually excites in the young and ardent, compared with that with which they regard a Howard or a Martyn. Yet invincible patience, heroic constancy, that honesty of purpose which is proof against all flatteries and all menace, perfect candour, the spirit of unfeigned humility, benevolence, and charity, are surely not less worthy of our most enthusiastic admiration, than those qualities of mind which discover a new law of nature, or pour forth beautiful strains of poetry.

It is one of the proofs, according to Paley's ingenious remark, of the originality of the Gospel, and one of the marks of the divinity of its origin, that it chiefly insists on the cultivation of an order of virtues which had been least applauded by man, and in which, notwithstanding, man was most deficient; of humility, meekness, patience, rather than of those opposite virtues to which the active principles of his nature would most readily prompt him, and which have been accordingly the chief objects of culture and admiration. We may extend the remark, and observe, that it is an equal indication of the originality of the Gospel and of the divinity of its origin, that the *ideal* of greatness which it has presented to us, is of a different character from that which has chiefly fixed the enthusiastic gaze of man. It is not one in which power and intellect constitute the predominant qualities, associated with just so much virtue as serves to make the picture free from all grave reproach; but the perfection of truth, rectitude, and love—to which even the attributes of superhuman power and superhuman wisdom, with which they are blended, are so wonderfully subordinated, that they seem, as they are, intrinsically of inferior lustre. Glorious as is their light, it is absolutely quenched in the brighter effulgence of ineffable and supernal goodness. We think of Cæsar as the great warrior and the great statesman; of Shakspeare as the great poet; of Newton as the great philosopher: when the Christian thinks of his Master, though he *believes* him to be possessed of immeasurably greater power and wisdom than theirs—his first, last thought is, that he is THE GOOD.

The character of *greatness* in Christ, Pascal has beautifully touched. 'The distance between Matter and Mind typifies the 'infinitely greater distance between Mind and Love. . . . All 'the *éclat* of external greatness has no lustre for men profoundly 'engaged in intellectual researches. . . . *Their* greatness, again, 'is invisible to the noble and the rich. . . . Great geniuses 'have their empire, their splendour, their victory, their renown. '. . . These are seen with the eyes of the mind, and that is sufficient. . . . Holy men, again, have *their* empire, *their* victory, 'and *their* renown. . . . Archimedes would have been venerable 'even without rank. He gained no battles; but to the intellectual world he has bequeathed great discoveries. How illustrious does he look in *their* eyes! . . . In like manner Jesus 'Christ, without external splendour, without the outward repute 'of science, is great in his own order of holiness. . . . It had 'been idle in Archimedes to have insisted on his royal descent 'in his books of geometry. And it had been as useless for our 'Lord Jesus Christ to assume the state of a king for the purpose

'of giving splendour to his reign of holiness. But he came 'fully invested with the lustre of his own order.'

Few men have ever dwelt on this ideal of moral perfection, or sought to realize its image in themselves with more ardour than Pascal—not always, indeed, as regards the mode, with as much wisdom as ardour. Yet, upon all the great features of his moral character, one dwells with the serenest delight. Greatly as he is to be admired, he is yet more to be loved. His humility and simplicity, conspicuous as his genius and acquisitions, were those of a very child. The favourite of science—repeatedly crowned, as an old Greek might have said of some distinguished young hero at Olympia, with the fairest laurels of the successful mathematician and the unrivalled polemic—making discoveries even in his youth which would have intoxicated many men even to madness—neither pride nor vanity found admission to his heart. Philosophy and science produced on him only their proper effect, and taught him—not how much he knew, but how little; not merely what he had attained, but of how much more he was ignorant. His perfect love of truth was beautifully blended with the gentlest charity; and his contempt of fraud and sophistry never made him forget, while indignantly exposing them, the courtesies of the gentleman and the moderation of the Christian: and thus the severest raillery that probably ever fell from human lips, flows on in a stream undiscoloured by one particle of malevolence, and unruffled by one expression of coarseness or bitterness. The transparency and integrity of his character not only shone conspicuous in all the transactions of his life, but seem even now to beam upon us as from an open ingenuous countenance, in the inimitable frankness and transparency of his style. It is impossible to read the passages in his philosophical writings, in which he notices or refutes the calumnies to which he had been exposed—by which it was sometimes sought to defraud him of the honour of the discoveries he had made, and in one instance to cover him with the infamy of appropriating discoveries which had been made by others—without being convinced of the perfect candour and integrity of his nature.* His generosity and benevolence were unbounded; so much so, indeed, as to become almost vices by excess; passing far beyond that mean in which the Stagyrite fixes the limits of all virtue. He even beggared himself by his prodigal benefactions;

* See more particularly his letters to Father Noel, M. Le Pailleur, and M. De Ribeyre.

he did what few do—mortgaged even his expectancies to charity. To all which we may add, that he bore the prolonged and excruciating sufferings of his latter years with a patience and fortitude which astonished all who witnessed them.

The failings of Pascal—for to these we must advert—were the result partly of that system of faith in which he had been educated, and which, though he did so much to expose many of the worst enormities which had attached themselves to it, still exercised considerable influence over him. It is lamentable to see such a mind as his surrendering itself to some of the worst extravagances of asceticism. Yet the fact cannot be denied; nor is it improbable that his life—brief perhaps at the longest, considering his intense study and his feeble constitution—was yet made briefer by these pernicious practices. We are told, not only that he lived on the plainest fare and performed the most menial offices for himself; not only that he practised the severest abstinence and the most rigid devotions, but that he wore beneath his clothes a girdle of iron, with sharp points affixed to it; and that, whenever he found his mind disposed to wander from religious subjects, or take delight in things around him, he struck the girdle with his elbow, and forced the sharp points of the iron into his side. We even see but too clearly that his views of life, to a considerable extent, became perverted. He cherished mistrust even of its blessings, and acted, though he meant it not, as if the very gifts of God were to be received with suspicion—as the smiling tempters to evil—the secret enemies of our well-being. He often expresses himself as though he thought, not only that suffering is necessary to the moral discipline of man, but as though nothing but suffering is at present safe for him. 'I can approve,' he says in one place, 'only of 'those who seek in tears for happiness.' 'Disease,' he declares in another place, 'is the natural state of Christians.' It is evident that the great and gracious Master, in whose school we all are, and whose various dispensations of goodness and severity are dictated by a wisdom greater than our own, does not think so: if he did, health would be the exception and disease the rule. It is but too true, indeed, that not only is suffering necessary to teach us our feebleness and dependence, and to abate the pride and confidence of our nature, but that we are but too apt to forget, with the return of prosperity, all the wise reflections and purposes which we had made in sorrow. Jeremy Taylor likens us, in one of his many fanciful images, to the fabled lamps in the tomb of Terentia, which 'burned under ground for 'many ages together,' but which, as soon as ever they were

brought into the air and saw a brighter light, went out in darkness. 'So long as we are in the retirements of sorrow, of want, 'of fear, of sickness, we are burning and shining lamps; but when 'God lifts us up from the gates of death, and carries us abroad 'into the open air, to converse with prosperity and temptations, 'we go out in darkness, and we cannot be preserved in light and 'heat but by still dwelling in the regions of sorrow.' There is beauty, and, to a certain extent, truth in the figure; but it by no means follows that continuous suffering would be good for man: on the contrary, it would be as remote from producing the perfection of our moral nature as unmitigated prosperity. It would be apt to produce a morbid and ghastly piety; the 'bright lamps' of which Taylor speaks, would still be irradiating —only a tomb. Since the end of suffering, as a moral discipline, is only to enable us at last to bear unclouded happiness, what guarantee can we now have of its beneficial effect on us, except by partial experiments of our capacity of recollecting and practising the lessons of adversity in intervals of prosperity? It is true that there is no more perilous ordeal through which man can pass—no greater curse which can be imposed on him, as he is at present constituted—than that of being condemned to walk his life long in the sunlight of unshaded prosperity. His eyes ache with that too untempered brilliance—he is apt to be smitten with a moral *coup de soleil.* But it as little follows that no sunshine is good for us. He who made us, and who tutors us, alone knows what is the exact measure of light and shade, sun and cloud, storm and calm, frost and heat, which will best tend to mature those flowers which are the object of this celestial husbandry; and which, when transplanted into the paradise of God, are to bloom there for ever in amyranthine loveliness. Nor can it be without presumption that we essay to interfere with these processes; our highest wisdom is to fall in with them. And certain it is that every man will find by experience that he has enough to do, to bear with patience and fortitude the *real* afflictions with which God may visit him, without venturing to fill up the intervals in which He has left him ease, and even invites him to gladness, by a self-imposed and artificial sorrow. Nay, if his mind be well constituted, he will feel that the learning how to apply, in hours of happiness, the lessons which he has learned in the school of sorrow, is not one of the least difficult lessons which sorrow has to teach him; not to mention that the grateful reception of God's gifts is as true a part of duty—and even a more neglected part of it—than a patient submission to his chastisements.

It is at our peril, then, that we seek to interfere with the discipline which is provided for us. He who acts as if God had mistaken the proportions in which prosperity and adversity should be allotted to us—and seeks by hair-shirts, prolonged abstinence, and self-imposed penance, to render more perfect the discipline of suffering—only enfeebles instead of invigorating his piety; and resembles one of those hypochondriacal patients—the plague and torment of physicians—who having sought advice, and being supposed to follow it, are found not only taking their physician's well-judged prescriptions, but secretly dosing themselves in the intervals with some quackish nostrum. Thus it was even with a Pascal—and we cannot see that the experiment was attended in his case with any better effects.

It is indeed pitiable to read, that during his last days his perverted notions induced him to refrain from the natural expressions of fondness and gratitude towards his sisters and attendants, lest that affection with which they regarded him, should become inordinate; lest they should transfer to an earthly creature the affection due only to the Supreme. Something like an attempted justification of such conduct, indeed, occurs in his *Pen ées.* 'Il est injuste qu'on s'attache à moi, quoiqu' on le 'fasse avec plaisir et volontairement. Je tromperais ceux à qui 'j'en ferais naître le désir; car je ne suis la fin de personne, et 'n'ai pas de quoi les satisfaire. Ne suis-je pas prêt à mourir? 'Et ainsi l'objet de leur attachment mourra donc. Comme je 'serais coupable de faire croire une fausseté, quoique je la per-'suadasse doucement et qu'on la crût avec plaisir, et qu'en cela 'on me fît plaisir; de même je suis coupable de me faire aimer.'—(Tom. i. p. 198.) Madame Perier has cited this passage in the life of her brother, as accounting for his apparent coldness to herself.*

It is wonderful that a mind so powerful as his, should be misled by a pernicious asceticism to adopt such maxims; it is still more wonderful that a heart so fond should have been able to act upon them. To restrain, even in his dying hours, expressions of tenderness towards those whom he so loved, and who so loved

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* The passage of Madame Perier is deeply affecting. 'Meanwhile, as I was wholly a stranger to his sentiments on this point, I was quite surprised and discouraged at the rebuffs he would give me upon certain occasions. I told my sister of it, and not without complaining, that my brother was unkind, and did not love me; and that it looked to me as if I put him in pain, even at the very moment I was studying to please him, and striving to perform the most affectionate offices for him in his illness.'—*Madame Perier's Memoirs of Pascal.*

him—to simulate a coldness which his feelings belied—to repress the sensibilities of a grateful and confiding nature—to inflict a pang by affected indifference on hearts as fond as his own,—here was indeed a proof of the truth he so passionately meditated upon, the 'greatness and the misery' of man, of his strength and his weakness;—weakness in supposing that such perversion of all nature could ever be a dictate of duty—strength in performing, without wincing, a task so hard. The American Indian bearing unmoved the torture of his enemies, exhibits not, we may rest assured, greater fortitude than Pascal, when, with such a heart as his, he received in silence the last ministrations of his devoted friends, and even declined with cold and averted eye the assiduities of their zealous love.

That same melancholy temperament which, united with a pernicious asceticism, made him avert his gaze even from innocent pleasures, and suspect a serpent lurking in every form of pleasure—also gave to his *representations* of the depravity of our nature an undue intensity and Rembrandt-like depth of colouring. His mode of expression is often such, that were it not for what we otherwise know of his character, it might almost be mistaken for an indication of misanthropy. With this vice, accordingly, Voltaire does not hesitate to tax him.

'Ce fameux écrivain, misanthrope sublime.'

Nothing can be more unjust. As to the *substance* of what Pascal has said of human frailty and infirmity, most of it is at once verified by the appeal to individual consciousness; and as to the *manner*, we are not to forget that he every where dwells as much upon the 'greatness,' as upon the 'misery' of man. 'It is 'the ruined archangel,' says Hallam, with equal justness and beauty, 'that Pascal delights to paint.' It is equally evident that he is habitually inspired by a desire to lead man to truth and happiness; nor is there any thing more affecting than the passage with which he closes one of his expostulations with infidelity, and which M. Cousin finally characterises as 'une citation glori-'euse à Pascal.' 'This argument, you say, delights me. If 'this argument pleases you, and appears strong, know that it 'proceeds from one, who, both before and after it, fell on his 'knees before that Infinite and Invisible Being to whom he 'has subjected his whole soul, to pray that he would also subject '*you* to himself for your good and for his glory; and that thus 'omnipotence might give efficacy to his feebleness.'

In addition to this, it must be said, that in his most bitter reflections, this truly humble man is thinking as much of himself as of others, and regards Blaise Pascal as but a type of the race

whose degeneracy he mourns. His most bitter sarcasms often terminate with a special application to the writer. Thus he says, 'Vanity is so rooted in the heart of man, that a common soldier, a scullion, will boast of himself, and will have his admirers. It is the same with the philosophers: Those who write would fain have the fame of having written well; and those who read it, would have the glory of having read it; *and I, who am writing, probably feel the same desire, and not less those who shall read it.*'

It is true, indeed, that some of his reflections are as caustic and bitter as those of Rochefoucauld himself. For example—'Curiosity is but vanity. Often we wish to know more, only that we may talk of it. People would never traverse the sea if they were never to speak of it,—for the mere pleasure of seeing, without the hope of ever communicating what they have seen.'

And again, 'Man is so constituted, that, by merely telling him he is a fool, he will at length believe it; and, if he tells himself so, he will constrain himself to believe it. For man holds an internal intercourse with himself, which ought to be well regulated, since even here "Evil communications corrupt good manners."'

It may not be without amusement, perhaps instruction, to cite one or two other specimens of this shrewd and caustic humour.

'Certain authors, speaking of their works, say, "My book, my commentary, my history." It were better to say, "Our book, our history, our commentary;" for generally there is more in it belonging to others than to themselves.'

'I lay it down as a fact, that if all men knew what they say of one another, there would not be four friends in the world. This appears by the quarrels which are sometimes caused by indiscreet reports.'

Still, as it is the motive which gives complexion to all our moral actions, so Pascal's bitter wisdom, or even his unjust satire, is something very different from misanthropy. Byron found an apology for his Cain in Milton's delineation of Satan; but few beside himself could ever see its force. With as little reason could a Timon plead the example of a Pascal. He who cannot see a deep benevolence in all this great man wrote respecting our corrupted nature, must indeed be blind. It is with no demoniacal chuckle, no smile of malicious triumph, that he publishes the results of his researches into the depths of man's moral nature. On the contrary, it is with profoundest pity. He gazes on the noble ruins of humanity as on those of some

magnificent temple, and longs to see the fallen columns and the defaced sculpture restored. With what noble eloquence —with what deep sympathy with humanity—does he rebuke the levity of those infidels who tell us, as if it were matter of triumph, that we are 'the inhabitants of a fatherless and 'forsaken world;' and who talk as if their vaunted demonstration of the vanity of our immortal hopes gave them a peculiar title to our gratitude and admiration!—'What advantage is it to us 'to hear a man saying that he has thrown off the yoke; that he 'does not think there is any God who watches over his actions; 'that he considers himself as the sole judge of his conduct, and 'that he is accountable to none but himself? Does he ima-'gine that we shall hereafter exercise special confidence in him, 'and expect from him consolation, advice, succour in the exi-'gencies of life? Do such men imagine that it is any matter of 'delight to us to hear that they hold that our soul is but a little 'vapour or smoke, and that he can tell us this in an assured and 'self-sufficient tone of voice? Is this, then, a thing to say with 'gaiety? Is it not rather a thing to be said with tears, as the 'saddest thing in the world?'

On the whole, in contemplating the richly diversified characteristics of this exalted genius in its different moods and phases —the combination of sublimity and depth with lightness and grace—of the noblest aptitudes for abstract speculation with the most exquisite delicacy of taste and the utmost sensibility of feeling—of profound melancholy with the happiest and the most refined humour and raillery—the grandeur of many aspects of his character, and the loveliness of others, we seem to be reminded of the contradictory features of Alpine scenery, where all forms of sublimity and beauty, of loveliness and terror, are found in singular proximity; where upland valleys of exquisite verdure and softness lie at the foot of the eternal glaciers; where spots of purest pastoral repose and beauty, smile under the very shadow of huge snowy peaks, and form the entrance of those savage gorges, in which reign perpetual sterility and desolation; in which the very silence is appalling—broken only by the roar of the distant cataract, and the lonely thunder of the avalanche.

We must now make some remarks on the projected treatise, of which the *Pensées* were designed to form the rude materials.

It is impossible to determine, from the undeveloped character of the *Pensées*, the precise form of this work, and which was to have treated of the primary truths of all religion, and of the evidences of Christianity. It is clear, that about half the thoughts which

relate to theology at all, have reference to the former. In his time, however, both subjects might have been naturally included in one work. The great deistical controversies of Europe had not yet commenced, and there had been little reason to discriminate very nicely the limits of the two investigations. Pascal, himself, could hardly have anticipated the diversified forms which the subject of the evidences of Christianity alone would assume—so diversified, indeed, that probably they are insusceptible from their variety (external and internal) of being fully exhibited by one mind, or, consequently, in one volume. The evidences of Christianity almost form a science of themselves.

Fragmentary as the *Pensees* are, it is easy to see, both from their general tenor, and from the character of the author's mind, where the principal strength of such a work would lie. His proofs of the truths of natural religion would have been drawn from within, rather than from without; and his proofs of the truths of Christianity from its internal rather than external evidences;—including in this term 'internal,' not only the adaptation of the doctrines revealed to the moral nature of man, but whatsoever indications the fabric of Scripture itself may afford of the divinity of its origin.

It is evident, that all these topics he had revolved profoundly. None had explored more diligently the depths of man's moral nature, or mused more profoundly on the 'greatness and misery 'of man,'—or on the 'contrarieties' which characterise his nature —or on the remedies for his infirmities and corruptions. And there are few, even since his time, who seem to have appreciated more fully the evidences of Christianity, arising from indications of truth in the genius, structure, and style of the Scriptures; or from the difficulties, not to say impossibilities, of supposing *such* a fiction as Christianity the probable product of any human artifice, much less of such an age, country, and, above all, such men as the problem limits us to. In one passage, he gives expression to a thought which has been expanded into the beautiful and eminently original work of Paley, entitled *Horæ Paulinæ*. He says, 'The style of the gospel is admirable in many respects, and, 'amongst others, in this—that there is not a single invective 'against the murderers and enemies of Jesus Christ. . . . . 'If the modesty of the evangelical historians had been affected, 'and, in common with so many other traits of so beautiful a cha-'racter, had been affected only that they might be observed, 'then, if they had not ventured to advert to it themselves, 'they would not have failed to get their friends to remark on it, 'to their advantage. But as they acted in this way without

'affectation, and from a principle altogether disinterested, they 'never provided any one to make such a criticism. *And, in my 'judgment, there are many points of this character which have never 'been noticed hitherto;* and this testifies to the simplicity with 'which the thing was done.'—(Tom. ii. p. 370.)

He has also, with characteristic comprehensiveness, condensed into a single paragraph the substance of the celebrated volume of 'Bampton Lectures,' on the contrasts between Mahometanism and Christianity. 'Mahomet founded his system on slaughter; Jesus 'Christ by exposing his disciples to death; Mahomet by for-'bidding to read; the Apostles by commanding it. In a word, 'so opposite is the plan of one from that of the other, that if 'Mahomet took the way to succeed according to human calcula-'tion, Jesus Christ certainly took the way to fail; and instead 'of arguing, that since Mahomet succeeded Jesus Christ might 'also succeed, we ought rather to say, that since Mahomet 'succeeded it is impossible but that Jesus Christ should fail.'—(Tom. ii. p. 337.)

On the subject of the External Evidences, we doubt whether he would have been equally successful,—partly because the spirit of accurate historic investigation had not yet been developed, and partly from the character of his own mind. On the subject of Miracles, too, he scarcely seems to have worked his conceptions clear; and, in relation to that of Prophecy, he was evidently often inclined to lay undue stress on analogies between events recorded in the Old Testament, and others recorded in the New, where Scripture itself is silent as to any connexion between them;—analogies in one or two cases as fanciful as any of those in which the Fathers saw so many types and prefigurations of undeveloped truths. This disposition to forget the limits between the analogies which may form the foundation of a logical argument, and those which, after all, can yield only poetical illustrations, has too often obtruded itself even into the domain of physical science; and is one from which the most philosophic minds, if they have much imaginativeness, are by no means exempt. Even Bacon, in several instances, has been the dupe of this delusion—one of the *idola tribus* which he was so anxious to expose.

There is one subject on which, after reading the *Pensées*, one would fain have seen a treatise from the hand of Pascal. If he had enjoyed leisure, health, and an unclouded mind, there is probably no man who could have written more profoundly or more wisely on the *Prima Philosophia*—the first principles of all knowledge—the limits within which man can hopefully speculate —and the condition and principles of belief. On all these sub-

jects he had reflected much and deeply. His remarks on the position of man between 'the two infinitudes,' which he has so finally illustrated—on the Dogmatists and Pyrrhonists — on the influence of the affections and passions on the understanding—and his observations entitled, *De l'Art de Persuader* and *De l'Esprit Geometrique;*—these all show how deeply he had revolved principal topics of such a work.

We have before alluded to the charge preferred against Pascal by M. Cousin, of no less than universal and hopeless scepticism; —from which, as is said, he took refuge in faith by a blind effort of will, without evidence, and in utter despair of obtaining it. One or two brief citations will show the extent to which this charge is pushed. 'Ce dessein [des *Pensées,*] je l'ai démontré dans ce Rapport, était *d'accabler la philosophie Cartésienne, et avec elle toute philosophie, sous le scepticisme,* pour ne laisser à la foi naturelle de l'homme d'autre asîle que la religion. Or en cela, l'adversaire des Jesuites en devient, sans s'en douter, le serviteur et le soldat.' * —'Lui aussi, il a pour principe que *le Pyrrhonisme est le vrai.*'— 'Il est sceptique, et, comme Huet, il se propose de conduire l'homme à la foi par la route du scepticisme.' † M. Cousin even goes the length of saying that Pascal's religion 'was not the solid and pleasant fruit which springs from the union of reason and feeling—*de la raison et du cœur*—in a soul well constituted and wisely cultivated; it is a bitter fruit, reared in a region desolated by doubt, under the arid breath of despair.' ‡ He also tells us, that 'the very depth of Pascal's soul was a universal scepticism, from which he could find no refuge except in a voluntarily blind credulity.' '*Le fond même de l'âme de Pascal est un scepticisme universel, contre lequel il ne trouve d'asile que dans une foi volontairement aveugle.*'

These are certainly charges which, without the gravest and most decisive proof, ought not to be preferred against any man; much less against one possessing so clear and powerful an intellect as Pascal. It is in fact the most degrading picture which can be presented of any mind; for what weakness can be more pitiable, or what inconsistency more gross, than that of a man who, by a mere act of will—if indeed such a condition of mind be conceivable—surrenders himself to the belief of the most stupendous doctrines, while he at the same time acknowledges that he has no proof whatever of their certainty?

We have great respect for M. Cousin as a philosopher and

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* Rapport, p. xiii. † Ibid. p. xix. ‡ Ibid. p. 162.

historian of philosophy, and we willingly render him the homage of our thanks for his liberal and enlightened survey of the intellectual philosophy of Scotland; but he must excuse us for dissenting from, and freely examining, his startling view of the scepticism of Pascal. That charge we do not hesitate to pronounce unjust, for the following reasons:—

1. It appears to us that M. Cousin has forgotten that Pascal by no means denies that there is sufficient evidence of the many great principles to which scepticism objects; he only maintains that we do not arrive at them by *demonstration*. He has powerfully vindicated the certainty of those intuitive principles which are not ascertained by reasoning, but are presupposed in every exercise of reasoning. Let us hear him: 'The only strong point,' says he, 'of the Dogmatists 'is, that we cannot consistently with honesty and sincerity 'doubt our own intuitive principles. . . . We know the truth, 'not only by reasoning, but by feeling and by a vivid and lu-'minous power of direct comprehension; and it is by this last 'faculty that we discern first principles. It is vain for reason-'ing, which has no share in discovering these principles, to 'attempt subverting them. . . . The Pyrrhonists who attempt 'this must try in vain. . . . The knowledge of first principles, 'as the ideas of space, time, motion, number, matter, is as un-'equivocally certain as any that reasoning imparts. And, after 'all, it is on the perceptions of feeling and common sense, that 'reason must at last sustain itself, and base its argument. . . . 'Principles are perceived, propositions are deduced: each part 'of the process is certain, though in different modes. And it is 'as ridiculous that reason should require of feeling and percep-'tion proofs of these first principles before she assents to them, 'as it would be that perception should require from reason an 'intuitive impression of all the propositions at which *she* 'arrives. This weakness, therefore, ought only to humble 'that reason which would constitute herself the judge of all 'things, but not to invalidate the convictions of common sense, 'as if reason* only could be our guide and teacher.' Can he who thus speaks be a 'universal sceptic,' when it is the peculiar characteristic of Pyrrhonism—that is, universal scepticism—

* It is true that, in these and many similar passages, Pascal, as M. Cousin rightly observes, often employs the word *reason* as if it were synonymous with *reasoning*. But this only respects the *propriety* of his expressions; his *meaning* is surely tolerably clear.

to controvert the certainty of principles perceived by intuition, and to plume itself upon having successfully done this, when it has shown that they cannot be demonstrated by reasoning?

But let us hear him still more expressly on the subject of Pyrrhonism. 'Here, then, is open war proclaimed amongst 'men. Each must take a side; must necessarily range himself 'with the Pyrrhonists or the Dogmatists; for he who would 'think to remain neuter is a Pyrrhonist *par excellence.* He who 'is not against them is for them. What, then, must a person do 'in this alternative? Shall he doubt of every thing? Shall 'he doubt that he is awake, or that he is pinched or burned? 'Shall he doubt that he doubts? Shall he doubt that he is? 'We cannot get so far as this; and I hold it to be a fact, that 'there never has been an absolute and perfect Pyrrhonist.' M. Cousin must suppose Pascal to have made an exception in favour of himself, if it be indeed true that he was an 'universal sceptic.'

2. It does not appear to us that M. Cousin has sufficiently reflected, that in those cases in which conclusions truly involve processes of reasoning, Pascal would not deny that the preponderance of proof rested with the truths he believed, though he denied the *demonstrative* nature of that proof. And he applies this with perfect fairness to the evidences of Christianity, as well as to the truths of natural theology. It may well be, that minds so differently constituted as those of Pascal and Cousin may form different conclusions as to the *degree* of success which may attend the efforts of human reasoning; but a man is not to be straightway branded with the name of a universal sceptic, because he believes that there are very few subjects on which evidence can be said to be demonstrative. The more deeply a man reflects, the fewer will he think the subjects on which this species of certainty can be obtained; and the study neither of ancient nor of modern philosophy, will convince him that he is far wrong in this conclusion. But he will not, for all that, deny that there is sufficient evidence on all the more important subjects to form the belief and determine the conduct of man—evidence of precisely the same nature with that which *does* form the one, and *does* determine the other, in all the ordinary affairs of life. And this alone, where he rejects such evidence, is sufficient to condemn him; for what right has he to decline, in the more important instances, a species and degree of evidence which he never hesitates to *act* upon in all other cases?

Now, that Pascal believed that there was sufficient evidence of this character, for all the fundamental truths of religion, is manifest from many express declarations. 'There is light

'enough,' says he, 'for those whose sincere wish is to see; 'and darkness enough to confound those of an opposite dispo-'sition.'* Of Christianity, he says,—'It is impossible to see 'all the proofs of this religion combined in one view, without 'feeling that they have a force which no reasonable man can 'withstand.'† 'The proofs of our religion are not of that 'kind that we can say they are *geometrically convincing*. . . . 'But their light is such that it outshines, or at the least equals, 'the strongest presumption to the contrary: so much so, that '*sound reason* never can determine not to accept the evidence, 'and probably it is only the corruption and depravity of the 'heart that do.' It is not without reason that M. Faugère says, in reference to the charge of scepticism urged against Pascal, 'Faith and reason may equally claim him. If they sometimes 'appear to clash in his mind, it is because he wanted time not 'only to finish the work on which he was engaged, but even 'to complete that internal revision—*son œuvre intérieure*— 'which is a kind of second creation of genius; and to melt into 'one harmonious whole the diverse elements of his thoughts. '. . . Amongst the inedited fragments of Pascal, we find these 'remarkable lines, "Il faut avoir ces trois qualités; Pyrrhonien, 'géomètre, Chrétien soumis; *et elles s'accordent et se tempèrent 'en doutant où il faut, en assurant où il faut, en se soummettant où 'il faut.*" These bold words comprise the entire history of 'Pascal, and express in brief the state of his mind.'‡

3. While we admit that the severely geometrical cast of Pascal's mind, as well as his gloomy temperament, have led him at times into extravagant expressions on this subject, so accomplished a critic as M. Cousin needs not be told, that it is not fair to take such expressions alone, and in their utmost strictness, if they can be confronted with others which modify or explain them. The former, in common candour, are to be interpreted only in connexion with the latter. This is the course we always pursue in interpreting the language of writers who have indulged in unlimited propositions; and if it be found even impossible to harmonize certain expressions—if they be absolutely contradictory—all we feel at liberty to do is to affirm the inconsistency of the writer; not to assume that he meant *all* that could possibly be implied in the one class of expressions, and *nothing* by the other. We know it is so natural for an author

* Tom. ii. p. 151. † Tom. ii. p. 365.
‡ Tom. i. p. lxxvii. Introduction.

of much imagination or sensibility to give an inordinately strong expression to a present thought or feeling, and to forget the judge in the advocate, that he must be taken in another mood, or rather in several, if we wish to ascertain the *true mean* of his sentiments. Pascal has in one of his *Pensées* indicated this only reasonable method of procedure.

Now, M. Cousin is surely aware of the fact, that the expressions to which he has given such an unfavourable interpretation, may be easily confronted with others of a different tendency. He himself, indeed, proclaims it. He even says, no man ever contradicted himself more than Pascal. 'Jamais homme ne 's'est plus contredit.' 'Confounding,' says he, 'reasoning and 'reason, forgetting that he has himself judiciously discrimi-'nated primary and indemonstrable truths, discovered to us by 'that spontaneous intuition of reason—which we also with him 'call instinct, sentiment, feeling—from truths which are deduced 'from them by the method of reasoning, or which we draw from 'experience by induction;—forgetting that he has thus himself 'replied beforehand to all the attacks of scepticism, Pascal de-'mands all these principles from experience and reasoning, and 'by that means, without much trouble, confounds them all.* Now, we do not stay to inquire here into the justness of the latter part of this representation; but we simply ask, why should all 'the replies' which, as our author admits, 'Pascal has *himself* 'made to scepticism,' go for nothing, and only the sentences in which he appears to favour it be remembered; and not only remembered, but taken as the sole exponents of his opinions? Surely a sceptic might as well take the opposite side, and say, 'Alas! after Pascal seems in many expressions to have conceded 'much to scepticism, he forgets all he had said; and shows, by 'his whole talk of "intuitive truths," and "sentiment," and '"feeling," that he is no better than a dogmatist.' Might we not say to the two objectors, 'Worthy friends! you are the two 'knights in the fable;—one is looking on the golden, and the 'other on the silver side of the same shield.'

4. Nor is it to be forgotten, that while such a mode of interpretation as that of M. Cousin would hardly be just in the case of any work of any author, it is especially unfair to apply it to such a work, or rather mere materials of a work, as the *Pensées.* They were, we are to recollect, mere notes for Pascal's own use, and were never intended to be published as they are. Many of them are altogether imperfect and undeveloped; some

* Rapport, p. 157.

scarcely intelligible. It is impossible to tell with what modifications, and in what connexion, they would have stood in the matured form which the master-mind, hastily recording them for private reference, would have ultimately given them. Nay, there can scarcely be a doubt, that many of them were mere objections which Pascal noted for refutation—not opinions to be maintained by him; and this in many places may be not obscurely inferred: some, again, are mere quotations from Montaigne and other authors, extracted for some unknown purpose, but not distinguished in these private memoranda from the writer's own expressions; so that the first editors of the *Pensées* actually printed them in some cases as his. And lastly, some were dictated, in moments of sickness and pain, to an old domestic, who has scrawled them in a fashion which sufficiently shows that it is very possible that some errors may lie with the amanuensis.* Yet M. Cousin, while straining every expression on which he founds his charge of scepticism, to its utmost strictness of literal meaning, never seems to have adverted to one of these very reasonable considerations.

5. The weight which any deliberate opinion of M. Cousin must reasonably possess, may in this case well be confronted with that of Bayle; whose notorious scepticism would have been but too glad to find an ally in so admired a genius as Pascal, had there been any plausible pretext on which to claim him. Yet that subtle and acute critic declares, that Pascal knew perfectly well what to render to faith, and what to reason.

6. In our judgment, Pascal's projected work is itself a sufficient confutation of M. Cousin's supposition. For, did ever man before meditate an elaborate work on the 'evidences' of truths for which he believed no evidence but a blind faith could be given?

7. We maintain, lastly, that even if it were proved (which is, doubtless, very true) that Pascal, at different periods and in different moods of mind, formed varying estimates of the evidence on behalf of the great truths in which he was so sincere a believer; or even (which may possibly be true) that for transient intervals he doubted the conclusiveness of that evidence altogether, these variations would be far from justifying a charge of

* Of one of these expressions, on which M. Cousin has founded much, M. Faugère says, 'Tout ce morceau, dicté à une personne visiblement fort peu lettrée, présente çà et là des obscurités qui viennent sans doute de l'inexpérience du secretaire.'—Tom. ii. p. 114.

'universal and habitual scepticism;'—such momentary differences of thought and mood having been notoriously experienced by many of the greatest minds. With some remarks on this subject, which may possibly be serviceable to minds peculiarly liable to attacks of scepticism, and calculated to teach all of us charity in judging of others, we shall close the present article.

We confess, then, that it by no means appears to us that a momentary invasion of doubt, or even of scepticism, is inconsistent with a *prevailing* and *habitual* faith, founded on an intelligent conviction of a preponderance of reasons to justify it; though those reasons may be felt to fall far short of absolute demonstration. There may be a profound impression that the reasons which justify habitual belief in any truth established only on moral evidence, or on a calculation of probabilities, are so varied and powerful—so vast in their sum—as to leave, in ordinary moods of mind, no doubt as to the conclusions to which they point, and the practical course of conduct which alone they can justify. And yet it is quite true, that from the infirmities of our nature—from the momentary strength which the most casual circumstances may give to opposing objections—from the depressing influence of sorrow—of a trivial indisposition—of a transient fit of melancholy—of impaired digestion—even of a variation of the weather—(for on all these humiliating conditions does the boasted soundness of human reason depend)—a man shall for an hour or a day really doubt of that of which he never doubted before, and of which he would be ashamed to doubt to-morrow. And especially is this the case in those who, like Pascal, possess exquisite sensibility, or are liable to fits of profound depression. As they look upon truth through the medium of cheerful or gloomy feelings, truth herself varies like a landscape, as seen in a bright sunshine or on a cloudy day. Pascal himself, in those reveries in which he loved to indulge on the mingled 'greatness and misery of man,' has frequently depicted the dependence of the most powerful mind, even in the bare exercise of its exalted faculties, on the most insignificant circumstances. We have cited, in the early part of this article, one striking passage to this effect. In another place he says, 'Place the greatest philosopher in the world on a plank, wider 'than is absolutely necessary for safety, and yet, if there is a pre-'cipice below him, though reason may convince him of his secu-'rity, his imagination will prevail. There are many who could 'not even bear the thought of it without paleness and agitation.'*

* Tom. ii. p .49.

Another very powerful representation, to the same effect, may be found on the same page, where, after describing a 'venerable judge,' who may seem 'under the control of a pure and 'dignified wisdom,' and enumerating several petty trials 'of 'his exemplary gravity,' Pascal declares, that, let any one of these befall him, 'and he will engage for the loss of the judge's 'self-possession.'

Nor are the causes which disturb the exercise of the reason merely physical: moral causes are yet more powerful; as we wish, hope, fear, humiliating as the fact is, so do we proceed to judge of evidence. Reason, that vaunted guide of life, nowhere exists as a pure and colourless light, but is perpetually tinctured by the medium through which it passes; it flows in upon us through painted windows. And thus it is, that perhaps scarcely once in ten thousand times, probably never, does man deliver a judgment on evidence simply and absolutely judicial. 'The 'heart,' says Pascal, with great truth, 'has its reasons, which 'reason cannot apprehend.' 'The will,' says he, in another place, 'is one of the principal instruments of belief; not that it creates 'belief, but because things are true or false according to the 'aspect in which we regard them. The will, which is more 'inclined to one thing than another, turns away the mind 'from the consideration of those things which it loves not to 'contemplate; and thus the mind, moving with the will, stops 'to observe that which it approves, and forms its judgment by 'what it sees.'

Most emphatically is this the case, where the moral state is habitually opposed to the conclusions to which the preponderance of evidence points. This is so notorious, in relation to the fundamental truths of morals and religion, that there are probably few who really disbelieve them, or profess to do so, who (if they examine themselves at all) are not conscious that the 'wish 'is father to the thought.' And what is true of habitual states of moral feeling, is also, in proportion, true of more transient states.

Certain, however, it is, that from one or other of the above causes, or from a combination of several, neither has the understanding the absolute dominion in the formation of our judgments, nor does she occupy an 'unshaken throne.' A seditious rabble of doubts, from time to time, rise to dispute her empire. Even where the mind, in its habitual states, is unconscious of any remaining doubt,—where it reposes in a vast preponderance of evidence in favour of this or that conclusion,—there may yet be, from one or other of the disturbing causes adverted to, a momentary eclipse of that light in which the soul seemed to dwell;

a momentary vibration of that judgment which we so often flattered ourselves was poised for ever. Yet this no more argues the want of habitual faith, than the variations of the compass argue the severance of the connexion between the magnet and the pole; or, than the oscillations of the 'rocking stone' argue that the solid mass can be heaved from its bed. A child may shake it, but a giant cannot overturn it.

And, as *a matter of fact*, there are, we apprehend, very few who have not been conscious of sudden and almost unaccountable disturbances of the intellectual atmosphere, unaccountable even after the equilibrium has been restored, and the air has again become serene and tranquil. In these momentary fluctuations, whether arising from moral or physical causes, or from causes of both kinds—from nervous depression, or a fit of melancholy, or an attack of pain, or harassing anxieties, or the loss of friends, or their misfortunes and calamities, or signal triumphs of baseness, or signal discomfitures of virtue, or, above all, from conscious neglect of duty—a man shall sometimes feel as if he had lost sight even of those primal truths on which he has been accustomed to gaze as on the stars of the firmament,—bright, serene, and unchangeable; even such truths as the existence of God, his paternal government of the world, and the divine origin of Christianity. In these moods, objections which he thought had long since been dead and buried, start again into sudden existence. They do more; like the escaped genius of the *Arabian Nights*, who rises from the little bottle in which he had been imprisoned, in the shape of a thin smoke, which finally assumes gigantic outlines, and towers to the skies, these flimsy objections dilate into monstrous dimensions, and fill the whole sphere of mental vision. The arguments by which we have been accustomed to combat them seem to have vanished, or, if they appear at all, look diminished in force and vividness. If we may pursue the allusion we have just made, we even wonder how such mighty forms should ever have been compressed into so narrow a space. Bunyan tells us, that when his pilgrims, under the perturbation produced by previous terrible visions, turned the perspective glass towards the Celestial City from the summits of the Delectable Mountains, 'their hands shook so that they could not steadily look through 'the' instrument; 'yet they *thought* they saw something like 'the gate, and also some of the glory of the place.' It is even so with many of the moods in which other 'pilgrims' attempt to gaze in the same direction; a deep haze seems to have settled over the golden pinnacles and the 'gates of pearl;' they, for a moment, doubt whether what others declare they have seen, and what they flatter themselves they have seen themselves, be any

thing else than a gorgeous vision in the clouds; and 'faith' is no longer 'the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of 'things not seen.'

And as there are probably few who have profoundly investigated the evidences of truth, who have not felt themselves for a moment at least, and sometimes for a yet longer space, as if on the verge of universal scepticism, and about to be driven forth without star or compass, on a boundless ocean of doubt and perplexity, so these states of feeling are peculiarly apt to infest the highest order of minds. For if, on the one hand, these can best discern and estimate the evidence which proves any truth, they, on the other, can see most clearly and feel most strongly the nature and extent of the objections which oppose it; while they are, at the same time, just as liable as the vulgar to the disturbing influences already adverted to. This liability is of course doubled, when its subject, as in the case of Pascal, labours under the disadvantage of a gloomy temperament.

A circumstance which in these conflicts of mind often gives *sceptical* objections an undue advantage, is, that the great truths which it is more especially apt to assail, are generally the result of an accumulation of proof by induction, or are even dependent on quite separate trains of argument. The mind, therefore, cannot comprehend them at a glance, and feel at once their integrated force, but must examine them in detail by successive acts of mind,—just as we take the measurement of magnitudes too vast to be seen at once in successive small portions. The existence of God, the moral government of the world, the divine origin of Christianity, are all truths of this stamp. Pascal, in one of his *Pensées* refers to this infirmity of the logical faculties. He justly observes—'To have a series of proofs incessantly before the mind, is beyond our power.' *D'en avoir toujours les preuves présentes, c'est trop d'affaire.*

From the inability of the mind to retain in perpetuity, or to comprehend at a glance a long chain of evidence, or the total effect of various lines of argument, Pascal truly observes, that it is not sufficient for the security of our convictions, and their due influence over our belief and practice, that we have proved them once for all by a process of reasoning;—they must be, if possible, tinctured and coloured by the imagination, informed and animated by feeling, and rendered vigorous and practical by habit. His words are well worth citing:—'Reason acts slowly, and 'with so many views upon so many principles which it is neces 'sary should be always present, that it is perpetually dropping 'asleep, and is lost for want of having all its principles present 'to it. The affections do not act thus; they act instantaneously,

'and are always ready for action. It is necessary, therefore, to 'imbue our faith with feeling, otherwise it will be always vacil-'lating.'*

It will not, of course, be imagined that, in the observations we have now made, we are disposed to be the *apologists* of scepticism; or even, so far as it is yielded to, of that transient doubt to which we affirm even the most powerful minds are not only liable, but liable in defiance of what are ordinarily their strong convictions. So far as such states of mind are involuntary, and for an instant they often are, (till, in fact, the mind collects itself, and repels them,) they are of course the object not of blame but of pity. So far as they are dependent upon fluctuations of feeling, or upon physical causes which we can at all modify or control, it is our duty to summon the mind to resist the assault, and reflect on the nature of that evidence which has so often appeared to us little less than demonstrative.

We are not, then, the apologists of scepticism, or any thing approaching it; we are merely stating a pschylogical fact, for the proof of which we appeal to the recorded confessions of many great minds, and to the experience of those who have reflected deeply enough on any large and difficult subject, to know what can be said for or against it.

The asserted fact is, that *habitual* belief of the sincerest and strongest character is sometimes checkered with transient fits of doubt and misgiving; and that even where there is no actual *disbelief*—no, not for a moment—the mind may, in some of its moods, form a very diminished estimate of the evidence on which belief is founded, and grievously understate it accordingly. We believe that both these states of mind were occasionally experienced by Pascal—the latter, however, much more frequently than the former; and hence, as we apprehend, are we to account for those passages in which he speaks of the evidence for the existence of a God, or for the truth of Christianity, as less conclusive than he ordinarily believed, or than he has at other times declared them. At such times, the clouds may be supposed to have hung low upon this lofty mind.

So little inconsistent with a *habit* of intelligent faith are such transient invasions of doubt, or such diminished perceptions of the evidence of truth, that it may even be said that it is only those who have in some measure experienced them, who can be said, in the highest sense, to believe at all. He who has never had a doubt, who believes what he believes for reasons which he

* Vol. ii. pp. 175, 176.

thinks as irrefragable (if that be posuible) as those of a mathematical demonstration, ought not to be said so much to *believe* as to *know;* his belief is to him knowledge, and his mind stands in the same relation to it, however erroneous and absurd that belief may be. It is rather he who believes—not indeed without the exercise of his reason, but without the full satisfaction of his reason—with a knowledge and appreciation of formidable objections—it is this man who may most truly be said intelligently to believe.

While it is true that we are called upon to receive the great truths of Theology, whether natural or revealed, on evidence which is less than demonstrative, we are not to forget that no subjects out of the sciences of magnitude and number, admit of any such demonstration. We are required to do no more in religion, than we are in fact necessitated to do in all the affairs of common life—that is, to form our conclusions upon a sincere and diligent investigation of moral evidence. And, after all, such an arrangement is not only in harmonious analogy with all the conditions of our ordinary life, but, if the present world be indeed a state of moral probation—if it be designed to test our diligence and sincerity, to teach us what is so suitable in a finite and created being, a submissive and confiding posture of mind towards the Infinite Creator—such an arrangement is essential to our course of moral discipline and education. If we are required to believe nothing but what it is impossible that we should doubt —that is, nothing but what it would be a contradiction to deny —where would be the proof of our willingness to believe on the bare assurance of wisdom and knowledge superior to our own? Wise men assuredly consider it as a most important element in the education of their own children, not indeed that they should be taught to believe what they are told without any reason, (and if they have been properly trained, a just confidence in the assurances of their superiors in knowledge will on many subjects be reason sufficient,) yet upon evidence far less than demonstration; indeed, upon evidence far less than they will be able to appreciate, when the lapse of a few brief years has transformed them from children into men. We certainly expect that they will believe many things as *facts* which as yet they cannot fully comprehend—nay, which they tell us are, in appearance, paradoxical; and to rest satisfied with the assurance, that it is in vain to attempt to explain the evidence till they get older and wiser. We are accustomed even to augur the worst results as to the future course and conduct of a youth who has not learned to exercise thus much of practical faith, and who flippantly rejects on the score of *his* not being able

to comprehend them, truths of which he yet has greater evidence, though not *direct* evidence, of their being truths, than he has of the contrary. Now, 'if we have had earthly 'fathers, and have given them reverence' after this fashion, and when we have become men have applauded our submission as appropriate to our condition of dependence, 'shall 'we not much rather be subject to the Father of spirits, and live?' If, then, the present be a scene of moral education and discipline, it seems fit in itself that the evidence of the truths we believe should be checkered with difficulties and liable to objections;—not strong enough to force assent, nor so obscure as to elude sincere investigation. God, according to the memorable aphorism of Pascal already cited, has afforded sufficient light to those whose object is to see, and left sufficient obscurity to perplex those who have no such wish. All that seems necessary or reasonable to expect is, that as we are certainly not called upon to believe any thing *without* reason, nor without a *preponderance* of reason, so the evidence shall be such as our faculties are capable of dealing with; and that the objections shall be only such as equally baffle us upon any other hypothesis, or are insoluble only because they transcend altogether the limits of the human understanding; which last circumstance can be no valid reason, apart from other grounds, either for accepting or rejecting a given dogma. Now, we contend, that it is in this equitable way that God has dealt with us as moral agents, in relation to all the great truths which lie at the basis of religion and morals; and, we may add, in relation to the divine origin of Christianity. The evidence is all of such a *nature* as we are accustomed every day to deal with and to act upon; while the objections are either such as re-appear in every other theory, or turn on difficulties absolutely beyond the limits of the human faculties. Take, for example, the principal argument which proves the existence of God; the argument which infers from the traces of intelligent design in the universe, the existence of a wise and powerful author. In applying this principle, man only acts as he acts every day of his life in other cases. He acts on a principle which, if he were to doubt, or even affect to doubt, he would be laughed at by his fellow-men as a ridiculous pedant or a crazy metaphysician. Whether indications of design, countless as they are inimitable, with which the whole universe is inscribed, are likely to be the result of chance, is a question which turns on principles of evidence with which man is so familiar that he cannot adopt the affirmative without contradicting all his judgments in every other analogous, or similar, or conceivable case. On the other hand, the objections to the conclusion that there is

some Eternal Being of illimitable power and wisdom are precisely of the nature we have mentioned. A man makes a difficulty, we will suppose, (as well he may,) of conceiving that which has existed from eternity; but, as something certainly exists now, the denial of the existence of such a Being does not relieve from that difficulty, unless the objecter plunges into another equally great,—that of supposing it possible for the universe to have sprung into existence without a cause at all. This difficulty, then, is one which re-appears under any hypothesis. Again, we will suppose him to make a difficulty of the ideas of self-subsistence, of omnipresence without extension of parts—of power which creates out of nothing, and which acts simply by volition,—of a knowledge cognizant of each thing and of all its relations—actual and possible, past, present, and to come—to every other thing, at every point of illimitable space, and in every moment of endless duration. But then these are difficulties, the solution of which clearly transcends the limits of the human understanding; and to deny the doctrines which seem established by evidence which we *can* appreciate, because we cannot solve difficulties which lie altogether beyond our capacities, seems like resolving that nothing shall be true but what we can fully comprehend—a principle again which, in numberless other cases, we neither can nor pretend to act upon.

It is much the same with the evidences of Christianity. Whether a certain amount and complexity of testimony are likely to be false; whether it is likely that not one but a number of men would endure ignominy, persecution, and the last extremities of torture, in support of an unprofitable lie; whether such an original fiction as Christianity—if it be fiction—is likely to have been the production of Galilean peasants; whether any thing so sublime was to be expected from fools, or any thing so holy from knaves; whether illiterate fraud was likely to be equal to such a wonderful fabrication; whether infinite artifice may be expected from ignorance, or a perfectly natural and successful assumption of truth from imposture;—these and a multitude of the like questions are precisely of the same *nature*, however they may be decided, with those with which the historian and the advocate, judges, and courts of law are every day required to deal. On the other hand, whether miracles have ever been, or are ever likely to be admitted in the administration of the universe, is a question on which it would demand a far more comprehensive knowledge of that administration than we can possibly possess to justify an *a priori* decision. That they are possible is all that is required; and that, no consistent theist can

deny. Other difficulties of Christianity, as Bishop Butler has so clearly shown, baffle us on every other hypothesis; they meet us as much in the 'constitution of nature,' as in the pages of revelation, and cannot consistently be pleaded against Christianity without being equally fatal to Theism.

There are two things, we will venture to say, at which the philosophers of some future age will stand equally astonished; the one is, that any man should have been called upon to believe *any* mystery, whether of philosopy or religion, without a preponderance of evidence of a nature which he can grasp, or on the mere *ipse dixit* of a fallible creature like himself; the other, that where there *is* such evidence, man should reject a mystery, merely because it is one. This last, perhaps, will be regarded as the more astonishing of the two. That man, who lives in a dwelling of clay, and looks out upon the illimitable universe through such tiny windows—who stands, as Pascal sublimely says, between 'two infinitudes'—who is absolutely surrounded by mysteries, which he overlooks, only because he is so familiar with them; should doubt a proposition (otherwise well sustained) from its intrinsic difficulty, does not seem very reasonable. But when we further reflect that that very mind which erects itself into a standard of all things, is, of all things, the most ignorant of that which it ought to know best—itself, and finds there the most inscrutable of all mysteries;—when we reflect that when asked to declare what itself is, it is obliged to confess that it knows nothing about the matter—nothing either of its own essence or its mode of operation—that it is sometimes inclined to think itself material, and sometimes immaterial—that it cannot quite come to a conclusion whether the body really exists or is a phantom, or in what way (if the body really exist) the intimate union between the two is maintained; —when we see it perplexed beyond expression, even to conceive how these phenomena can be reconciled,—proclaiming it to be an almost equal contradiction to suppose that Matter can think, or the Soul be material, or a connexion maintained between two totally different substances, and yet admitting that one of these must be true, though it cannot satisfactorily determine which;—when we reflect on all this, surely we cannot but feel that the spectacle of so ignorant a being refusing to believe a proposition merely *because* it is above its comprehension, is of all paradoxes the most paradoxical, and of all absurdities the most ludicrous.

ART. VIII.—1. *De la Centralisation.* Par TIMON (M. DE CORMENIN.) 8vo. Paris: 1842.

2. *Etudes Administratives.* Par M. VIVIEN. 8vo. Paris: 1845.

3. *De la Liberté du Travail.* Par CHARLES DUNOYER. 8vo Paris: 1845.

4. *Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, &c.* By SAMUEL LAING, Esq. 8vo. London: 1842.

BY the books which we have taken for a text, and by various books and essays which we have not specified, our attention has been drawn to a subject of great and growing importance—the tendencies of that form of Government, or rather, that form of Administration, which we must designate, for want of a better title, by the barbarous, though received name, of *Centralization.* Novel as it is, the word has acquired already a good and a bad sense; and, like all other words subject to this ambiguity, it has begotten a crowd of mistakes concerning the thing which it signifies, with a crowd of intentional or unintentional fallacies. For example, the word is often put forward by ostensible advocates of the thing, as a cover for vexatious restraints laid by governments on the governed. On the other hand, the word is frequently employed (in a sense which imports blame), as if it were synonymous with *over-governing;*—that is, an over-meddling by governments with the interests and concerns of their subjects. This confusion of two things which have no natural connexion has armed objectors to improvements with a telling and dangerous fallacy. Any interference by a government with the interests and concerns of its subjects, however expedient that interference may be, is reproached by those who would raise a prejudice against it, with a tendency to *centralization;* and by this brandishing of a word, (which, as being imperfectly understood, is full of mysterious terrors,) they can work on the practical convictions of their hearers or readers, with an effect which they could not produce by a perspicuous statement of their reasons. To obviate the prevalent mistakes concerning Centralization, and to obviate the obstacles to improvement, which they have raised and are likely to raise, is the purpose of the present article. A complete accomplishment of the purpose would surpass our limited space, although it did not surpass our limited powers; but we hope that such of our readers as may care to

investigate the subject, will be helped to adequate conceptions of it by the suggestions which we shall offer to their notice.

Of the many misconceptions of centralization which have fallen under our observation, the following, we think, are the most prevalent and important:—1. It is confounded with over-governing. 2. It is thought incompatible with the spirit, if not with the forms, of free or popular government. 3. It is thought incompatible with local governments of local and popular origin. 4. In France, Prussia, and other continental countries, the governments of localities, with the lower branches of the general administration, are controlled to excess by the heads of the latter; and this abuse of centralization is supposed to be of its essence. To clear the subject of the obscurity which they have cast upon it, we shall examine these misconceptions as fully as our limits will permit. We shall append to our examination of the last a few remarks on a subject which is closely connected with it;—the expediency of the sovereign authority delegating its functions, so far as such delegation consists with the preservation of its power. To our examination of these misconceptions we shall prefix a general outline of centralization itself. In this preliminary outline, we shall endeavour to determine the *notion* of centralization; we shall endeavour to indicate the *conditions* upon which it depends; and we shall notice its *tendencies* to promote or defeat the objects which governments ought to pursue.

A perfect definition of centralization would involve a definition of sovereignty and independent political society; but since a definition of these fundamental notions would not consist with our limited purposes, we confine ourselves to the following assumptions:—That every political society is subject to a person or persons who may be styled the sovereign: That the political powers, active or passive, of this individual or body, are not limitable by positive law; since all the positive laws in force in the given society owe their legal validity to the expressed will of the sovereign or to its tacit sanction: That the other political authorities in the given society are subordinate to the sovereign or supreme one; deriving their political powers from its express or tacit delegation, and holding those powers at its pleasure. The omnipotence of the sovereign authority, as meaning its absolute freedom from legal restraints, is (we conceive) indisputable; being involved in the notion of sovereignty, as the properties of a circle are implied by the definition of the figure. If the sovereignty resides in a single person, the sovereign government is properly a monarchy; if it resides in a body of persons, the government may be styled a republic, (in the wider meaning of the term.) But with this division of governments

into monarchies and republics—or with the division of republics into oligarchies, aristocracies, democracies, limited or mixed monarchies, and other forms innumerable—we have no immediate concern.

In every state whatever, the subordinate authorities bear a relation to the supreme one, which, by a metaphor, may be styled *centralization;* for, owing their being and attributes (by its express or tacit delegation) to that supreme authority, they may be said to radiate from it as from their common centre. But the term centralization, as it is usually applied, must signify something less obvious than that universal relation; and this less obvious and less determinate signification is the meaning with which we are concerned. According to the theory of every government, the subordinate authorities *ought* to be dependent on the supreme one: they *ought* to be the ministers or instruments of its expressed or intimated pleasure. For example, the governments of the States forming the American Union are held together by a merely federal tie; but being subordinate to the aggregate of states from which the federal government holds its constitution and attributes, they *ought* to be dependent on this government, (in respect of matters within its competence,) as the authorities in an English county are dependent on the British Parliament. But though it is necessarily supposed by the theory of every government, this ideally perfect dependence is not attainable in practice. There are, however, countries in which the approach made to it is closer than it is in others; and if we abstract the causes (physical and moral) which modify the workings of political institutions, we may say that the degree in which the ideal is realised is determined by the constitution and attributes of the subordinate authorities. Now, if their constitution and functions tend strongly to make them dependent on the supreme one, the government is *centralized;* if their constitution and functions have not that tendency, the government is not centralized; and if, in consequence of this structural defect, they tend strongly to independence of the supreme one, they partake more or less of the nature of sovereign powers. The degree of the tendency to dependence, and the degree of the opposite tendency, which are marked by the opposed terms 'cen-' tralized' and 'uncentralized,' cannot be determined exactly by general expressions. Like the many other distinctions founded on differences of degrees, which occur in the moral sciences, the distinction is vague in theory. In spite, however, of its vagueness, important theoretical conclusions are deducible from it; and it is applicable, in reference to particular governments, with a sufficient approach to certainty. In fine, if centralization has

any determinable import, and if we have succeeded in seizing that import correctly, it lies in the constitution and attributes of the subordinate authorities in a State: it is any such determination, or any such structure or disposition, of the constitution and functions of those authorities, as tends strongly (though in a degree not precisely assignable) to make them practically dependent on the sovereign power. If we have mistaken its import, our mistake is a venial one. We have looked into many disquisitions, and more declamations, about this much extolled and much decried word; but we have not lighted in the very best of them upon any endeavour to determine the nature of the thing.

From the notion of centralization, we should pass directly to its conditions or essentials. Before, however, we proceed to these, we must notice an application (much in vogue since the time of Montesquieu) of the two expressions 'legislative' and 'administrative.' By that application, the mutual relations of the sovereign and subordinate authorities have been much obscured; and, consequently, the difficulties inherent in our subject have been much aggravated. Legislation is the making of laws: administration (in the more usual sense of the word) is the applying of laws (or of rules or principles) to cases arising under them. But to laws and administrative acts, we must add the laws (improperly so called) which are made for and restricted to a specific case or cases. Such, for example, are the *privileges*, beneficial or onerous, of the Roman law; such, also, are *private* acts of Parliament; and such are acts of Parliament (rare as they are invidious) for reaching criminals guilty of anomalous offences. This legislation *in specie*, or calculated for a specific case, is compounded of legislation and administration. As giving a law, (or a something analogous to a law,) it partakes of the former; as applying that law to the case for which it specifically provides, it is nearly allied to the latter. In deeming it a sort of administration, we are following, we believe, the more prevalent usage; and certainly are justified by the nature of the purpose to which it is, or ought to be applied. Unless it be odiously arbitrary, it corrects or helps the existing law, and harmonizes with its maxims and spirit; and is thus an application of that law, (or, at least, of the principles on which that law is founded,) rather than a legislative act. On the division of political *functions* into legislative and administrative, has been founded a corresponding division of political *functionaries*. According to this division, (generally received since Montesquieu,) legislative functions are, or ought to be, the sole business of the sovereign; administrative functions are, or ought to be, the exclusive office of the subordinate authorities. For example, the King (or

Queen Regnant) of the United Kingdom has two political characters. He is the foremost member of the Parliament, as composed of King, Lords, and Commons; and, in another and subordinate character, he is the foremost minister of that sovereign body. According to the division in question, the King, Lords, and Commons, as composing the sovereign Parliament, are the *legislative* power: the King, in his ministerial character, with the aggregate of the functionaries deriving their functions from him, are the *administrative* or executive authority.—In regard to the sovereign, (whether an individual or a body,) this division is palpably false. All political powers, actual and possible, reside actively or passively in the central authority; and all such powers residing in others are merely emanations from it. In large and civilised countries, and in more modern times, the central authority has confined its activity to matters of general interest. Accordingly, it has confined itself to the making of laws concerning those weightier matters, and has delegated its administrative functions. But this proposition, though generally true, must be taken with large limitations. Even in such countries, administrative functions, or functions analogous to them, are often exercised directly by the sovereign power. For example, private acts of Parliament, now so frequent and important, are rather administrative than legislative measures; and declarations of war, treaties of peace, with other measures determining our foreign relations, are, for the most part, in the same predicament. According, indeed, to the theory of the constitution, (or rather to its historical forms,) the determination of these relations belongs to the King; but since the King could not determine them effectually, without the concurrence of the Lords and Commons, they are directly determined, in fact, by the sovereign authority of Parliament.—In regard to the subordinate authorities, the hollowness of the division is equally manifest. By virtue of powers which the sovereign has expressly given them, or has tacitly permitted them to exercise, those authorities in all countries have legislated to a vast extent. For example, the laws made by our numerous colonial governments are directly legislative acts proceeding from a subordinate source. The ordonnances made by the King of the French, for giving detailed effect to the laws of the King and Chambers, are acts of the same character. The Roman private law, at the end of the free republic, had been made chiefly by the direct legislation of the Pretors. The French law, under the old monarchy, owed its existence, in a great measure, to the direct and judicial legislation of the various Parliaments. By the judicial legislation of the English Courts of

Justice, the vast and artificial fabric of the unwritten law has been built on a narrow basis of ancient and rude customs. It is clear, therefore, that 'the legislative power,' or 'the legislature,' is not an appropriate name for the sovereign authority; and that the term 'administrative,' in its more usual sense, does not characterise the authorities subordinate to it. But, in another and more comprehensive sense, administrative (or executive) is equivalent to subordinate or ministerial; and to administer (or to execute) is to give effect, by subordinate legislation or administration, to the will of the sovereign power. In this sense, therefore, the subordinate authorities may be aptly styled administrative; and may be properly distinguished by that epithet from the sovereign authority of which they are ministers or instruments.

From this verbal, but indispensable discussion, we shall pass to the conditions on which centralization depends. We must previously remark, however, that its tendency to strengthen the central authority is aided or impeded by causes extrinsic to political institutions. Such, for example, is the facility or difficulty of communication between the parts of the country; the disposition of their respective populations to union or separation; the attachment or aversion of the bulk of the community to the actual holders of the sovereign power; and the docility or indocility inherent in the national character,—(whether that character be imputable to race, or to a long and steady action of outward influences.) As such causes are innumerable, and combine and cross in innumerable ways, we have not room for a distinct and formal inquiry into their nature and operation. But our review of the political conditions on which centralization depends, and the political causes by which it is helped or thwarted, will involve an occasional notice of the various extrinsic circumstances which variously modify the workings of political institutions.

In reference to centralization, the subordinate authorities in a state may be distributed under two heads;—the governments of localities, and the general administration of the country.—We understand by a *locality*, (the only expression, not altogether new, that is adequate to the extent of our meaning,) any such portion of the country subject to the sovereign power, as is administered by subordinate authorities specially occupied with its peculiar affairs. Accordingly, extensive provinces, extensive dependencies, and even the several states united by a federal union, are just as much localities, in the sense which we attach to the expression, as English counties and municipalities, or French departments and communes. The subordinate authorities, thus administering a locality, may be styled a local government. We understand by the general administration, the aggregate of the subordinate authorities, superior and inferior, who are occupied

with affairs concerning the country at large. Though the governments of localities, and the general administration of the country, are always distinct or distinguishable, they naturally cross and combine in various ways. Thus, functionaries belonging to the latter may exercise their functions within a locality; and, though engaged in the general administration, may be members of the local government. For example, a collector of the general revenue may exercise his functions within the limits of a town; and may combine the character of collector of revenue with that of mayor of the town or member of the town-council.

Though a local government, as being a subordinate authority, emanates immediately or ultimately from the sovereign power, it may originate immediately in various ways. First, it may proceed immediately from the sovereign authority, or from that authority through the general administration; secondly, it may derive its immediate origin from the locality which it administers; lastly, it may partly derive that origin from the former of those two sources, and partly from the latter. For example, the local government of a French department might be chosen by the King, as the head of the general administration; or it might be chosen by a larger or smaller fraction of the inhabitants of the locality; or it might be chosen partly in one of those two ways, and partly in the other. In fact, it originates immediately in the last-mentioned manner. The Prefect is the chief of the local government, as well as a functionary of the general administration. But to the Prefect, who is appointed by the King, is attached a Departmental Council, who are elected by a portion of the inhabitants; and, without the concurrence, or the previous advice of this Council, the acts of the Prefect, as local administrator, are not valid. 'In reference to centralization, the immediate origin of the local governments is a matter of primary importance. If they proceed immediately from the central authority, (or from the general administration, which commonly sympathises with it,) they naturally tend to dependence upon that authority, so far as their tendencies are determined by political causes. But if a local government, entirely or principally, derives its immediate origin from the locality itself, it naturally tends to clash with the central authority, or with the general administration;—the tendency being greater or less as its territory is larger or smaller, as its immediate origin is more or less popular, and as its attributes are more or less extensive. 'To make this tendency obvious, and to show the necessity for taking precautions against it, we will advert to the local governments in which it is the strongest: the several governments of states united by a federal union, and the local governments of dependencies. By a short analysis of these gov-

ernments, we shall gain a point of view which commands the subject of centralization, or, at least, an important part of it.

The nature of the States' Governments (whether they are sovereign or subordinate?) has been much discussed by the parties which divide the American Union; although it is clearly determined (as we presume to think) by the purposes and provisions of the federal constitution. As that constitution was framed by a convention which represented the several states, a like extraordinary convention may alter or annul it at their pleasure. The aggregate of the several states, as represented by such a convention, is, therefore, sovereign throughout the Union. The federal government, which is its creature and minister, and the states' governments, whose powers it can modify at its pleasure, are equally subordinate to it. But though this aggregate, as thus represented, is properly a sovereign body, its active functions are merely constituent. It defines the constitution and attributes of the federal government, and thus modifies (by implication) the powers of the states' governments. It leaves, however, the ordinary business of a government to those respective authorities; the federal government administering the affairs of the Union, and each of the states' governments administering those of its locality. Since it is merely constituent, and since its interventions are separated by long intervals, the sovereign authority in the American Union may be styled constituent or latent; as a sovereign authority which habitually governs may be styled acting or ostensible. That the federal government is merely ministerial, cannot be doubted; the specified powers which it holds from the constituent sovereign, rendering its character obvious. But, the federation apart, each of the states' governments would be supreme and independent; it has only relinquished, by its accession to the federation, a specified portion of its sovereign powers; and it may be said, with some plausibility, that the infinitude of powers which it retains is equivalent to sovereignty. To this it may be answered, that its powers are liable to abridgment by the constituent authority; and that no government, subject to such a liability, can be deemed sovereign and independent. Nay, the constituent authority, for the purpose of strengthening the federation, might deprive the states' governments of all but specified powers;—endowing the federal government with the infinite residue, and thus giving it a character approaching to sovereignty. In that event, the subordination of the states' governments would not admit of a doubt; and since the federal government, notwithstanding the enlargement of its powers, would be obviously the creature and minister of the federal constitution, its subordinate character would be equally indisputable.

The following, therefore, are the characters of a federal state: —1. The federal government and the states' governments are subordinate to a constituent sovereign. 2. The will of the federal government (as to matters within the competence which it derives from the federal constitution) is enforced in the several states by its own authority and instruments. In every state, therefore, there are two administrative authorities; —the administration of the federal state created by the federation, and the state's or local government. And here is the practical difference (a wide and important one) between a federal state and a mere confederation of states. The latter is a knot of states severally independent, though bound together by an alliance calculated for permanency. The assembly, or other organ, which determines their common affairs, is neither sovereign, nor the minister of a sovereign authority. It is merely a congress of ambassadors from the several states, agreeing on resolutions concerning the interests of the confederacy; and these resolutions are enforced in every state by the authority and instruments of its peculiar government. 3. The powers of the federal government are specified and limited; and, consequently, each of the states' governments possesses an infinitude of powers, notwithstanding the federal union. This, in fact, is a character of a federal state, though not implied by the idea. If the powers of the states' governments were specified by the federal constitution, it would give the federal government an infinitude of powers, and make it in practice nearly supreme. But if the several states could consent to so intimate a union, they would probably go further, and consent to a perfect fusion; the machinery of a federal state being far less simple and convenient, than that of a state with an acting and ostensible sovereign.

The position of a dependency is different from that of a state united to others by a federal union. Speaking generally, (for the proposition might be limited by some unimportant exceptions,) a dependency is governed by the sovereign authority from which the local government derives its constitution and attributes. For example, all our colonial governments emanate from the British Parliament, immediately or ultimately; and the same sovereign authority governs the colonies directly, or through various departments of the general administration of the empire. But, notwithstanding the interventions of the sovereign power, the machinery of the local government is as ample as that of a supreme one: its powers, moreover, are as various and extensive as those of a state's government in a federal state: in short, it possesses as much of the constitution and attributes belonging to a sovereign government, as consists with the sovereignty and the occasional interventions of the government to which it is subordinate.

This description applies, in somewhat different degrees, to all our colonial governments; and it applies, in an eminent degree, to the local government which governed Ireland when forming a dependency upon Great Britain. It were superfluous to dwell upon consequences which the description plainly implies. If the local government, entirely or principally, originate immediately in the dependency itself, it will obviously tend to clash with the sovereign authority. If its local origin be of a popular character, and its territory be large and populous, the tendency will obviously be strong—as strong as the tendency of a state's government, with a similar origin and territory, to conflict with the administration of the federal state. It is hardly necessary to add, that federal government, or government by a system of dependencies, may be rendered expedient or inevitable by physical or moral causes; or that the only purpose of our strictures upon them is to show their intrinsic inconsistency with centralization.

It appears, we think, from the foregoing analysis, that the conditions of centralization, in reference to the governments of localities, may be indicated as follows:—1. The functions of those governments must be specified and limited; and must not consist (like the attributes of states' governments, or the local governments of dependencies) in infinite aggregates of powers. 2. Their respective territories must not be sufficiently extensive to give them a moral weight rendering their dependence precarious. If the territory and population which are administered by a local government are a large fraction of those of the country, it will tend to antagonize with the sovereign authority, in spite of any limitations which may be put upon its functions. These conditions (with the details which they imply) being observed and satisfied, local governments of local and popular origin are helps rather than hindrances to centralization; tending to strengthen the influence of the central authority, as well as to give to the localities themselves the best administration of their local affairs. But, intending to revert to local governments in another part of this article, we pass at present to those conditions of centralization which lie in the constitution and attributes of the general administration.

There is in every country an administrative authority, which may be called the head of the general administration. By this presiding authority, the departments of that administration are linked to the sovereign power; and, by the same authority, those departments, with the functionaries whom they include, are immediately or mediately directed or controlled. In pure monarchies, this presiding authority may be placed in a single minister, but is commonly entrusted to a council of ministers. In limited monarchies, the single person, (clothed with a mo-

narchical title,) who is the foremost member of the sovereign body, is also the head of the general administration; but since he delegates his functions to a council of ministers, (or, at least, exercises his functions with and under their advice,) this presiding authority virtually resides in them, rather than in him.* In republican governments of other forms or names, this presiding authority may reside in a single person, but dwells more commonly in a number of persons; and (according to the infinite varieties of their several constitutions) is exercised directly by the head of the general administration, or virtually delegated to a body of ministers.

In respect of the general administration, (thus linked to the sovereign authority,) the conditions of centralization may be indicated as follows:—1. The departments and sub-departments into which the administrative body is divided and subdivided must be clearly arranged. 2. The administrative functions distributed amongst them must be clearly determined. 3. The places in the administrative hierarchy, respectively occupied by its several functionaries, must be clearly marked; the authorities in the same hierarchy to which they are respectively responsible, clearly designated; and the natures of their respective responsibilities, with the respective modes of enforcing them, clearly defined. These conditions being observed and satisfied, an unbroken chain of subordination connects the lowest functionary with the central authority. The general administration, through its head, is linked immediately to the sovereign power; its several departments, through their respective heads, are linked immediately to the head of the general administration; and every individual functionary is linked to the head of his department, by the clear determination of his place, his functions, and his responsibilities. The clear arrangement of the administrative machine facilitates the supervision of its movements; so that the central authority can keep it to its destined direction, with comparative ease and certainty. By the same clearness of arrangement, the

* *Princeps*—(first or foremost)—is the only name for a limited monarch that expresses his position and character. It was the proper and constitutional title of the earlier Roman Emperors; who, on their accession to office, were invested with specified powers, by a grant of the *plebs*, or senate. Ostensibly, therefore, that government, like our own, was what is absurdly called a mixed or limited monarchy. In substance, indeed, the difference between the governments is measureless. That was a despotic monarchy, disguised by the forms of a republic; this is a liberal republic, adorned and consolidated by the forms of a monarchy.

departments and sub-departments are prevented from clashing, as well as from resisting or thwarting the sovereign power. Not being covered with the mystery of a crude and confused organisation, the administrative machine is not impervious to discerning observation and criticism; and the endeavours of the central authority to control and direct its movements, are, therefore, enlightened and assisted by an intelligent public opinion.

From the conditions of centralization, we pass to certain causes which heighten its effect, but which can hardly be ranked with its conditions or essentials.

In large and civilised countries, and in more modern times, the central authority has commonly limited its activity to matters of general and permanent concern. Commonly confining itself to the making of laws regarding those weightier matters, it has delegated many of its legislative powers, and more of its administrative functions. By extending this reasonable policy as far as it might extend it with advantage to the country, it would heighten its efficiency and strengthen its power. Relieved from a multitude of burdensome functions which it might better exercise by subordinate functionaries, it would be able to perform the business which it reserved to itself with mature deliberation as well as despatch; and, moreover, it could give to the supervision and control of the administrative machine more attention than it can bestow at present upon that important office of the central authority. But, since the central authority consults the interests of its power, by delegating its functions up to a certain point, such delegation has a centralizing tendency, if it be not a condition of centralization. What are the functions which it should exercise directly, and what are those which it ought to delegate, cannot be determined by general expressions; nor would any attempt to draw the line of demarcation consist with our limited space. We shall, however, revert to the subject in the last part of the present article.

It seems to be supposed by most of the writers who have treated of centralization, that *homogeneity*, or uniformity, of institutions constitutes its essence. They seem to suppose, for example, that where a government is perfectly centralized, one system of law obtains throughout the country; that the respective governments of the several localities have been cast in a common mould; that the departments and sub-departments of the general administration have been struck off from a common type; that the divisions of the country, for general administrative proposes, have been cut out on a common pattern. Now, this uniformity simplifies the administrative machine; lays it bare to descerning observation and criticism; and

thus enables the central authority to watch and control its movements with comparative facility and effect. Accordingly, this uniformity is highly centralizing, where the conditions which we have passed in review have been observed and satisfied. But it appears clearly, from an obvious and decisive fact, that mere uniformity of institutions is not identical with centralization. This uniformity may exist, to an eminent degree, in a country ruled by a government which is not centralized at all; nay, in a country made up of states which are not subject to a common sovereign. The United States of America, though subject to a common sovereign, are loosely united by a federal union. Germany is held together by a still looser and weaker tie;—by a mere confederation of independent states, or by a federal bond which is hardly closer or stronger. Nevertheless, the political institutions of these divided countries are scarcely less homogeneous than those of France herself. The respective legal systems of the several American States, (excepting two or three which have lately acceded to the Union,) are substantially one and the same. A *Common Law of America*, abstracted from those several systems, has been admitted by the ablest American jurists; and is (we believe) the law applied by the federal tribunals to certain of the cases within their competence. In Germany, the homogeneity of the several legal systems is equally remarkable. The *Common Law of Germany* forms the bulk of the system which obtains in each of the states; although, in some of the states, (as, for example, in Prussia,) that universal law has been reduced to a code, and has taken a new name along with a systematic form.* We have said that uniformity of institutions (where certain conditions have been satisfied) has a highly centralizing tendency. It must be added, however, that it tends to weaken the central government, and to defeat the ends of centralization, where it is accepted with reluctance by considerable portions of the governed. The rage of the French nation for forcing its nationality on others, is a principal cause of its inaptitude for colonizing foreign contries, and for holding them in permanent subjec-

* See the following works, each admirable in its kind, for the Common Law of America, and the Common (or Universal) Law of Germany:—'The Jurisdiction of the Federal Courts,' by Mr Duponceau. 'Einleitung in das Deutsche Privatrecht, (Introduction to the Private Law of Germany,') by Charles Frederick Eichhorn. 'System des Heutigen Römischen Rechts, (Systematic Exposition of the Roman Law, as received and applied in Germany,') by Frederick Charles von Savigny.

tion. In her ancient policy towards her foreign dependencies, England herself was too much influenced by a puerile conceit of her own institutions; scourging dependent populations to whom her institutions were not intelligible, with English law, administered through English procedure, by technical English lawyers. Happily for herself, and the nations dependent upon her, she has taken to a better way during the last half century. From her vast experience in colonial government, she has learned to respect their opinions and manners, and to touch their institutions with a cautious and tender hand. To this policy, not less prudent than magnanimous and humane, we must mainly attribute her wonderful success in attaching her Hindoo subjects to her naturally invidious rule; and in tincturing an Asiatic people whose prejudices were all but indelible, with the morality and the knowledge of Christian and civilised Europe.

From the notion and conditions of centralization, we proceed to its tendencies as regarding the welfare of the governed;—limiting our attention, however, in this preliminary outline, to such considerations concerning those tendencies as could not be inserted conveniently in the subsequent portion of this article.

The administrative authorities, local and general, are, in theory, dependent on the sovereign power. To realise this ideal, is the direct end of centralization. It is, therefore, an instrument of good, in the hands of a good government: But is it not an instrument of evil in the hands of a bad one? We think it will appear, on a little reflection, that this seeming difficulty is nearly or altogether groundless. A regular administration is a complex and artificial machine. In a country not proportionally civilised, such a machine could not be constructed; or, if constructed on a foreign model, could not be worked. This appears from the history of countries in which the administrative system has attained or approached to regularity. That system, at its origin, was utterly crude and confused; and though it has emerged at last from primeval and barbarous disorder, it owes its comparative regularity to a toilsome elaboration continued through a long series of progressive ages. But in a country whose government is centralized, the administrative system is highly regular. A high civilisation, therefore, is an imperative moral condition of centralization. In imperfectly civilized countries whose governments are apparently centralized, (as, for example, Russia,) the centralization is merely formal. In such a country, the administrative authorities, however perfect their arrangement, are not *practically* dependent on the sovereign power; since the end of the elaborate and well-meant system is defeated or thwarted by causes lying in the barbarity of the nation. Men fitted for

the higher administrative offices, by intellectual and moral qualifications, are not sufficiently numerous to supply the wants of the administration. The higher functionaries are infected, therefore, with the ignorance, the venality, the negligence, and the other disqualifying defects (intellectual and moral) of the lower functionaries whom they ought to superintend and control; and since they spring from the barbarity of the nation, the vices of the administration are not corrected or mitigated by an intelligent public opinion and a commanding public morality. The central authority itself, however public-spirited, is inevitably affected by the barbarity of the nation. It is not sufficiently enlightened to adopt the effectual means of obtaining from its subjects the largest sum of obedience. By occasional, irregular, and violent exercises of its power, (after the manner of an Asiatic despot,) it here and there chastises its offending functionaries, or redresses the wrongs proceeding from their offences. But, by repressing public opinion, it prevents the formation of a *good* public opinion; and, consequently, it debars itself from the effectual means of detecting and preventing such offences, and of curing those vices in the administrative system from which they immediately flow. By its arbitrary exercises of its power, (however beneficent their purpose,) it perpetuates in the body of its subjects, and therefore in its administrative functionaries, the anarchical spirit of disobedience which naturally accompanies barbarity. It forgets that arbitrary government, in its remoter and general consequences, is nearly equivalent to no government at all; and that a government which would obtain for itself the greatest sum of obedience, must scrupulously respect the laws which it imposes on the governed. But if a government really centralized supposes a people highly civilised, the tendencies of such a government (whatever be the form of the sovereignty) will be beneficent in the main. The notions of the people about the ends of government, and about the means of attaining them, will be enlightened and just. As holding the same notions, or in its own despite, the government will aim at the ends sanctioned by a commanding opinion; and the administrative authorities, as its obedient instruments, will keep to the line of duties which is set to them by government and people. That it may obtain for itself the largest sum of obedience, the government will respect the laws which it imposes on the governed; and, for the same reason, it will take good care that its legislative and administrative measures shall tend really and apparently to promote the general good. It appears, therefore, that where a government is really centralized, it governs by maxims which are good in themselves, and which are also consecrated by a formidable

public opinion. But since constitutional securities for good government rest immediately on the same moral power, those maxims are equivalent, in no inconsiderable degree, to these more formal guarantees; insomuch, that a government which is not popular in form, but which is really or effectually centralized, will be administered in the spirit of governments which are popular in form and substance. In fine, if the form of the government be good, centralization, with the causes from which it springs, will enhance its good tendencies; if the form of the government be bad, they will go far to correct its bad ones. We are led to remark, by these considerations on the tendencies of centralization, that the utility of legislative and administrative improvements is far less doubtful than that of reforms in the constitutions of supreme governments. The good of the governed *ought to be* the end of government; and in civilised countries it *is*, to a great extent, the end which the government pursues. This it may promote directly, by its own legislation and administration, and those of its subordinates. This it may promote less directly, by acting, through the same means, on the opinions and sentiments of its subjects. By a good legislation and administration, it diffuses insensibly, throughout the country, an enlightened opinion and morality which powerfully re-act upon itself; and which supply, to no inconsiderable extent, the absence or defects of constitutional guarantees. To this it may be added, that constitutional reforms can rarely be brought about without a resort to violence; and the demoralising tendencies of a violent reform far outweigh its direct tendencies to promote the progress of the country towards better political institutions. But, commonly, legislative and administrative improvements have not to encounter the resistance which is always opposed to reforms in the constitutions of supreme governments. Generally speaking, the resistance to the former is far less formidable and obstinate;—coming from the sinister interests, real or imaginary, of particular and limited classes. The intelligent and impartial public is ready to urge them on the government; and the government itself (where it can see its way) is disposed to promote them, or to yield to the public voice.

Having analysed the notion of centralization—passed its conditions in review, and noticed its tendencies as regarding the welfare of the governed—we shall examine those misconceptions of its essence and properties with which we are especially concerned;—taking them in the order in which we stated them at the outset.

I. Centralization, as it is commonly conceived, is mistaken for over-governing. A centralized government, according to

the same conception, is an over-regulating, over-restraining, over-protecting government;—paternal, as its friends would call it; a pestilent busy-body, as it would be called by its enemies. We think that this is the conception which is commonly associated with the word; and our impression is confirmed by two of the books whose titles we have prefixed to this Article—*De la Liberté du Travail*, by Mr Dunoyer; and *Notes of a Traveller*, by Mr Laing. M. Dunoyer, in the first volume of his admirable treatise, examines the different degrees to which men's faculties have unfolded themselves, in the successive stages of advancing society. In one chapter, principally relating to France, he considers that stage of society in which the government is centralized, but also interferes to excess with the interests and concerns of the governed. He has entitled this chapter, *De la Liberté compatible avec une centralisation exagerée.** It appears, however, from the contents, that the thing which he brands with the name of *excessive centralization*, is nothing but the meddling of the French administrative authorities with matters which ought to be abandoned to private discretion. With reference, indeed, to the legitimate province of government, it is clear that a government cannot be *excessively* centralized, or, in other words, *excessively* efficient; which is implicitly admitted by M. Dunoyer himself in many passages of this very chapter. It is stated, or plainly supposed, in many passages of Mr Laing's *Notes*, that centralization is nothing but another expression for government interference with matters which should be left to private prudence.†

Having shown that the mistake with which we are presently concerned has been made by acute writers, we shall show that centralization has no tendency whatever to lead a government to excessive interference; and that the over-meddling of certain centralized governments is not an effect of their centralization, but a consequence of other causes.

The radical cause of that over-meddling, in all the countries subject to those governments, is the false opinion prevalent amongst the population, concerning what may be called *the legitimate province of government*;—that is, the extent and limits of its *useful* interference with the interests and concerns of the governed. In France, Prussia, and Austria, protection for national industry against the competition of foreigners, is still part and parcel of the economical creed of the majority: the

* Vol. i. p. 278.

† Pp. 64, 65, and elsewhere.

same may be affirmed of police regulations determining the prices of provisions, or interfering with the rates of wages or the hours of labour;—nay, the vexatious passport system, considered as a precaution against crimes, is generally regarded with favour, and endured with cheerful resignation. In these cases, (produced as examples,) and in many analogous cases, the cause of the over-governing is the false and prevalent opinion; the government condescending to that opinion, rather than sharing in the errors on which it is founded. And although the government were deeply imbued with all the prejudices of its subjects, the evil would spring from that opinion as its ultimate and efficient cause; for, however blind and obstinate the prejudices of the government might be, it would speedily yield to a sound opinion widely diffused and clearly pronounced. This explanation, indeed, is not absolutely complete; since some of the vexations inflicted by the governments in question come from their own fears, rather than the prejudices of their subjects. Such, for example, is the annoying supervision exercised by the political police; and such is the passport system, as a security against enemies of the state, and not as a precaution against ordinary crimes. These vexations, however, though imputable to the fears of the governments, are the result of a cause extrinsic to centralization,—the revolutionary state of Europe, and, indeed, of the world, during the last half century. Exaggerating the importance of the revolutionary symptoms, and heartily frightened by them, the governments in question fell into the policy which is naturally prompted by a panic; just as our own government, influenced by an unworthy alarm, suspended the securities for personal liberty, and subjected aliens to arbitrary removal from the country. In consequence of the progress made by public opinion, and the happy subsidence of revolutionary agitations, the excessive governing has already diminished, and the disposition to it is rapidly declining. The annoyances inflicted by the political police are fast disappearing. The vexatious passport system has been greatly relaxed. The protective system itself (rooted, as it is, in inveterate prejudices, and backed, as it is, by formidable sinister interests) has already undergone modifications which strike at its principle; and, though it is bolstered up by political and temporary causes, it has received its death-blow from the great economical lesson which the Queen of industry and commerce has recently given to the world.

That centralization and over-governing have no natural connexion, is shown by a decisive fact; the uncentralized governments which the governments in question have superseded, were more vexatious than their centralized successors.

Of the countries subject to these governments, France is the only one which our limits will permit us to notice; and, with regard to France, we shall merely refer to an interesting chapter in the generally interesting volumes of M. Dunoyer. Although he chastises, with merited and fearless severity, the excessive meddling of the present centralized government, he proves that the over-governing under the old monarchy was much greater and far more odious. In the chapter in question, (which relates to the state of France under that chaotic government,) he exposes the mischievous obstacles to the commerce and industry of the kingdom, which arose from the enormous privileges (or political powers) of the various provincial and other local governments; with the mischievous and tyrannous restraints on the natural freedom of labour, which arose from the similar privileges of the incorporated professions and trades.* The obvious truth is, that the over-governing imputed to centralization descends from states of society in which centralization was impossible. It comes from the crude conceptions of the legitimate province of government, which were naturally entertained by the middle ages and the ages immediately following them—ages which were just as incapable of centralized and regular government, as of conceiving the advanced science and the advanced industry which (like centralization) are products of a high civilization. Inasmuch as our civilization, and especially our social civilization, is still far from complete, these crude conceptions of earlier ages have not entirely lost their mischievous authority; and, consequently, they have still a considerable influence (though a constantly decreasing influence) on the policy of centralized and other civilized governments.

We think it follows clearly from the foregoing statistical and historical references, that the over-governing imputed to centralization arises from causes extrinsic to the latter. That the two things have no natural connexion, follows with equal clearness from this consideration: by abstaining from over-governing, as far as the prejudices of their subjects will allow them to abstain from it, centralized governments (like other governments) would consult their own interests. This will appear sufficiently from a short summary of the evils which a government brings upon itself by excessive meddling. 1. By needlessly extending its functions, it wantonly aggravates its necessarily heavy labours, and becomes proportionally incompetent to its proper duties. 2. By meddling with interests and concerns which ought to be left to private discretion, it makes itself responsible, in the eyes

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* Tome i. Livre iv. Ch. vi. *De la Liberté compatible avec le Privilège.*

of its subjects, for their natural privations and sufferings. A people fashioned by a so-called paternal government, loses (with its self-reliance) its energy, foresight, and fortitude; looks to its government for good which its government cannot give, and for protection from evils which its government cannot prevent.* 3. By regulating the application of labour and capital, for the purpose of rendering them more productive, it affects to possess a command over the sources of production, which, if real, would justify Socialism; and it thus contributes to turn its subjects from the possible means of improving their condition, to schemes which are big with deception, disaffection, and anarchy. 4. It irritates all its subjects who are sufficiently intelligent and impartial to condemn its pernicious meddling. Moreover, it irritates all who, without condemning the system, are incidentally hurt by it in some of their particular interests. For example, it can hardly grant protection to one class of producers, without visible damage to other classes; and by consequence, its paternal care, instead of contenting all of them, sets them at odds with one another, and with their common parent. 5. Whilst, in these various ways, it weakens its authority with its subjects, it retards their advancement in industry and opulence. By thus striking at the source from which it draws its revenue, it abridges its natural means of supporting the establishments which are necessary to its own security and their welfare; and, consequently, it abridges its power and consideration relatively to those of governments which are liberal and wise enough to stick to their proper province.

Abstracting the extrinsic causes which affect the operation of political institutions, a centralized government is far less likely than another to surpass the limits of useful interference. The administrative system being comparatively regular, is not concealed by a crude and confused organization, from the supervision of the government, or the observation of the public. The proper province of legislation and administration (including the extent and limits of useful government-intervention) may, therefore, be surveyed and measured by government and public, with comparative facility and precision; so that the government

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* This is forcibly put by M. Dunoyer. Populations (says he) whose government *meddles* with every thing, come, in time, to think it *responsible* for every thing: 'à n'accuser que lui des maux qu'elles éprouvent; 'du mauvais succès de leurs spéculations, de l'encombrement des mar-'chés, de l'inégalité des conditions, de l'infortune des classes les moins 'heureuses; et finalement, à vouloir toujours *lui demander compte du* '*résultat de leur sottise ou de leur folie.*'—Tome i. p. 303.

(kept to its right line by enlightened opinion) is less likely to meddle needlessly, or to neglect the matters with which it ought to interfere. It is well remarked by M. Dunoyer, that the French Revolution, in the first instance, sharpened the ancient vexations;—the oppressive powers of the ancient local governments, and incorporated professions and trades, being transferred by that great convulsion to the vigorous and ruthless hands of the new central tyranny. In consequence, however, of the more systematic form which those powers received from the new governments, their extent, nature, and tendencies became comparatively obvious; and the attention of the intelligent public having thus been drawn to their tendencies, the ancient prejudices in which they originated have insensibly lost much of their former authority and influence.

The legitimate province of government is one question; the tendency of centralization to lead to excessive governing, is another question. But since the questions are strongly associated, we should be tempted to examine the former at considerable length, if our limits would permit the departure from our proper subject. With those limits before us, we can only venture on the following remark:—In consequence of a vehement and natural reaction against the disposition to excessive governing, many crude and untenable maxims have been hastily advanced by the advocates of freedom. Unless understood with limitations which reduce them to nothing at all, some of these maxims (as, for example, the celebrated *laissez faire*) are plainly false and absurd; since they plainly imply assumptions which would prove the inutility of law and government. According to another maxim, a government ought to confine itself to purely defensive functions;—the prevention of wrongs, and the protection of the country against foreign enemies. But though it is more plausible than the sweeping *laissez faire*, this also is radically false. It rests at bottom upon no reason at all; inasmuch as the very functions which it would permit to governments, are, by remote consequence, much more than purely defensive. It appears to us, that this maxim (with others of the like import) is doubly mischievous. It tends to prevent the good (in the way, for example, of public education) which governments may directly accomplish notwithstanding the slenderness of their means; and it weakens the cause of freedom, which it seeks to support, by placing it on a false basis. And here we must desist from this short digression. The legitimate province of government, or the extent and limits of its useful interference, is a subject (we presume to think) which has not been sufficiently sifted; inso-

much, that an accurate and intelligible exposition of it would fully occupy the space assigned to an article.

II. The misconception which we have examined confounds centralization with over-governing. By the mistake which we shall now consider, it is deemed incompatible with the substance or spirit of what is commonly called free government.

Where the sovereign power resides in a body of persons, forming a fraction of the society, which may be deemed a large one, the government is popular or democratic; or, at least, the constitution of the government partakes largely of the popular or democratic element. According to an ancient and established notion, such a government is *free:* that is, the *subjects* of such a government (including the individual members of the sovereign body itself) are freer from political restraints, *not needed by the general good,* than the subjects of governments differently constituted.*

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* In so far as a man is *not* restrained, he is *free.* The kinds of the freedom which he enjoys, are as numerous as the kinds of the restraints to which he is *not* subject. He, therefore, is politically or civilly free in as far as he is not restrained by the πολις, *civitas,* or state. A distinction, however, has been taken between civil and political liberty; though the only difference is, that *civil* comes from the Latin, and *political* from the Greek. According to this distinction, civil liberty signifies liberty in the vulgar sense of the word: it means the liberty of doing or forbearing, which every state (monarchical or republican) permits to its subjects. But, according to the same distinction, political liberty signifies political *power:* it means that part in the sovereign power, which, in a country popularly governed, is held by a member of the sovereign body. Hence civil liberty is opposed to political; and a look of paradoxical profundity is given to familiar truths, by virtue of a double meaning put upon a word. 'That a nation having *political,* may want *civil* 'liberty,' is a maxim which looks pregnant. It expresses, however, nothing more than the following familiar, though important truth: that in a country popularly governed, the subject community (including the individual members of the sovereign body itself) may be oppressed or annoyed by useless restraints.

The distinction in question has been much insisted on by Mr Laing, (pp. 61—76,) who also tells us (p. 98,) that civil liberty (or liberty) ought to be the end of government. This old conceit is just as groundless as that newfangled distinction; and we are surprised at finding it revived by so acute a writer as Mr Laing. It were nearer the mark to say, that the immediate end of government is restraint; though, in respect to its ultimate end, (the general good,) restraint and liberty are merely means. It is only by abridging their natural liberty, that the state can secure to its subjects the enjoyment of their legal rights—

Into the truth of this notion, or into the limitations and explanations with which it ought to be received, we shall not stay to enquire; inasmuch as the question with which we are concerned, is the alleged inconsistency of centralization with the substance of popular government.

So far as we have observed, this allegation (or this supposition) depends upon a train of reasoning, which may be stated as follows:—As a centralized government is regular or systematic, the administration of the country, and especially the general administration, is needlessly divided and subdivided; and from this needless multiplication of departments and sub-departments, results *a needless multiplication of paid functionaries*. But this unnecessary number of paid government-offices, leads to a further consequence. It gives to the central authority, in monarchies, and it gives to the head of the administration, in limited monarchies and other republican governments, large means of corruption or influence. These are used in monarchies, to maintain and perpetuate monarchy; and they are used in governments of popular form and appearance, to render the government, in substance and spirit, a monarchy or narrow aristocracy.—The alleged *needless multiplication of paid functionaries*, is manifestly the only

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including their legal right to the remnant of natural liberty which it tacitly permits them to retain.)

According to the distinction which we have just noticed, liberty, in one of its senses, signifies *power*. As used by M. Dunoyer, it bears an analogous meaning. The first title of his book is, 'De la *Liberté* du 'travail.' The second is, 'Exposé des conditions dans lesquelles *les* '*forces humaines* s'exercent avec le plus de puissance.' Looking at its purview and tenor, we should give to his book some such title as the following:—'An exposition of the conditions on which the human fa-'culties (as directed to economical ends) are the most advantageously 'applied.' Without the limiting clause inserted in the parenthesis, this title would not indicate correctly the purview and tenor of the book; which is especially concerned with political economy, though it frequently travels into other social sciences. Now he manifestly means by the term liberty, the human faculties or powers as applied to the best advantage; and not (as one might infer from the titles of his book) the liberty of so applying them. We cannot but wish (with all our respect for the writer) that he had abstained from this innovation on established language. It needlessly aggravates the intrinsic difficulties of his subject; and it renders the word liberty (which is the very worst stumbling-block in the mental and moral sciences) more ambiguous than it was before. It speaks volumes for his reasoning powers, that the innovation has not betrayed him (in as far as we have observed) into any important inconsistency.

basis on which the reasoning rests. But assuming that countries ruled by centralized governments suffer from this evil, the evil may inhere in centralization, or it may arise from causes extrinsic to centralization. Accordingly, we shall endeavour to show, in the first place, that centralization in itself has no tendency to produce the evil; and in the next place, that the evil arises exclusively, in the countries in question, from causes incidental to *un*centralized, as well as to centralized governments.

1. It is usual with advocates of popular institutions, to extol the advantages of *self*-government;—an expression which signifies (if it signifies any thing) the government of a political society by the society itself. But self-government, as thus understood, is simply impossible. However democratic the government, a large portion of the society—namely the non-adults—are confined by physical causes to the condition of *passive* citizens;—that is, not partakers in the sovereignty, but merely subjects of the sovereign body. If (as has been the practice in all societies) women are also excluded from the sovereign body, the number of the *active* or ruling citizens is still further reduced. If (as has been the practice in almost all societies) servitude, extreme poverty, or any other cause indicating a want of intelligence or independence, be also a ground of exclusion from the sovereign body, the active citizens, even under governments eminently democratic, are a decided minority of the entire population. To this it must be added, that the sovereign body, in the natural course of things, is divided into opposite parties; and in fact, if not by the theory of the constitution, the stronger or ascendant party rules the minority of the active citizens, as well as the great mass of the merely subject community. And hence results, where the ascendant party abuses its power, *not* a tyranny of the majority, (as has been said,) but the tyranny of a small minority of the entire population of the country. In reference, therefore, to the sovereign authority, self-government is plainly impossible. In reference to the administrative authorities, its impossibility is equally manifest. These, it is obvious, are a fraction of the society, appointed immediately or mediately by the sovereign body, or by the body which represents it and acts as the organ of its will. —Whatever, therefore, be the form of the government, a political society is administered by persons receiving their authority from the sovereign power; or, in other words, by *functionaries*, (paid or voluntary.)

It is necessary to the welfare of a political society, that a certain number of administrative functions (or a certain quantity of administrative business) should be performed;—the number of functions (or quantity of business) required by the public wants

depending on the size of the territory, the amount of the population, and a multitude of other causes equally variable. The number of the functionaries absolutely necessary for the due performance of these indispensable functions, depends on the structure of the administrative system. If the organization of the system be crude and confused, the number, naturally, is comparatively large; if the organization be regular or systematic, the number, naturally, is comparatively small; for the more orderly the distribution of the various functions, the more easy is it, *without damaging the efficiency of the system*, to combine or cumulate functions in one and the same functionary. It is, therefore, the tendency of centralization, which supposes a regular administration, to reduce the functionaries required by the public wants to the lowest possible number.

Those who insist on the tendency of centralized and regular government to multiply functionaries beyond the public wants, seem to have intended another objection. It appears to us, that they mean to object to the policy of paying the requisite functionaries out of the public revenue; and to insist that the requisite functions might and ought to be performed by unpaid or voluntary officers. Now if an administrative system, managed by paid functionaries, be more efficient than a system abandoned to voluntary officers, the policy of paying functionaries is of the essence of centralization. It contributes, at least, in a high degree, to accomplish a principal end of centralized and regular government;—the giving the greatest efficiency, as well as the greatest order, to the administrative system of the country. We therefore shall consider for a moment, the efficiency of an administrative system administered on the voluntary principle.

In countries, (as, for example, England,) in which considerable fortunes are not rare, the higher administrative offices, which confer distinction on the holders, may be filled efficiently by voluntary officers. But the lower offices are so numerous, and confer so little distinction on those who hold them, that men qualified for them, by personal qualifications, will rarely consent to fill them without pay. Though men personally qualified were willing to fill them without pay, men thus qualified, and also sufficiently rich to serve the public gratuitously, would not be nearly numerous enough to satisfy the wants of the administration. It may, therefore, be affirmed generally, that the lower offices (which commonly demand, notwithstanding their obscurity, personal qualifications possessed by few) will not be occupied by men competent to discharge them efficiently. To this it may be added, that the actual occupants, competent or incompetent, are commonly content to discharge

them *taliter qualiter*;—treating them as a pastime rather than a serious business. An efficient discharge of obscure duties is not a way to distinction; nor is the loss of an office not paid in money or praise, a thing to be seriously feared. The administrative authorities to whom the volunteer is responsible, are disposed to wink at his defaults if not at his misdeeds. After all, (think they,) he is *not paid* for his services; to look a gift horse in the mouth, is not grateful or gracious; and if we dismissed him, or drove him to resign, others might be discouraged from serving the country for nothing. Although a large experience would seem to warrant the argument, we will not insist on the tendency of the voluntary system to render the administrative officers venal and corrupt; for, in all civilized countries, the restraints of conscience and opinion are sufficiently strong to prevent the frequent occurrence of so gross a consequence. We think that the other reasons to which we have adverted, prove the intrinsic inefficiency of the voluntary system. They are indeed so obvious and powerful, that in spite of the prejudices against *functionarism*, (a nickname for the opposite system which does not seem to have taken,) the payment of administrative functionaries has every where extended as civilization has advanced. There are some administrative offices, as that of member of an English town-council or French departmental-council, to which these reasons are not applicable. The possession of such an office confers a local distinction, which, without pay, is naturally an object of ambition; and since his duties are controlling and negative, rather than active and positive, they do not demand from the occupant a large sacrifice of his time. But every administrative office demanding much labour, or merely demanding qualifications which are products of much labour, ought to be adequately paid; and to expect that such an office will be efficiently discharged without an adequate salary, were nearly as absurd as to call upon private workmen to work without wages. In all countries, (as, for example, France,) in which considerable fortunes are extremely rare, the same reasoning is applicable to all the higher offices demanding the like labour or the like qualifications. Even in countries in which such fortunes are numerous, offices of this character ought to be adequately paid. If they were filled by wealthy occupants, ostentatiously giving their services without pay, the opulent classes would sanction the antipathy with which *functionarism* is frequently regarded. The lower and paid functionaries would therefore be regarded by the multitude with no friendly or respectful feeling; and since an administrative system cannot be efficient, if those who work it are disliked or

contemned, the substantial interests of the country would be sacrificed to a small saving, and to the vanity or fastidiousness of the rich.

The supposed economy of the voluntary system is a mere illusion. An inefficient administration of public affairs, (as, for example, justice or revenue,) costs the country, by direct consequence, and by its effect on the sources of production, infinitely more than can possibly be saved by working the administrative machine on the voluntary principle. It is indeed of the highest importance, that a severe economy, pushed to scrupulosity and pedantry, should regulate the number and appointments of administrative functionaries. The direct consequences of such an economy are nearly insensible; since all that could be saved in any country, by suppressing needless offices and pruning excessive salaries, would be but a drop in the bucket as compared with the national wealth. But the remote and general consequences of a needlessly expensive administration, can hardly be exaggerated. The prodigal expenditure and breach of moral trust, commended to general imitation by the high example of the state, lower the respect of its subjects for honest frugality and industry; and, by thus perverting and abasing their moral feelings and habits, strike at the sources of the national wealth, and at the main basis of the general well-being.

A well-ordered administrative system, efficiently worked by well-paid functionaries, and co-extensive with the genuine wants of the country, is certainly an expensive machine. But, after all, what is the cost of this indispensable instrument, as compared with that of the warlike, or the perverse economical policy, with which governments, wantonly or reluctantly, oppress and plague their subjects? Nations squandering their means on such pernicious fooleries, and starving the beneficent institutions necessary to their safety and welfare, offer a spectacle which is melancholy enough. To those who care for the dignity as well as the happiness of their kind, it is all the more melancholy for being consummately ridiculous.

2. Assuming that the payment of administrative services is an imperative condition of efficient administration, we revert to the alleged tendency of centralization to multiply functionaries beyond the wants of the public.

Comparing a centralized government paying its functionaries, with an uncentralized government pursuing the same policy, the intrinsic advantage, in respect to the cost of the administration, lies (it appears to us) on the side of the former. Where the government is centralized, the distribution of the administrative functions is orderly; it is, therefore, comparatively easy, without

harming the efficiency of the administrative system, to cumulate functions in one and the same functionary; and, since the regularity and the comparative simplicity of the system lay it bare to discerning observation and criticism, it is subject to the purifying operation of an intelligent public opinion. Where the government is not centralized, the organization of the administrative system is crude and confused; there are no facilities for cumulating functions without damage to its general efficiency; and, since its disorderly and barbarous structure covers it with mystery which none but the initiated can penetrate, it is impervious to the observation and effective censure of the intelligent portion of the general public. In respect of its intrinsic tendencies, (which may indeed be checked by extrinsic causes,) such an administrative system, or rather administrative chaos, is a teeming hotbed of profusion and corruption.

That the countries ruled by centralized governments suffer from a needless multiplication of paid functionaries, is not disputed. The evil, however, arises from causes extrinsic to centralization. One of the main causes, in all those countries, is the over-governing with which they are oppressed; for, by needlessly enlarging the sphere of government-functions, it needlessly increases the number of government functionaries. Another cause peculiar, perhaps, to France, (and to which we can only allude,) is a trait in the character of the French people which offers an interesting subject to historico-psychological inquiry;—that love of proportion or *symmetry*, which gives such matchless excellence to the composition and style of their great prose writings; but which too often leads them, in public business, to sacrifice the ends of method to an exquisite exactitude of means. The tendency of this disposition (as may be easily conceived) is to limit the activity of each functionary to his proper or formal department; to prevent the cumulation of functions (however commodious and economical) in one and the same functionary; and, consequently, to multiply the number of functionaries beyond the wants of the public. Another cause, common to all those countries, is the disposition to trust to *numbers*, (especially in the administration of justice,) as a preventive of culpable malversation, and a security for correctness of decision. This disposition leads naturally to a needless multiplication of functionaries in all the branches of the administration. It leads especially to a vicious complexity in the structure of the judicial system; to a needless lengthening of formal appeals; a needless number of appellate courts; a needless multiplication of the judges attached to each tribunal. This disposition, however, has not the remotest connexion with centralized and regular

government; but is derived from the crude conceptions entertained by barbarous ages, concerning the nature of the securities for upright and efficient administration. Another cause, common to all those countries, is the revolutionary state of Europe during the last half century; the French government especially, during the entire period, having been engaged in a struggle with extreme and subversive factions. Hence a disposition in the governments, and especially in the French government, to resort to every expedient which promised peace for the moment; although the expedient, in its remoter and general consequences, might tend to weaken their power, and even to shake their stability. Hence a disposition (and a venial disposition) in the governments of those countries, to gain supporters by corruption; and more particularly, by multiplying administrative offices beyond the public wants, and filling them with reference to the influence rather than the fitness of the occupants. Since parliamentary government has been introduced into France, the imperious necessity, incumbent on the chiefs of the administration, of getting a majority in the Deputies, has led to similar abuses of the administrative establishments. But this is a consequence of parliamentary institutions, combining with other causes in the general state of the country, and not of the centralization to which it has often been ascribed.

Abstracting causes extrinsic to centralization, it is not the *interest* of a centralized government to multiply functionaries beyond the wants of the country. By this abuse of the administrative institutions, it disgusts and alienates the intelligent and impartial public; and, in civilised communities, it is only in their esteem and considerate attachment, that any government, at the long run, can find efficient support. Nor, by this shameful expedient, does it accomplish its particular purpose. By bribing and gaining a few opponents, it raises up candidates for its corrupt favour, far surpassing in numbers its limited means of corruption. For one friend whose doubtful attachment it buys, it makes to itself, of the suitors whom it disappoints, a score of implacable enemies.

III. We proceed to the supposed inconsistency of centralization with local governments of local and popular origin. This subject we shall consider, with the brevity incumbent upon us, from the following points of view:—1. The advantages accruing from such governments. 2. Their tendency to clash with the central authority; the consequent tendency of existing centralized governments to confine their power and influence within too narrow limits; and the opinion hence arising, that centralization is not compatible with them. 3. The means of recon-

ciling the advantages accruing from them, with the indispensable power and influence of the central authority.

1. It is expedient that general laws (or laws calculated for the country at large) should be adapted to local peculiarities arising from physical or moral causes. Through local governments of local origin, clothed with appropriate powers of subordinate legislation and administration, these adaptations of general and indiscriminating laws are made by persons familiar with the localities;—by persons, therefore, who have greater aptitudes for this particular function, than are commonly possessed by persons of higher general qualifications, whose knowledge of the localities is less intimate and minute. With reference to objects which are not limited to localities, but deeply concern the interests of the general community, it is not less expedient that such governments should partake largely of the popular element; that a considerable fraction of the population in each locality should take a considerable part in the administration of the local affairs, or in the appointment and control of the local administrators. By local governments popularly constituted, a practical knowledge of public affairs, and a habit of caring for public interests, are diffused from the several localities through the country at large. Under a supreme government popularly constituted, this political training and public spirit are of great immediate importance;—since all or many of those who partake in the government of localities are also partakers in the sovereign power. Under a monarchy or narrow aristocracy, this political training and public spirit are more important still; since they powerfully affect the practice of the sovereign authority, give it the substance and spirit of a free government, and supply to a large extent the want of constitutional guarantees. Though local governments of the character in question were imperfect instruments of local administration, they would amply make up for this partial inconvenience, by their tendency to invigorate the mind, and elevate the morality of the country.

2. The intrinsic tendency of such governments to clash with the central authority, is enhanced by a cause which still operates although its origin is remote. Almost every extensive country is an aggregate of units, which, in substance at least, were once independent states; but which have been formed into one independent state by a series of causes arising through many ages. Long after the aggregation had been finally accomplished, these once independent units cherished the memory of their independence. The subordinate authorities of local origin, by whom they were administered in their character of localities, asserted their independence as far as they could; and in the exercise of

their political powers, they regarded the central authority as a foreign conqueror from whose unnatural yoke it was lawful for them to escape. By this cause, acting through ages, an aversion to the central authority, and a disposition to resist or thwart it, has been deeply impressed upon localities; and even in countries (as, for example, France) in which the ancient localities have been effaced, the feelings engendered by a bygone order of things still operate to no inconsiderable extent. Hence a barbarous tendency in the populations and governments of localities to sever their local interests from the interests of the general community. Hence the difficulty with which they ascend in practice to the notion or feeling of *a common country.* Hence the difficulty with which they understand or feel that they hold their political powers as trustees for the central authority; and that even in reference to their genuine local interests, they ought to abstain from using them to the detriment of the common weal. In France and England, the old disparate units of which the country is composed appear to be perfectly fused; but the exclusive local patriotism descending from barbarous ages, still lingers in the former and even in the latter. For example, the vulgar notions (or, at least, feelings) about the nature and objects of parliamentary government, are still deeply tinctured with this miserable spirit. According to these notions, the Chamber of Deputies or the House of Commons is substantially a congress of ambassadors from the several localities which elect them; *not* an assembly representing the country at large, though chosen by electoral bodies circumscribed by local limits. Accordingly, it is often the scene of a scramble between the electoral localities, as represented by their several delegates—each of the localities doing as much as the jealousy of the others will allow—to adapt the legislation and administration of the country to its narrow conceptions of its local interests.

In France, up to the Revolution of 1789, this exclusive local patriotism was backed by the excessive privileges which resided in the provincial and other local authorities. The obstacles to the central authority and to the general interests, which arose from so mischievous a spirit, armed with such formidable powers, determined the Constituent Assembly to abolish the ancient localities, and to give the territory a division consistent with national government. With reference to its own objects, and its own consequences, the change was a great good; though, like the other measures of that inexperienced Assembly, it was marred by the precipitation and injustice inseparable from a violent reform. We heartily sympathize with M. de Cormenin, in his contempt of the silly regrets for the former provinces and their

privileges;—regrets which are affected by foolish partisans who are aiming at an impossible restoration of the ancient order of things; or by coxcombs, who, knowing nothing of the middle ages, would push us back from our present to a still less civilized condition. The obstacles to the central authority and to the general interests, which had arisen from the ancient localities, begot an undiscerning suspicion of local governments. The highly centralized government which sprung from the Revolution, was disposed to confine their functions within too narrow limits; and even to subject the exercise of these insufficient powers to an excessive and vexatious control. From this disposition of that government, and from a similar disposition in other centralized governments, has arisen the mistake with which we are presently concerned; although the disposition arose in France, and also in other countries, from causes which are not inherent in centralization.

Looking at the reason of the thing, there is no inconsistency in centralization, with local governments of local and popular origin.

The interests of the localities are special or general;—those which are respectively peculiar to the several localities, and those which they have in common. The special and general interests of all the localities are identical with the interests of the country. The sum of its interests is composed of those of its parts; and such of its interests as are distinguished from those of its parts are nothing but interests common to the latter. Accordingly, if a centralized government consulted the interests of the country, it would give to the local governments the constitutions and attributes which would tend to promote to the utmost the special interests of the localities. It consults, also, its own interests, by pursuing the same policy. By this policy, it satisfies the wants and wishes of the intelligent and impartial public. By this policy, it gives political education and public spirit to the bulk of its subjects; and by thus extending the number of the intelligent and impartial public, it enlarges the basis on which it permanently rests. Centralization, if consistent with its ends, promotes the interests of the localities, as well understood. It subordinates their interests to those of the country. But by this, it merely subordinates their peculiar and lower, to their common and higher interests.

Localities, however, have special interests which are illusory and spurious. These conflict with the interests of the country, and, at the long run, with genuine local interests;—since such interests would decline, if the interests of the country decayed. In these illusory interests, and the exclusive local patriotism

from which they arise, lies the difficulty of determining the constitution and attributes of the local governments. For these illusions, as for other social evils, the spread of sound opinions on economical, political, and other social questions, is the only effectual cure. Till these opinions are more extensively diffused, local institutions which are deeply rooted in such prejudices ought to be touched by governments with a cautious hand. By handling them roughly, a government would defeat the ends at which centralization aims; provoking a dangerous resistance on the part of the localities, to every plan, however intrinsically good, for bringing the local institutions into harmony with the interests of the country.

3. The conditions of centralization, in reference to local governments of local and popular origin, may be briefly stated (as appears from our preliminary outline) in some such terms as the following: the attributes of such governments must be limited and specified; and must not consist (like those of the local governments there analysed) in infinite aggregates of powers: their respective territories (or rather their respective populations) must not be sufficiently extensive to give them a moral weight rendering their dependence precarious. With a view to the interests of the country, as well as the influence of the central authority, the following limitation (naturally suggested by the immediately foregoing considerations) ought, moreover, to be put upon their functions: their specified powers ought to be limited to matters in which they are *specially* concerned. There is no reason whatever for empowering any one locality to meddle with matters regarding the country at large;—matters, assuredly, in which it is deeply concerned, but in which all other localities have the same interest.

As the special interests of different localities differ considerably, the aggregates of powers, granted to the local governments, cannot be exactly fashioned on a common model. Abstracting these differences between individual localities, a definition of the nature and extent of those aggregates of powers would involve an elaborate inquiry. In relation, moreover, to any country in particular, the abstract definition would need modifications which would swell the inquiry to the size of a volume. Any attempt, within our narrow space, to determine the nature and extent of those aggregates of powers, would, therefore, be hopeless and idle. Accordingly, we shall limit our notice of this large and difficult subject to a few general and concise suggestions.

The immediate end of local government is a good administration of local affairs: the social education of the country at large, is, or ought to be, its ulterior and paramount object.

It appears to us, that the friends of centralization make a mistake which seriously damages their cause. In reference to the attributes of local governments, they look too much to the immediate end of the institution, and think too little of its remoter and larger purpose. There has been (for example) in France, till within the last few years, an excessive disposition to limit the powers of such goverments, and to subject them to the control of the general administration. In respect to the immediate end, the disposition may be justified or excused; for, owing to their crude conceptions of local interests, the local governments, if not so limited and checked, might frequently abuse their powers, to the detriment of the country and the localities. But by this grudging and jealous policy, the remoter and larger purpose is nearly or altogether defeated. It may prevent the authorities of local origin from abusing their powers. But it also perpetuates their indifference about public interests, and their ignorance of public affairs; since no man enters with heart and mind into any business committed to his care, if nothing is left to his discretion, and he is treated with systematic mistrust. The policy, moreover, thwarts the ends of centralization, by a more direct and obvious consequence; for, by offending the self-love of the local authorities and populations, it tends to set them in opposition to the central authority.

If local patriotism were more enlightened, there would be little difficulty in determining the attributes which ought to be given to local governments. Elaborate limitations of their powers and discretion would become superfluous; since the local authorities and populations would care for their common country, as much as they care for their localities. With their actually short-sighted conceptions of their special interests, the difficulty is unquestionably great. The line of demarcation between general and special interests cannot be drawn with precision. To give to the local governments all the discretionary powers which local interests require, is to give them extensive means of harming the country; and, by consequence, the localities themselves.

Till sound opinions on social questions are more extensively diffused, the immediate and remote objects of local governments cannot be reconciled completely. Something, however, may be done in the way of legislation to obviate the difficulty; or rather, to obviate the narrow conceptions of local interests from which the difficulty arises. With a view to this purpose, various plans of local government have been tried or suggested; and to the more remarkable of these plans we will now advert.

According to one of them, the active government of every locality would be placed in a functionary or functionaries of the

general administration;—these active authorities being bound, in every matter of importance and difficulty, to ask the preliminary *advice* of the authorities of local origin. The latter, therefore, would have nothing more than what is commonly called a consultative voice. According to another, the active government of every locality would be placed in authorities of local origin; these being bound, however, in every matter of importance and difficulty, to await the special *authorization* of the appropriate department of the general administration. According to a third, the active government of every locality would be placed in authorities of local origin; the general administration having a consultative voice. Specified administrative powers, calculated as well as might be to prevent the administrators from abusing them, would be given to the local authorities; these being bound, however, to ask the preliminary advice of the appropriate department of the general administration, in every matter of importance and difficulty.

The first and second would have the inconvenience to which we have already adverted. As the authorities of local origin would be treated with systematic mistrust, those authorities, with the rest of the local population, would probably be alienated from the central government. As little or nothing would be left to their discretion, the local government, though securing a good administration of local affairs, would do little or nothing for the social education of the country.

By the third, the immediate and remote ends of local government would probably be reconciled to no inconsiderable extent. The obligation of the local administrators to consult the general administration, would be a considerable (though a merely moral) security against their abusing their powers. Their habitual exercise of considerable discretionary powers, would give them a political education, and a care for public interests. By their habitual contact with the chief departments of the general administration, this important effect of their unshackled activity would be greatly enhanced. As those departments are constantly occupied with all the sections of the country, their experience of local affairs is far more varied than that of the local authorities in any particular locality; and being accustomed to regard such affairs in relation to the general interests, they are naturally superior to the local partialities and prejudices by which such authorities are as naturally blinded and misled. The results of their varied experience and dispassionate judgments would be constantly offered to the consideration of the local governments; and, as coming in the shape of advice rather than the form of command, would find a ready acceptance with the local govern-

ments and populations, and insensibly correct their misconceptions of their special interests.

IV. Under certain centralized governments, the lower functionaries of the general administration, as well as the local governments of local origin, are controlled to excess by the higher functionaries of the former. Instead of being left to act on his own discretion and under responsibility for abuse of his powers, the inferior functionary, in applying rules to cases, must often wait for authority from the appropriate principal department. Hence a long correspondence between the functionary and the department, before the former can dispose of the case; and hence vexatious delay, and often irreparable damage, to the parties whom the case concerns. There arises, moreover, from this overlaying of the administration with precautions against abuse, a needless increase of administrative business, with a proportionally needless multiplication of administrative functionaries. So far, however, are these excessive precautions from inhering in centralization, that they tend to defeat its objects. In the first place, they turn the time and attention of the principal administrative departments from their proper business. To lay down rules for the guidance of its inferior functionaries, to superintend their administration of these rules, and to enforce their responsibilities on their abusing their discretionary powers, is the appropriate office of such a department; and it ought to abstain from acting immediately on specific or particular cases, unless they are pregnant with consequences of extraordinary magnitude, or unless they are so anomalous that the rules are inapplicable to them. In the next place, these excessive precautions, by the delays and vexations which they inflict, tend to alienate the people from the central authority; and, by complicating the administrative system, and tending to conceal it from the observation of the intelligent public, they weaken the best security against the abuses of its functionaries, and the best means of correcting its defects.

From this preposterous diligence of administrative departments, we proceed to a practice closely analogous to it, and more inconsistent with the ends at which centralization aims. Sovereign governments (as well as subordinate authorities) frequently neglect functions which they ought to exercise directly, for the direct exercise of functions which they might delegate to advantage. There would not be room in the general view of our subject, to which we are confined by the necessary limits of an article, for any attempt whatever to draw the line of demarcation, by which the two classes of functions are faintly separated; but, to complete that general view, (or to mark out the extent of our

subject,) we venture to advert, in conclusion, to the difficult matter in question.

It appears to us, that a sovereign government promotes its power as well as the interests of its subjects, by confining the direct exercise of its legislative and administrative functions to matters of general and permanent concern; and, consequently, that it ought to delegate all its functions which are strictly or substantially administrative, excepting in a few cases (principally regarding its foreign relations) which fall within the reason for its legislative and administrative activity.

It appears to us, moreover, (for reasons which our necessary limits will hardly allow us even to indicate,) that the two following measures might be adopted in England with equal advantage to the country and the central authority.

We have already adverted to the *specific* legislation, (or legislation by *private* acts,) which is now done directly by the British Parliament. It appears to us, that this legislation is just as detrimental to the power and influence of the sovereign authority, as to the interests of the parties whom it affects directly, and to those interests of the country which it affects by remote consequence; that the function ought to be delegated (with such exceptions as a close scrutiny would suggest) to subordinate functionaries, endowed with the judicial qualifications which the exercise of it demands; and that this measure would be justified by numerous and weighty analogies, as well as by high considerations of public utility.

It appears to us, moreover, that the great and growing inconveniences of the *general* Parliamentary legislation urgently call for a measure which might be justified by similar analogies;—namely, the appointment of a Permanent Commission, composed of experienced lawyers, to examine and report upon bills submitted to either of the Houses. The functions of this Commission, as we conceive them, may be briefly indicated. It would have to consider and report, whether the purpose (or purposes) of any proposed law were not virtually accomplished by the existing law of the land; to suggest the provisions by which that purpose might be best carried into effect; and to give the law the form and expression which would render its purpose and provisions as definite and clear as possible.

The want of this institution, or some institution analogous to it, has necessarily led in England, (and, indeed, in all countries,) to the legislation, judicial or direct, of Courts of Justice;—a legislation bad in itself, and derogating from the proper office of the sovereign authority; but arising from causes much misconceived by partial advocates of Codes, and even by many historians

of positive systems of law. In reference to the statute law, made with the advice and assistance of the Permanent Commission, the institution would prevent the necessity for those so-called interpretations, with which Courts of Justice, in their own despite, have helped the lame productions of the sovereign legislature. The institution would insensibly form, in the members of the Commission, a body of men equal to the urgent work of reducing the law to a Code. The frightful and accumulating chaos of the written and unwritten law will, sooner or later, force this measure upon Parliament; but unless care be taken, before the necessity is imminent, for the formation of a body of men competent to the arduous business, it will probably be done in a manner to aggravate the existing evil. Merely practical lawyers are often consummate in the art of applying positive principles; but not being called upon, by the nature of their avocations, to conceive the law as a rational system, they could not conceive the comparatively simple expression to which it might really be reduced. Merely theoretical lawyers are equally incompetent to the business; as wanting a sufficient acquaintance with the details of the law, and that dexterity in applying principles which nothing but practice can impart. The members of a Commission of Legislation, composed as we have suggested, would possess the minute knowledge and practical dexterity which are naturally acquired by experienced lawyers; and, from the nature of their office, they would as naturally combine with these faculties a faculty of a higher order. Their office would give them the talent of conceiving the details of the law, as forming the related parts of an internally coherent whole; and *this* talent, combined with minute knowledge and practical dexterity, is *the* talent needed for the work of reducing the law to a Code.

The last consideration suggests an analogy which will concisely illustrate the subject of the present article. If we exclude the conditions of centralization which regard the constitution and functions of local governments, we may say that centralized government is synonymous with regular administration. But this is related to administration not completely extricated from primeval disorder, as a body of law, arranged in a well-made Code, to a body of law, immersed in its natural chaos.

NOTE to the Article in No. CLXVIII. on the 'Corn-Laws of Athens and Rome.'

In the above Article, it is stated, that in the time of Augustus 200,000 persons in Rome received each sixty *modii* of corn a-year. The total quantity of corn distributed is thus, by an oversight, computed to be 1,200,000, instead of 12,000,000 *modii*. The latter quantity is equal to about 375,000 quarters.

NOTE to the Article in No. CLXX. *on the 'Lives of Eminent Lawyers.'*

When alluding, in the above Article, to the sentence of death pronounced by Sir Matthew Hale, in 1664, upon two women accused of Witchcraft, we happened to mention that the Repeal of the Penal Laws against this imaginary crime 'was, even so 'late as 1743, denounced by the Presbytery in Edinburgh as a 'national sin.' Of the fact that such a denunciation took place, there can be no doubt; but we ought perhaps to have made it clear that it did not proceed from a Presbytery of the *Established Church*. That we have been thought so to mean is, as we are assured by a Clergyman of that Church, who has addressed us very earnestly upon the subject, the construction put upon the passage—hurtfully to the feelings, as he avers, of many of his brethren. We therefore think ourselves called upon to state, that the repeal of these Penal Laws—which took place in 1736—was neither opposed, nor afterwards condemned, as a national 'sin,' by any Judicatory of the National Church. But we have no intention whatever to institute any invidious comparison, when we now state, that this noted denunciation was the act, not of the Established, but of the *Secession Church*, or Seceders. We shall accordingly dwell upon the point no further than is necessary to remove all ambiguity from the passage complained of. The fact, then, is, that in February 1743, the 'Associate Presbytery'—meaning the Presbytery of the Secession, or Seceders—passed, and soon thereafter published an 'Act for renewing the National Covenant;' in which there is a solemn acknowledgment of sins, and vow to renounce them;

among which is specified 'The Repeal of the Penal Statutes 'against Witchcraft, contrary to the express laws of God, and 'for which a Holy God may be provoked, in a way of righteous 'judgment, to leave those who are already ensnared to be har- 'dened more and more, and to permit Satan to tempt and seduce 'others to the same wicked and dangerous snare.'

No. CLXXII. will be published in April.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1847.

No. CLXXXII.

ART. I.—*De la Pologne et des Cabinets du Nord.* Par FELIX COLSON. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1841.

Two-and-thirty years have now elapsed since the last general Congress of the European Powers assembled at Vienna, to terminate the war in which Europe had been engaged for a quarter of a century, and to establish the territorial arrangements of the continental states upon those principles of international policy which were thenceforward to govern the world. In the course of this period every crown in Europe has descended to the head of another sovereign; a generation of princes is past away; and with the exception of Prince Metternich, Count Nesselrode, and the Duke of Wellington, the plenipotentiaries of the great Powers who contributed to that settlement of Europe have disappeared from the scene. Five great events—the emancipation of Greece, the French Revolution of 1830, the disjunction of Belgium and Holland, the Polish war of 1831, and the civil war in Spain—have since agitated Europe, and partially modified the state of affairs recognised by the treaties of 1815. Nevertheless the work of the Congress of Vienna, however imperfect it may appear when examined with the critical eye of the jurist, or measured by the standard of the historian, continues to be the principal safeguard of the general peace. If we are living under a regular political system, and not under a mere suspension of aggressive forces, it is because the authority of the final act of the Congress of Vienna has not ceased to be invoked by the cabinets of all the

Powers, and the stipulations upon which it is based are still held to constitute the written international law of Europe.

It might, indeed, be superfluous to advert to facts which are the groundwork of the existing political system, if a recent event, accomplished by the three Northern Courts, had not suddenly brought even these elementary principles into discussion, and shaken seriously the confidence which we have been accustomed to repose on the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna. The annexation of the free city and territory of Cracow to the Austrian Empire, and the total abrogation, by the will of the three Courts of the North alone, of those stipulations in favour of Cracow which were solemnly adopted and guaranteed at Vienna by all the powers of Europe, have excited the surprise, the apprehension, and the indignation of statesmen and of nations. If the principles of the Congress of Vienna are to be thus abandoned—if the express stipulations of the final act of that august assembly are to be broken with impunity—it cannot be thought superfluous to revert in some detail to the transactions in which those principles originated, and to the considerations upon which those stipulations were imposed and accepted. They still belong not only to the history, but to the politics of Europe. They are still in force to restrain the ambitious, to protect the weak, and to maintain the settlement of the continental states; unless, indeed, it should prove that the direct infraction of the stipulations relating to Cracow and to Poland has already so loosened the whole fabric, that the remnant of the treaty has lost its authority, and that the law which has been violated in such particulars as these, shall be no longer recognised in moments of excitement or temptation as binding in others.

A cursory examination of the negotiations which took place at Vienna, and of the events which preceded them, more especially with reference to the condition of Poland, will at once illustrate the contrast between 1815 and 1847, and determine the extent of our present deviation from the course of policy which was then laid down with the consent of Europe. If the stipulations then insisted upon, and which even then were reduced by Russia far below the amount of security for which England, Austria, and Prussia had contended, were indispensable to the security of the adjacent states and the tranquillity of Poland, they have lost none of their importance down to the present hour; and, in addition to the extinction of that public principle which is the universal sanction of a great treaty, the practical consequences of these perilous changes may be readily detected in the increased insecurity of some states, the increasing restlessness and ambition of others, and the mutual

distrust of all. Europe has to choose between a faithful adherence to the arrangements of 1815, and a revival of all the chances of discord. Every departure from these terms is a direct provocation to further innovation; and in that direction the path is short which leads from violent recrimination to direct hostility. These convictions are universally and instinctively entertained, even by those who have not minutely examined the basis on which they rest. From Constantinople to Paris, the Continent has been agitated by the extinction of Cracow, as by an event portending a serious perturbation in Europe, and indicating the prostration of Germany before the policy of Russia. It has been acutely remarked, that Poland has weighed more in the international relations and the foreign politics of Europe since she has been robbed of her national government and independence, than she had done in the preceding century of her agitated and self-consuming existence. The observation might be carried further; for so far is the work of the destruction of the Polish nation from having accomplished its object, that the more the powers of despotic rulers are strained to effect her ruin, the stronger is the re-action, and the more injurious are the consequences even to those who have put these engines of torture and oppression into motion. The Polish question weighs upon Germany with the burden of unexpiated injustice. Russia has by more violent means converted her share in those iniquities into an apparent triumph; but another century will not have converted her possession of the Polish territories into secure dominion; or have obliterated the remembrance of the atrocities by which that dominion has been maintained. The Polish question, which was not settled by the encroachments of 1772, or the partition of 1795, or the erection of the duchy of Warsaw in 1806 and 1809, was supposed to have been definitely arranged in 1815. Was it so in effect? Fifteen years had scarcely elapsed before the kingdom was in arms; and a rebellion, begun with a precipitation bordering on accident, terminated in the forfeiture of the constitutional rights of the kingdom. Another fifteen years have barely passed, when another convulsion again demonstrates the vitality of the victim; and the authority of Russia is again interposed to crush the last vestige of Polish nationality by the extinction of Cracow. But the last act in this long series of persecutions is felt as keenly—even more keenly by every statesman in Europe—as the first explosion of the conspiracy against the national existence of Poland; and to effect an object which, to outward appearance, is no more than the needless suppression of the nominal independence of a city of 25,000 in-

habitants, the courts of Vienna and Berlin were induced to defy the public opinion of the age, and to give the world an example of the open violation of the great title-deed of Europe.

In those parts of the Continent in which the Congress of Vienna only sanctioned the established order of things, or confirmed the natural and convenient distribution of territory and population, it is unnecessary to invoke its authority, and its provisions are in no danger of being violated. But precisely on the points which were adjusted with most difficulty, the greatest infractions of the treaty have been committed. Poland was the grand difficulty of the Congress; and the stipulations with reference to Poland have proved eminently deceptive, not only to her own injured inhabitants, but to Europe. The Congress of Vienna did not, indeed, attempt to make the condition of Poland what it ought to be; but it sought to make it endurable. The unnatural division of the country, and the morbid excitement of the Polish nation, might, indeed, of themselves have compromised arrangements so precarious and artificial. But they have, in fact, yielded to another and a more powerful cause. They have been steadily undermined by the policy of Russia; and the same power which succeeded in obtaining at Vienna, in 1815, all she then required, upon certain conditions, has gradually, but effectually, dissolved all those conditions by her own authority and influence; until the annihilation of Cracow has removed the last pretence by which a vestige of those stipulations was still upheld.

The duties of the Congress of Vienna were twofold,—retrospectively, to heal the breaches caused by the long period of war and revolution through which Europe had just passed; and prospectively, to lay the basis of a lasting peace. In both these points of view the Polish question stood in the first rank. As far as France was concerned, the success of the Allies, the restoration of the Bourbons, and the treaty of Paris, had virtually terminated the struggle which had raged so long on the battle-fields of Europe. On the French frontiers no momentous territorial questions remained open for discussion. It is worthy of particular observation, that the principal territorial questions to be determined by the Congress of Vienna lay, not between the conquering and the conquered parties in the late war, but between the allied conquering states themselves; and that they arose not so much out of the long convulsion of the French revolutionary war, as out of other events anterior to that struggle. The three Powers which had been actively engaged twenty years before 1815, in the final partition of Poland, found themselves at that date masters of the Continent, and intent upon the

reward of the exertions they had made in a more recent contest. They were, indeed, in the presence of England, whose alliance had so essentially seconded their efforts; and the English minister at Vienna failed not to assert the true principle of a just and prudent policy: But other circumstances had in the meanwhile given to Russia an indisputable ascendancy over her northern allies with reference to Poland. It was the first time, since the erasure of that ancient kingdom from the map of Europe, that a general Congress was assembled to adjust the balance of power. A new and most important combination had been formed. The ancient antagonism of Austria and Prussia, which had afflicted Germany and the Empire with continual hostilities down to the close of the Seven Years' War, appeared to be disarmed by the common interest of these two powers in the subjugation and possession of their Polish provinces; and Russian influence, which had originally lured them to the booty, now predominated over the triple councils, and extended itself, through them, into the heart of Europe. The partition of Poland had been the means of effecting that peculiar league or alliance of the Northern Powers; and at the Congress of Vienna the results of this very partition came for the first time under the direct cognizance of the other states of the West, and were incorporated into the act which comprised the final determinations of that conclave of nations.

Among the motives which are supposed to have induced the other courts to tolerate the first direct encroachment of the Northern Powers in 1772, there is not one which does not glaringly exemplify at the present time the folly of their conduct. Thus, when the Duc d'Aiguillon proposed to the cabinet of Louis XV., to attack the Low Countries in case the Empress-Queen assented to the proposed partition of Poland, the proposal was overruled upon the following pretexts:—

1. That among the three partitioning Powers, France would, under a regular system of things, always find one ally.

2. That as the increase of force and territory was about the same to the three contracting parties, it operated no change in their relative strength.

3. It was supposed that the partition of Poland would speedily sow discord between the partitioning Powers.*

These predictions deserve to be remembered, for the precision with which they have been, not fulfilled,—but reversed. France looks in vain for an ally in the North. The increase of

* Hassan, vii. p. 90.

force and territory has not been equal, but eminently unequal, on the principle that to him who hath much, much shall be given. Yet the effect of this strange state of things has not been to sow discord between the partitioning powers, but to make the power principally interested in the success of the scheme, the real arbiter of the destinies of the other two.

It is worth while, in order clearly to comprehend the position of the question as it stood in 1815, and the conflicting views of the several powers before it received a definitive solution, briefly to follow the transferences of territory which have succeeded each other—all to the advantage of Russia—and all to the disadvantage of her allies. In September 1772, the territories of the Polish republic covered 13,000 square German miles, extending from Smolensko to the confines of Silesia. By the first partition, acceded to by the oppressed Diet of the Republic on the 18th September 1772, about 4000 square German miles were appropriated to the three Powers in the following proportions:—

	Square Miles.	Population.	
Russia,	1975	1,800,000	Including Polish Livonia, half the palatinate of Polocz, the palatinate of Witepsk, and a part of that of Minsk.
Austria,	1280	2,700,000	Including the county of Spitz, half the palatinate of Cracow, part of the palatinate of Sandomir, Red Russia, &c.
Prussia,	630	416,000	Including Polish Prussia, but without Danzig and Thorn, and Pomerelia.—(*Colson*, p. 138, vol. i.)

If the continual influence of the ambassadors of Catherine had not been employed to practise on the weakness of the court of Warsaw, and to promote the division of the Polish nobles, the guarantee given by the three Powers for the remainder of the dominions of the republic, might not have been altogether void. There is one short period in the last melancholy years of the independence of Poland, which is even now not undeserving the attention of an English or a Prussian statesman. Even in the last years of the reign of Frederic II., that monarch appears to have discovered the infamy or the impolicy of annihilating a state which had been for centuries regarded as 'the barrier and 'outwork of Brandenburg against the barbarians of the north;' and, in 1782, when Potemkin required Count Goertz to communicate to his master the plan of a further partition, the Court of Berlin firmly rejected the proposal. In the volume of post-

humous memoirs of Frederic II., which relates the progress of the negotiations of 1772, nothing is more characteristic of the energy and sagacity of that prince, than the care he took to prevent a disproportionate aggrandisement of Russia; and he was ready to unite his arms to those of Austria, if Catherine evaded the stipulations of the convention signed on the 4th March 1772, in defence of the principle proposed by Baron Swieten, that the partition should be effected on a principle of perfect equality between the three powers. Upon the accession of Frederic William II. to the throne of Prussia, under auspices which seemed to promise a more glorious reign than history has had to record of him, the Prussian cabinet still stood aloof from its fatal connexion with Russia, and contracted closer relations with England, Holland, and Sweden. It seemed probable that the active and able representative of England at the court of Berlin, and subsequently at that of Warsaw, Mr Hailes, might succeed in forming an alliance of the minor northern Powers. On the 4th December 1788, such an alliance was projected between Prussia, Poland, England, Holland, and Sweden; and, in connexion with this scheme, Michael Oginski was sent to London by the Polish Diet to discuss with Mr Pitt the provisions of a commercial treaty. A convention was actually signed between Prussia and Poland on the 29th March 1790, which guaranteed in the most formal terms the independence of Poland, and bound the King to assist the republic with his forces in case any foreign power should claim the right of interfering in its internal affairs.

Meanwhile the progress of the French Revolution drew the attention of the German powers to another quarter. The Prussian government of that day, which had recently congratulated its unfortunate neighbours on the success of their patriotic and constitutional exertions, suddenly turned round upon them, and, on the 8th June 1792, Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Warsaw, was instructed to convey to the Poles the signal displeasure of his master at their presumption, in having framed a constitution without his knowledge or co-operation. 'Nevertheless,' says one of the most eminent of the former contributors to this Journal, (*Ed. Rev.* vol. xxxvii. p. 503,) 'three times did the government of Prussia, after 'the knowledge of the new constitution, ratify and confirm 'her alliance with Poland. Had it been reasonable to place 'any reliance on the faith of treaties, or on the honour 'of kings, the republic of Poland might have confidently 'hoped, that, if she were attacked by Russia, her independence 'and her constitution (that of the 3d May) would be defended 'by the whole force of the Prussian monarchy.' It has been

supposed, certainly not without some show of probability, that the disastrous conduct of the first Prussian campaigns against the French Revolution, predisposed the court of Berlin to accept compensation from a less formidable enemy; and it is certain that Catherine, who confined her hostility to the French to mere verbal denunciations, reserved her forces to take advantage of the general crisis, to secure the remains of Poland. From that hour the second partition was resolved upon; and here it deserves to be remarked, that Russia, which had so nearly lost the fruit of all her efforts by the temporary separation of the court of Berlin from her policy, did not hesitate to make considerable sacrifices of territory to regain her ascendancy in the Polish question over the Prussian court. We shall see by what means she recovered, in 1815, the apparent concessions of 1793 and 1795. The shares of the three powers stood then in these proportions:—

	Square Miles.	Population.
Russia, 1793	4553	3,000,000
1795	2030	1,200,000
Prussia, 1793	1061	1,100,000
1795	997	1,000,000
Austria, 1795	834	1,837,000

The result of these arrangements was, that Russia had acquired 8500 square German miles of territory, with 4,600,000 inhabitants; Austria, 2100 square miles, with 5,000,000 of inhabitants; and Prussia, 2700 square miles, with 2,550,000 inhabitants.

These figures, however, convey no accurate notion of the relative political importance of the acquisitions of the three Powers. Russia had, indeed, made an enormous stride westward, in the direction which was one day to bring her to the confines of Germany; but her actual acquisitions were chiefly valuable as the path to what lay beyond them. The value of the share of Austria was greatly enhanced by the possession of the salt-mines of Wielicszkov, and by the command of Cracow and the country beyond the Upper Vistula, which might have been converted into a more defensible northern frontier. But the share of Prussia was in truth the most seductive prize, though the smallest in extent. It gave her the whole navigable Vistula to the sea, and the most fertile and populous parts of Poland. It secured her frontier by the possession of Warsaw, Graudentz, Thorn, and Danzig; and it undoubtedly raised her to the highest rank she has ever enjoyed amongst the Nothern Powers, while the beneficial effects of her administration were not unfelt by that part of Poland.

This advantageous position of Prussia was of short duration. The catastrophe of 1806 was followed by the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy. By the treaty of Tilsit in the following year, the duchy of Warsaw was created, with a territory of 1850 square German miles, and a population of 2,200,000, taken from the Prussian portion of Poland.* In 1809, by the treaty of Vienna of that year, the addition of Western Gallicia, taken from the share of Austria, raised the extent of this little state to 2800 square miles, and its population to 3,780,000.†

Such was the state of Eastern Europe when the Congress of Vienna met, on the morrow of a storm which had lasted for a quarter of a century. The powers whose combined forces had just reduced France to her ancient limits, and restored three members of the house of Bourbon to their respective thrones, were called upon in the next place to re-constitute the great political institutions of Germany; to determine the territorial division of Poland; to afford reparation to the bleeding nations of Europe for the evils they had suffered during the war and before it; to establish governments which should have some claim to national support, and in reality, (though England always refused to acknowledge a right in others which she disclaimed for herself,) to reward the princes who had taken the most conspicuous part in the last successful campaigns. We shall not here pause to enquire whether these ends have been attained, or, indeed, whether the noblest of them were

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* The losses of Prussia in Poland were stated in Prince Hardenberg's despatch of the 16th Dec. 1814, according to the Tables of Hasselt, (1st edition, 1805,) to have been as follows:—

	Population.
Departments of Posen	598,167
——— Kalisch	395,452
——— Warsaw...	354,452
——— Plock	315,542
——— Bialystock	512,785
——— New Silesia	71,826
Ceded portion of the district of Netze	162,500
——— East Prussia	111,869
Thorn	10,000
	2,532,593

† The losses of Austria, as stated by Lord Castlereagh, were 1072 square German miles, and 1,803,899 population. Of this territory no part was recovered by Austria except the salt-mines of Wielicszkov.

honestly sought; but amongst them the questions affecting Poland claimed the first place. In Poland the most extraordinary changes had been accomplished, and were still unsanctioned by time or by general treaties. The just discontent and the perpetual protest of the Polish nation, claimed and required national institutions; if ever peace was to be restored to that disturbed and mutilated country. These were promised openly; but in secret all the Northern Powers, and especially Russia, looked to the confirmation and extension of their possessions in Poland as the substantial reward of their exertions in the late war. Thus, while the public in England and the rest of Europe, intoxicated with success, and satisfied with the overthrow of Napoleon, appeared only too careless of the principles by which former wrongs might be redressed, and future dangers averted, Russia steadily carried on her secular policy through all the tumult of the French war, and was prepared to take the fullest advantage of her position in Poland, when the deliberations of Vienna were opened.

The summer months of 1813 turned the tide in the struggle with Napoleon. Already, in the preceding month of February, Prussia had signed with Russia the celebrated treaty of Kalisz, which guaranteed the reconstruction of the Prussian monarchy and the restoration of her provinces, 'more especially 'Old Prussia, to which a territory was to be united, which 'in all respects, military as well as geographical, should join 'that province to Silesia.' The combined operations of the Allied Powers were at length secured by the accession of Austria; and the basis was laid of that alliance of the Northern Courts, which must be regarded as the most constant and influential fact in the history of continental Europe during the first half of the 19th century, since it has subsisted undissolved, and almost unshaken, from the 27th June 1813, to the commencement of the present year. The armistice of Poischwitz had been concluded on the 4th June, and the remainder of the month was consumed in the abortive mediation of Austria and the pretended Congress of Prague. The convention, called the convention of Dresden, was signed on the 30th June, by which this mediation and this congress were recognised by Buonaparte. But the Emperor of Austria had already bound himself by the convention of Reichenbach, signed on the 27th June, to join his forces to the allied armies of Russia and Prussia, in the event of the failure of his proffered mediation. The first article of that memorable treaty declared, that the Emperor of Austria joined the coalition *on certain conditions*, which he thought necessary to the re-establishment of the balance of power and of

durable tranquillity in Europe; the second article provided as the first of these conditions 'the dissolution of the duchy of 'Warsaw, and the partition of the provinces which compose it 'between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by arrangements to be 'taken by these three powers without the intervention of France' —France being then, it will be remembered, the France of Napoleon before the battle of Leipzig. Such was the position assigned, even at that important moment when the destinies of three empires and a monarchy were poised in adverse scales, to the mere remnant of the republic of Poland. A few weeks later, the alliance, which had been contingent at Reichenbach, was perfected by the formal alliances signed on the 9th Sept. 1813 at Toplitz, in the shape of three distinct treaties between Russia and Austria, Russia and Prussia, and Prussia and Austria; which may be regarded as the definitive basis of this Northern Alliance.

On this occasion also, after providing in the body of the treaty for the vigorous conduct of the war, the three Powers established in six secret articles the fundamental conditions of the future peace. The first of these articles was, 'the recon- 'struction of the Austrian and Prussian monarchies, on a scale as 'near as possible to that in which they were in 1805.' The third was 'an amicable arrangement between the three courts 'of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, *on the future condition of the* '*duchy of Warsaw*.' Such were the existing stipulations with reference to the distribution of the Polish territory at the very outset of the great coalition of 1813: and such were the principles on which the Congress of Vienna was bound to act when it met, in the following year, in pursuance of the secret article annexed to the treaty of Paris, to establish 'a real and durable system 'of the balance of power in Europe.'

The Congress of Vienna was to have met, in pursuance of another article of the last-mentioned treaty, at the expiration of two months from the 30th May 1814. The presence of the allied sovereigns in London, and the inability of Lord Castlereagh, the British plenipotentiary, to withdraw from his parliamentary duties, led, however, to a further postponement. In reality, nothing had been done, notwithstanding the public impression to the contrary, to prepare or facilitate the territorial arrangements of the Congress; and on the 8th October a declaration was made at Vienna, which was then thronged by the potentates and statesmen of Europe, to the effect that the formal opening of the assembly should be further delayed until the questions to be submitted to it had reached at that point of maturity which would enable the powers to come to a prompt

and satisfactory result. The first regular protocol of the Congress was dated the 1st November. This interval of the month of October was, however, a period of the greatest importance; and the secret correspondence of the courts during that time, part of which has recently been laid before the British Parliament, furnishes the best insight into the difficulties, which at the time pressed most heavily on the deliberations of assembled Europe, and may well perplex the judgment of posterity.

The question of Poland had not been generally regarded as one of the principal matters to be disposed of by the Congress; although it had been especially mentioned in the treaties of 1813, and although, to the honour of our own country, the independence of Poland had been advocated in the British Parliament in the following session, in the midst of all the triumphs of the allied armies. But no sooner were the Powers assembled at Vienna, than the Emperor Alexander and the Russian ministers disclosed pretensions which astonished and alarmed the courts of Germany, of France, and of England. The Russian armies still occupied Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw. They evacuated the former kingdom in favour of Prussia, which claimed the whole dominions of the King of Saxony; but it immediately became apparent that nothing but the force of arms would dislodge that insatiable power from the entire possession of her Polish booty.

In the diplomatic papers recently communicated to this country by the Austrian cabinet, and drawn up *since* the extinction of Cracow, *the right of conquest* acquired by Russia over the whole of Poland, in the campaign of 1813, is distinctly recognised. Prince Metternich says that, 'By agreement with Austria and 'Prussia, the court of Russia separated from those countries, to 'dispose freely of which *conquest had given her the unquestion-* '*able right*, a certain portion of territory.' These are the doctrines of the cabinet of Vienna in 1846; but in 1814 she admitted no Russian right of conquest to bar the restitution of what had recently been her own. Still less were such doctrines admitted by any other powers. It was expressly to dispute them that Lord Castlereagh addressed to the Emperor Alexander those forcible and enlightened remonstrances which were first published in the *Times* newspaper of January last. The English minister called on the Russian Emperor to observe the faith of those treaties which had just been crowned with such glorious success. He exhorted him to give an example of disinterested good faith, and to accede to an arrangement which would afford a just security to the immediate neighbours of

Russia; and satisfy the inhabitants of Poland by a due regard to their national rights. He declared that the complacency with which the progress of Russia was contemplated and avowed in her own state papers, was by no means calculated to dissipate apprehensions for the future; and he seems to have been animated with a prophetic feeling of the dangers and humiliations which the annexation of a Polish kingdom to the Russian crown reserved for the German states upon her western frontier.

The personal dislike of Alexander to Prince Metternich deterred the Austrian minister from engaging in a direct negotiation on the subject. It was not till the latter part of November that Prince Hardenberg remonstrated on the subject with the Emperor. In fact, whilst the plenipotentiary of England was thus manfully and wisely combating the pretensions of Russia, the German powers themselves were under the influence of other desires, or other fears. Prussia was wholly intent on the acquisition of Saxony. On this subject Lord Castlereagh observed to Prince Hardenberg, in his note of the 11th October 1814, 'I have no hesitation in entertaining the principle of the proposed arrangement, 'if it shall be necessary to place Prussia in the station she should 'occupy for the interest of Europe: But if this incorporation '[of Saxony] should be attempted as a means of compensating 'Prussia for unjust and dangerous encroachments on the part of 'Russia, *and as an arrangement to reconcile her, uncovered in 'point of frontier, to submit to an obvious relation of military de-'pendence on that great power*, in this latter alternative, which I 'should, for the honour and interest of all, and of none more 'than Russia herself, deeply deplore, I do not feel myself 'justified in giving your Highness the smallest expectation that 'Great Britain could, in the face of Europe, be a party to such 'an arrangement.' Prussia did not obtain Saxony; but she did submit to 'that obvious relation of military dependence on that great power,' which Frederic the Great had carefully guarded against in 1772, and which Lord Castlereagh warned her of in 1814. At the same time, M. Pozzo di Borgo, the most sagacious of the councillors of Alexander, taking into consideration the sole interests of Russia, and laying aside all disguise, presented to the Emperor, by his command, a secret paper, which is now first published from an authentic source in M. Colson's valuable work. We interrupt our narrative to present some fragments of it to our readers; not only as a document of profound sagacity, and a model of political reasoning, but as containing the most striking exposition in existence, of the policy of Russia towards Poland, and towards her German neighbours:—

To his Majesty the Emperor.

'Sire,—Your Imperial Majesty having ordered me to submit to you my opinion with reference to the condition and the government of Poland, I think it my duty to lay at your feet the result of my reflections, with all the feelings, and I will add the terror, which the magnitude and the difficulty of the subject create in my mind. * * * The territory of that which was once called Poland being divided as it is between the states of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the consequence is that every measure of fundamental policy applied to this country has reference,—first, immediately to the interests of Austria and Prussia, and indirectly to those of the other powers which are connected with them; secondly, to the interests of Russia, considered as the dominant empire, having a right to a preference of the first rank in all the decisions taken by her chief; lastly, to the welfare of Poland itself, as far as it may be practicable in the singular situation and circumstances in which she is placed. The tendency which the Poles have frequently shown to establish an independent government, and to shake off a foreign authority, is conformable to the nature of things and of mankind; but it may be inferred that as soon as a diet, a Polish army, and a representative system are called into existence, they will be a standard round which the whole nation may rally. Austria and Prussia cannot shut their eyes to the consequences of such an arrangement; and, as soon as it is made, it compels them to look upon their Polish subjects as in a state of permanent rebellion. In this position these two powers will naturally draw to one another to avert a common danger; whether they seek to preserve their own acquisitions, or whether they look to the final and absolute independence of Poland as a means of weakening Russia, and a compensation for the sacrifice of their own possessions—all their conduct would be directed to this object. The King of Prussia is undoubtedly bound to your Majesty; but suppose that monarch obtains, by the treaties now under consideration, all the objects of his desires and his ambition; suppose the frigid calculations of interest to govern his cabinet at some moment when the security of his possessions may be menaced; take into consideration the chances of change by order of succession, which must never be forgotten in matters of state,—and I have no doubt that Prussia will regulate her policy, as she ought to do, according to what suits her, without a very strong regard for past obligations. England will support this policy without hesitation; and France will profit by circumstances when division has been sown among the other powers. Your Majesty clearly perceives that in this case Russia would remain isolated, without even being able to rely on Poland herself, which would be seduced by her hope of complete independence to join the rest of Europe.

These prognostications, Sire, are no mere speculations. Your Majesty has before your eyes the germs of all these fearful disturbances: they may be discerned in the manifest opposition which you meet with from the whole of assembled Europe without exception; and even if you triumph, the temporary defeat of the other powers will only unite them all more closely against Russia. It is a great

error in politics to create universal and permanent interests against one's-self. The force of such a cause is generally irresistible; it suspends the rivalry of the most jealous courts, unites the most divided; and removes obstacles held to be insurmountable. * * * The conduct of Russia towards Poland has constantly been that of a strong and vigorous government towards another which is not so. In all countries and all circumstances, suppose a nation demoralized by unlimited political corruption, agitated and torn by factions,—by the side of her rival, a state which is directed by a robust and dexterous government, and follows a plan of systematic aggrandizement, which establishes military discipline in her armies, and rules an obedient and brave people, capable at once of submission and of enthusiasm—and the result may easily be foreseen. The history of the world would be a closed book if we could be astonished at what has befallen the Poles, or rather at what they have drawn down to that which has taken place on the western frontier. The conquest upon themselves. The destruction of Poland as a nation forms the modern history of nearly all Russia. The system of aggrandizement on the side of the Turks has been purely territorial, and I may venture to say secondary of Poland has been achieved principally in order to multiply the relations of the Russian nation with the rest of Europe, and to open to it a wider field, a nobler and more conspicuous theatre; where it may exercise its strength and its talents—where it may gratify its pride, its passions, and its interests. From this grand scheme, which has been crowned by the most complete success, habits and a sort of fusion have resulted, which cannot be dissolved by a proclamation, without risk of rending the empire in its most delicate and vital part—the unity of its government. The title of King of Poland can never sympathise with that of Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias.'—*Colson*, vol. i. p. 251.

By these remarks, some of them marked by a prophetic penetration, and all by an unscrupulous and undivided concern for the policy of the Russian crown, Pozzo di Borgo endeavoured to wean Alexander from a plan which he had adopted with enthusiasm. That enthusiasm, however, did not prevent the Emperor from securing by sufficient bonds the largest share of the booty. The change in the person of the sovereign, to which M. Pozzo had adverted in his far-seeing speculations, occurred in Russia sixteen years before the King of Prussia was removed by death. Nicholas had annihilated, within four years of his accession, the constitutional edifice which his brother had raised in Poland; and after a few more years of a relentless and insidious policy, he was able to induce Austria herself to crush the last security given at Vienna for the nationality of Poland, by extinguishing the independence of Cracow. The suggestions with which M. Pozzo di Borgo concludes his memorandum, were not fully realised until 1832 and 1846.

In 1815, however, and at the Congress of Vienna, Alexander resolved to adopt a middle course, which secured to Russia all

the advantages of her systematic policy towards Poland, and to himself a large share of that popularity among the Poles, to which his vanity or his better feelings were not insensible. The author of the second Russian memoir, in answer to Lord Castlereagh's note at Vienna, remarked with a truth which Russia has now lost sight of, 'La Russie, pourrait-elle se flatter d'une 'parfaite sécurité dans son intérieur, si elle abandonnait encore au 'désespoir et à la séduction les habitans du Duché de Varsovie? 'Il est d'un intérêt majeur pour la Russie de mettre un terme à 'toutes les inquiétudes des Polonais. Comprimées ultérieurement, 'elles réagiraient un jour sous une influence étrangère.' The project for re-establishing an independent Kingdom of Poland had probably never been seriously entertained by the other powers which had shared her spoils; and had been raised chiefly in opposition to the excessive claims of Alexander, with a view to effect a compromise with him. In a territorial point of view that compromise was null. Russia acquired all she could ever have hoped to possess. Prussia and Austria formally abandoned the hope of having a defensible military frontier, such as that of the Vistula and the Narew. But Russia herself had qualified these propositions, so manifestly tending to her own aggrandizement, by recommending,—in her note presented to the conference of the four powers forming the committee for Polish and Saxon affairs, by Count Rosoumoffsky on the 30th December,—that Thorn and Cracow should be declared neutral Free Cities, and that the duchy of Warsaw should be annexed to Russia by the national constitution of the kingdom of Poland. In the course of further negotiation Thorn was ceded to Prussia; but Cracow and the Polish constitution remained. They were, it should be observed, essential parts of the most arduous and protracted arrangement of the whole Congress, in which Lord Castlereagh had from the first taken a most active part.* The first intimation of these

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*The reason his name does not occur in the latest conferences held on this important subject, which he appears to have thoroughly understood, is, that he left Vienna on the 15th February 1815, and was succeeded as plenipotentiary of this country by the Duke of Wellington, who had arrived on the 1st of that month. The duke appears to have been as much disposed to second the scheme of Alexander, and to confide in his character, as Lord Castlereagh was to oppose the one and suspect the other. It must also be remembered that the return of Buonaparte from Elba, interfered materially with the deliberations of the Congress; and the proposals made with due deliberation in January, were for the most part adopted with precipitation in May.

proposals by the Russian minister was received with no satisfaction by the conference. Europe was still in arms; and the attitude of Russia was so menacing, that four days afterwards (3d January 1815) a secret defensive alliance was concluded between 'England, France, and Austria, 'à cause des prétentions récem-'ment manifestées,' and for the purpose of maintaining the security and independence of the contracting parties to the treaty of Paris. Each power was to bring 150,000 men, or their equivalent, into the field in case of a rupture.

It is important to remark that the treaty of the 3d May 1815, by which the independence of Cracow was established by the three Northern Courts, which treaty those Courts now claim a right of annulling at their pleasure, was one of the forms eventually given to those very proposals made by the Russian plenipotentiary on the 31st December 1814. Yet Prince Metternich has now the hardihood to assert, in a paper purporting to defend the legality of the recent act of the three Powers, that 'the treaty of the 3d May 1815, was concluded without any 'notice having been given to any other court, without any 'demand for acquiescence having been made to any other power, 'as likewise without having been objected to by any one.'

Our limits forbid us to enter into a minute investigation of these curious transactions, in which the interests of Saxony and Prussia, Poland and Russia, were intimately united. But we have indicated the importance and the difficulty of these arrangements; and if the nationality of Poland was reduced after this great diplomatic struggle to the narrow limits of the territory of Cracow, and the precarious conditions of a Russian charter of freedom, these results were nevertheless the more precious, and the more worthy of respect and protection, since they alone represented the imperishable principle of Polish nationality, which had been felt, asserted, and admitted, in every deliberation of the Congress. The assembled powers of Europe were still haunted by the phantom of her who was *not* amongst them. Poland, at Vienna, was indeed but a territory and a people, without a monarch or a name. But it was in vain that other names and other monarchs had usurped her rights—The Congress of Vienna involuntarily did as much homage to the principle of the existence of the Polish nation, as if John Sobieski or the great Zamoyski had sate in its councils.

No doubt the jealousy which was felt at that time by Russia towards Austria, induced the court of St Petersburg to refuse the cession to that power of a point like Cracow, which might be of great military importance as a *tête-de-pont* on the left bank of the Vistula, as it covers the line of communication between

Moravia and Gallicia. But Russia has now acquired a more correct estimate of her own strength and Austria's weakness. The recent cession of Cracow, even if Austria be not restrained from fortifying the city by a secret article, cannot now cover the exposed flanks of the whole empire. But if this mutual jealousy of the northern powers might in part account for the neutrality promised to Cracow in 1815, it is no adequate motive for the peculiar nationality then conferred upon her institutions. They proceeded from a higher motive, they have been the real object of the increasing persecution of the little state, and they alone have caused its final ruin.

It is almost superfluous to recapitulate in this place, the formal arrangements by which the independence of Cracow was established. But those forms were unquestionably among the most complete used in securing any of the arrangements of the Congress. They were first comprised in the additional treaty of the 3d May, signed by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which established in the minutest form the political constitution of Cracow, the protectorate of the three powers, and the neutral, commercial, academical, and ecclesiastical privileges of the city. This separate treaty was afterwards incorporated in the general act of the Congress, by the comprehensive terms of the 118th article, which covers many of the most important existing arrangements of Europe. But as if this were not enough, the principal dispositions on which the independence and privileges of the Polish Republic rested, were set forth in Arts. 6, 7, 9, 10, of the general treaty of the 9th June. It may be argued, perhaps, that greater legal precision still would have been attained, if the republic of Cracow had itself been made a contracting party: But the rights of that little state scarcely extended to complete sovereignty; and no one could have believed a contract to be insecure, in which all Europe stipulated on its behalf. The same form appears to have been followed with reference to the arrangements between the King of Sardinia and Geneva, to none of which Geneva is formally a contracting party. When we have passed in review the numerous proofs of extreme care and zeal shown by the plenipotentiaries of all the powers at Vienna with reference to the Polish question, and especially by those of Great Britain—when we find that the scheme was debated by us, and with us, from its first conception—and that it was not held to be perfected until it had received the signature of the whole eight plenipotentiaries, who collected, established, and mutually guaranteed all the arrangements of the Congress by its final act, there is something inconceivably frivolous and dishonest in the allegation, now put forward by the Northern Courts, that they alone were the authors

of the arrangements relating to Cracow, and that they had consequently alone the right to destroy their work. It is not strictly true, as M. Guizot has incautiously remarked in his protest against the annexation of Cracow, that the independence of that city rested on the same basis as the cession of the Saxon provinces to Prussia; for the cessions to Prussia made in the 15th article of the general treaty, are expressly *guaranteed* by the other great powers in the 17th article. The term *guarantee* is nowhere applied to the intervention of the other powers in the establishment of Cracow; but the right of a principal contracting party is above the mere right of a guarantor. A mere guaranty does not authorise the guarantor to interfere in the execution of a treaty, or to press the observance of it of himself, and without being required.* But a principal contracting party has that right. We might have guaranteed to a weaker state the possession of certain advantages which were exclusively beneficial to itself; but when these advantages beneficial to itself are mixed up with other considerations of public policy, which we and all other parties to the treaty are interested in maintaining, then those parties become more than guarantors; they are invested with as full and complete a right of interference in defence of those articles, as in defence of any part of the treaty. They possess a subjective as well as an objective right, and the interests they may thus be empowered to defend, are legally identified with their own. No distinction can be drawn between the solemnity and validity of the several articles of a treaty. All the articles, says Grotius, of one and the same treaty, are conditionally included in one another, as if it had been said, I will do this provided you will do that; and Vattel formally lays it down, that the violation of one single article overthrows the whole treaty.* That is our true position with reference to the 6th, 7th, 9th, and 10th articles of the treaty of Vienna. What was the common principle which governed all the deliberations of the Congress? What was the general inducement to submit transactions affecting the mutual relations of the powers with each other, in larger or smaller groups, to the sanction of a general Congress? The preamble to the general treaty of the 9th June 1815, is the best answer to these questions:—

'Les puissances qui ont signé le traité conclu à Paris le 30 'Mai 1814, désirant maintenant de comprendre *dans une transac-* 'tion commune les différens résultats de leurs négociations, *afin* 'de les revêtir de leurs ratifications réciproques, ont autorisé leurs

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* Vattel, B. II. § 256. * B. II. § 202, B. IV. § 47.

'plénipotentiaires à reunir, dans un instrument général, les dispo-
'sitions d'un interêt *majeur et permanent*, et à joindre à cet acte
'comme parties intégrantes des arrangemens du Congrès, les
'Traités, &c., tels qu'ils se trouvent cités dans le présent
'traité.' The final ratification under the great seal of England is to the same effect. The independence of Cracow thus took a prominent place among the arrangements of a considerable and permanent nature, and was clothed with the reciprocal ratification of all Europe. If the Northern Powers have had reasons of state to convert their protectorate into a crushing despotism, and to annihilate by three votes what was established by eight, we too may urge our reasons of state in opposition to this shameless proceeding. We look back with pride on the considerations so forcibly expressed by British ministers at the Congress of Vienna, and we adhere to the conviction, that the extinction of Cracow was a measure as illegal as it was impolitic and unjust.

The particular stipulations inserted in the treaty of 3d May 1815, in favour of the local institutions of Cracow, were all apparently dictated by the desire to strengthen the national veneration of the Poles for their ancient capital; and to secure certain relations, at least of social convenience, between Cracow and the other parts of Poland. These stipulations have from the first been grossly violated; and in the last communications from the Austrian cabinet they appear to be wholly forgotten. Prince Metternich says, in his despatch of the 9th January 1847, with more energy than elegance of language or truth—'The city
'and territory of Cracow had been declared a free port, (or
'rather warehouse.) The fate which awaits a free port having
'no other outlet except three bordering states surrounded
'by custom-houses, is self-evident. It must perish of misery;
'or must transform itself into a den of moral and material buc-
'caneers. Thus Cracow became the retreat of every kind of
'brigandage. This city, which in 1809 was rich and prosperous,
'is at present poor, depopulated, and exposed to material and
'moral misery. You must not look for Cracow within its
'walls, but in the clubs of France and Brussels. That which
'bore the name of *commerce* was in great part nothing but poi-
'son deposited in the free state, which, by orders from the
'government of the Polish emigration, was disseminated in the
'adjoining countries.'

When commercial freedom was adopted as one of the principles of the independence of Cracow, the ardour of prohibition was probably less strongly felt by the adjacent states than it is at the present day. Certain it is that freedom of transit was secured to it, as well as certain facilities of commercial intercourse with all the provinces of ancient Poland. To the restrictive system,

of the Austrian and Russian empires, such immunities might be unprofitable or inconvenient. But, on the side of Prussia, the trade of Cracow was open, not only to the German Commercial League, but to this country. The principle of the free navigation of the Polish rivers, laid down in several separate treaties, and sanctioned by the 14th article of the general treaty of Vienna, undoubtedly ought to have opened a free and easy channel of trade by the Vistula from Cracow to Elbing and Danzig. And Cracow was in fact a considerable entrepot of British and German goods. The English consul at Warsaw informed his government in the spring of last year, that 'Cracow, since its 'elevation to an independent state, has always been the depot 'of very considerable quantities of English merchandise, sent 'thither by the Black Sea, Moldavia, and Gallicia, and even *viâ* 'Trieste; and which afterwards find their way to the surrounding 'countries. Before the current year elapses, Cracow will be in 'a direct railway communication with the great lines of Prus-'sian Silesia, and of Bohemia and Austria; and probably in the 'next year, it will constitute the central point of the important 'line of railway communication between the Adriatic and the 'Baltic.

'Looking, therefore, to the almost certainty of a very great 'part of the trade of the Levant, and even of India and China, 'finding its way up the Adriatic, it cannot be denied that it must 'be of the greatest commercial importance, even to England, to 'have such a station as Cracow in the centre of the great net 'of railways, connecting the Western and Eastern Continent.'

Such was the importance attached to the commercial privileges of Cracow by the mercantile houses of Silesia, that the Prussian government has had to deal with the strongest remonstrances from its own subjects on the extinction of this free market; and it has made tardy and unavailing efforts to repair the evil. Indeed, the suppression of the commercial privileges of the free state was delayed for some days at the instance of the Prussian agent, M. V. Kamptz. The Austrian custom-houses were not prepared to include the Cracovian territory till the 30th January of this year; and we believe the term of grace has been still further extended from necessity. Meanwhile, the destruction of the mercantile relations of the republic with the Zollverein, added materially to the depression of this trying winter, and contributed to the failure of several trading firms of note and credit in Breslau and the neighbourhood. The merchants of Cracow itself, whose stocks have been made to pay the Austrian duties, are utterly ruined. If Cracow had not been continually agitated and tormented by the sinister interference of the 'Protecting

Powers,' and if her commercial privileges had been as zealously defended as they ought to have been by the powers in Europe which were interested in maintaining them, we can entertain no doubt that this city would have become a mercantile position of first-rate importance. This very prospect, connected as it now is with the principal continental lines of railway, far from giving Austria and Russia an interest in the preservation of the state, only made them more eager for its destruction.

The university of Cracow was one of the oldest and most important institutions of the kind in Europe; and, accordingly, its existence was formally recognized by the 15th article of the additional treaty; its property was secured to it; and leave was promised to the youth of all the adjacent Polish provinces to pursue their studies there, as soon as the academic constitution should be organized in conformity with the views of the protecting powers. The task of framing this constitution was assigned to a Prussian, Baron de Reibnitz, and subsequently to an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia; but all the other pledges of its prosperity were violated. The property of the university, in mortgages, lands, benefices, &c., situated in various parts of the ancient kingdom of Poland, and proceeding from the munificence of Polish kings and nobles, from the fourteenth century downwards, amounted to no less than 8,234,762 Polish florins, or about L.200,000 sterling. In spite of the engagement in the 15th article of the additional treaty, which formally secured this property of the university, the three powers refused, in 1817 and 1819, to acknowledge the claims of the university to any funds or estates not invested or situated within the small territory of Cracow itself. The mortgages, bonds, and lands of the university in Russia and Austria, were literally confiscated. Even Prussia eventually refused to sanction a payment of some 3000 ducats, which were confessedly owing to the university by the city of Danzig. Every thing like freedom of instruction was of course impossible. Incessant changes were introduced by authority into the academic body; every indication of national feeling, or intellectual independence, was repressed; and the Jagellonian university shared the fate of the nation to which it belonged, and the city in which it stood.

Throughout the time which has elapsed since the recognition of the independence of Cracow by the treaty of Vienna, the three protecting powers seem wholly to have lost sight of the motives which dictated those arrangements, and of the obligations they had contracted towards Cracow, whilst they insist with extreme care on the obligations Cracow had contracted towards them. It is unfortunate for this line of argument, that the con-

ditions they have set at nought, are express stipulations forming part of the written public law of Europe; whilst the obligations which the republic of Cracow is alleged—as we believe most falsely alleged—to have continually violated, are at most only the general obligations of peace and good-will existing between neighbouring states. This brings us to the issue of fact, upon which the perversions of law put forward by the Northern Courts rest. They assert as the summary of their argument:—

'1. That Cracow, having for sixteen consecutive years violated the conditions of its independence, the Three Courts had the right to annul the treaty of the $\frac{21 \text{ April}}{3 \text{ May}}$ 1815, which laid down these conditions as the basis on which the limited political existence of this state was to rest.

'2. That at the moment when the Three Courts took this resolution, they were as free to do so as they were when they concluded the treaty of the year 1815.

'3. That the act of the Congress of Vienna

'*a*. Has not deprived the powers whose treaties are registered in that document, of the power of changing them by subsequent arrangements;

'*b*. That the Three Courts have not only not violated the literal text of the act of the Congress of Vienna by the resolution which they have adopted as regards Cracow; but that they have acted in its spirit, since Cracow, during a long course of years, has acted in contravention of the explicit stipulations of that Act;

'*c*. That the right of the co-signing Courts of the act of the Congress of Vienna is to intervene as arbiters in disputes between the contracting parties, if called upon so to do. The resolution in question in no manner militates against the principle of this right; inasmuch as in the matter under discussion relative to Cracow, there exists between the contracting parties to the treaty of the $\frac{21 \text{ April}}{3 \text{ May}}$ 1815, inserted in the Act of the Congress of Vienna, no difference relative to this treaty. The material condition of a fact which might have led to this intervention, does not therefore exist.'

Now, we contend, I. That there is a total failure of proof as to the alleged violation of these conditions of independence on the part of Cracow—that in fact no such violations as are imputed to her, did or could take place so as to endanger the security of three mighty surrounding empires—that the recognition of her independence and neutrality was not conditional but absolute—not temporary but permanent—not comprised within one partial treaty between three powers alone, but sanctioned by several

articles of the general treaty, into which general treaty her separate treaty was also verbally incorporated.

II. The second proposition of the Austrian memorandum amounts to an explicit assertion, that the three powers were as free to break their promise in 1846, as they were to make it in 1815. It requires only to be stated in those terms to exhibit its absurdity; for if that, and no more, was the force and validity of the treaty, it clearly was no contract at all. In that case, it was a mere declaration of an intention to confer certain benefits during pleasure. It might be dissolved as a *nudum pactum*. The agreement would then have been binding as a reciprocal engagement on the parties which united in conferring it; but it would have established no existing and defensible interest in those on whom the advantage was conferred. We hold on the contrary, that it is impossible to admit that the series of treaties by which the independence of Cracow was established, amounted to no more than a uni-lateral compact. 'The conditions of 'its independence,' repeatedly mentioned by the three powers, though they are not set forth as such in any treaty, necessarily imply that Cracow had acquired positive rights under those treaties. It must be added, that the fact that these treaties only realized a proposition formally made to the Congress on the 31st Dec. 1814, and that they were subsequently corroborated by the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th articles of the general treaty, gives them all the sanction that they could possibly receive. There was an agreement, no doubt, of the three powers between themselves; but there was also an agreement between the three powers and the city of Cracow; and an agreement between the three powers as protectors, and between them and all the other principal contracting parties to the general treaty.

The first of these contracts might be dissolved by consent, but that consent of the three powers could have no effect on their other engagements. They were all made, in the words of the 118th article, 'parties intégrantes' of the arrangements of the Congress; and it is established beyond all doubt, by the terms of the preamble already quoted, that every portion of that act is indivisibly one. That 118th article recites and adopts, as is well known, several of not the least important measures of the Congress which had been settled in the form of separate treaties, between the powers most directly interested in them—as, for instance, the act which constitutes the German Confederation; the treaty which created the kingdom of the Netherlands; the declaration of the powers of the Helvetic confederation; the arrangement with the King of Sardinia with reference both to Geneva and to Genoa, and some other stipulations of great deli-

cacy and general application. Hence it has arisen, that some of the German writers on public law, who have discussed the questions relating to the annexation of Cracow and the protests of France and England, within the last few months, have evinced great jealousy of the claim of these two powers to interfere in behalf of these stipulations of the treaty of Vienna, lest their protest on the subject of Cracow should form a precedent for interference in the affairs of the German confederation. This opinion, which naturally excites great jealousy in Germany, derives some colour from the fact, that France and England did protest in 1834 against the prolongation of the occupation of the free town of Frankfort by the troops of the great German powers, after the disturbances which had occurred in the preceding year. The Diet on that occasion refused, in its answer of the 12th June 1834, to acknowledge the right of any foreign power to interfere at all, in any of the internal affairs of the German confederation. The French government, in an able reply of the 30th June, said, that 'Le gouvernement Français en 's'élevant contre des exigences qu'il jugeait contraires à l'indé-'pendance de la ville de Francfort, s'est appuyé sur l'article 'du Traité de Vienne qui a consacré cette indépendance, qui, 'par conséquent, a donné à toutes les puissances signataires de 'cet acte, le droit de le protéger, soit dans l'intérêt de la ville, 'soit dans leur propre intérêt.' This note went on to observe that the Germanic body was not a state, but a confederation of states, constituted by the treaty of Vienna, and in pursuance of its stipulations, which was evident from the fact, that though a State cannot destroy its own independence, the German confederation might attempt the destruction of the independence of its members. This was the case which was apprehended at Frankfort. As a measure of police, it is impossible to deny that the troops of the German confederation had a perfect right to occupy the city in which the Diet itself holds its sittings, when these forces were necessary to protect that assembly from an armed conspiracy. But the English and French governments claimed a right of interference when the protracted occupation of the city appeared to indicate a design of destroying its independence, by what must be regarded as a foreign authority, though far less foreign than that of the three protecting powers of Cracow.

The distinction suggested by these two cases of Frankfort and Cracow appears to us very clear; and it was virtually recognised by the Diet itself in this Frankfort correspondence. The treaty of Vienna gives to the contracting parties who signed it, no right whatever to interpose their authority or their remonstrances in the internal affairs of any other parties to

that treaty; unless, as in the case of Holland and Belgium, some flagrant perturbation has overthrown the whole arrangement of the Congress, and caused a state of war. But where any existing arrangement of the treaty is menaced or overthrown by a revolution, or a combination of foreign powers, then all the other foreign powers who signed the treaty are interested in resisting an alarming precedent and an unjust encroachment. The peculiarity of the German confederation is, that the members of it are in some respects as much foreign states, as they were under the German empire; whilst in other respects they submitted to the control of one supreme federal authority, which as far as it extends is independent of all interference. It is remarkable that the northern powers which dispute our right to protest against their treatment of Cracow, nevertheless assert a far more controvertible right to maintain the federal pact of Switzerland; which was also included, though less formally than Cracow, in the provisions of the 118th article.

III. The arrangements of the Congress must be viewed as a whole, and every friend of public order, and of the established institutions of Europe, will repudiate the dangerous and subversive doctrine laid down in the third paragraph we have quoted from the Austrian memorandum. Nothing that has yet occurred in history, or been taught in law, warrants the assertion, that the great public act of a General Congress is a mere registration of separate treaties, which the parties immediately concerned have a right to change at pleasure; and that the other contracting parties have no right to interfere, until they are called in to arbitrate on some difference or dispute. If the term 'registration' has any force or precision in the place in which it has thus been introduced, it implies not a mere record of an act already public, but the sanction of a general assent and a higher authority, without whose concurrence a contract so registered cannot be annulled. This entire theory of international law is new; and is sanctioned by no previous agreement, and no practice. But in the case of Cracow, even this extraordinary principle is inapplicable; for it is not contended that Cracow is a consenting party to the act which robs her of her commercial and municipal freedom, and places her in strict dependence on the power whose misgovernment has reduced Gallicia to a scene of massacre and ruin. If ever such a power of arbitration was contemplated by the treaty of Vienna, (which we cannot discover,) and if ever it was to be exercised, this of all others was the occasion to invoke its authority.

We are, however, inevitably brought back by this discussion to the question of fact upon which all these assumptions rest—namely, whether Cracow had violated the conditions of her in-

dependence, and whether she had, in fact, placed herself in an attitude so hostile to her protectors, as to justify the treatment applicable to a conquered enemy? The evidence which has been adduced by the Austrian cabinet in support of this assertion is so scanty and inconclusive, that we might at once dismiss it as utterly unworthy of notice. But there are some points in it which call for more particular animadversion. Prince Metternich having failed to discover any positive evidence, among the inhabitants of Cracow themselves, of the frightful designs imputed to them, throws his charges to a great distance, and assures the world that he is justly punishing the Poles for the crimes of the Polish emigration! 'The Polish emigration, ignorant of the interests and wants of the soil it has quitted, imbued with notions which are in no respect applicable to the mass of the inhabitants of that soil, excited and flattered by the homage it receives abroad, has forgotten that a liberation from burdens, not only public, but likewise from such as attach to property, is a very dangerous doctrine to preach to the masses. And yet it is to such means that that portion, which styles itself the democratic when in emigration, has had recourse; and it is to those means that the aristocratic portion has associated itself, (so great was the illusion under which the whole emigration laboured,) in the hope of securing the support of the rural population. This was a grave error; and the consequences which have thence resulted, form now a great accumulation of embarrassment for the government and the country. It is not with impunity that one stratum of the social hierarchy of a political body can disappear; and yet such is the effect which has resulted from the events of from four to five days in Gallicia, or, to be more historically accurate, of the 18th and 19th of February, in the Circle of Tarnow, on which the conspirators had based their plan of general revolution.'*

By a strange perversion of political principles and historical truth, the very enormities of which the Austrian minister accuses the emigration, were perpetrated by his own subordinate agents. He acknowledges a little further on, that not one of these accused incendiaries appeared upon the field of battle—a singular reproach to address to men whose rashness is their chief fault; and the dangerous doctrines preached to the masses of Gallicia, were disseminated by very different agents from those whom Prince Metternich has here denounced to the world. There is something burlesque in the declaration, that—'The city of Cracow has

* Parl. Papers on Cracow, p. 17.

'proved that it was a political body evidently too weak to resist 'the unceasing machinations of the Polish emigration, who 'held it morally subjected.' If we are to suppose that this little state, under the 'moral coercion' of a few refugees in Paris, was nevertheless more than a match for the police of Prince Metternich, and the regiments of the Emperor Nicholas—those refugees must, indeed, be the guardians of a sacred and most irresistible right, if they can, from such a distance, infuse such strength into the weak, and such weakness into the strong! That right and that power they undoubtedly possess; for it is inherent in the cause for which they suffer: But we deny that the leading party in that emigration, to which the reproaches, calumnies, and injuries of the Austrian government are particularly addressed, has at any time been disposed to use the dangerous and disgraceful means ascribed to them. We say with authority, that the most strenuous exertions of the aristocratic Polish leaders abroad, have been constantly directed to prevent any desperate insurrections against the authority of the three powers; to reject the alliance of revolutionary principles and revolutionary agents; and to employ no means for the regeneration of their country unworthy of the spotless name of their illustrious chief, Prince Adam Czartoryski. The deplorable outbreak of February 1846 did not originate in Cracow, which took no part whatever in the disturbance, until the precipitate retreat of the Austrian general, Collin, before an imaginary party of rebels, had left the city totally without magistrates and without troops: Still less did it originate in the foreign emigration, which was palpably ignorant of every part of the conspiracy, and was grossly misled by the exaggerated accounts inserted in the German newspapers. The Austrian government published, in its own official pamphlet, certain proclamations bearing the names of Prince Adam Czartoryski and Count Ladislas Zamoyski; but it cannot have been ignorant that those proclamations were gross forgeries. Not a particle of genuine evidence has ever been produced to implicate any Polish emigrant of the slightest note, with that insurrection. Though the Austrian government punished Prince Adam Czartoryski for his supposed crime by the sequestration of the estates of his noble wife, they have not attempted to bring home to him any charge but that of a general hostility to the enemies of his country; which he never condescended to disavow.

If the Austrian government be really intent on discovering the causes and the authors of the horrible occurrences which devastated the circle of Tarnow, and repeated some of the worst scenes of the French Revolution on the persons of nearly two thousand victims, taken from the landed gentry of the

province, it must look nearer home. The absurd and oppressive conditions of the tenure of land by the peasantry, the gross ignorance of the people, the criminal neglect of the supreme government, the vile deceptions and suggestions of their inferior agents, and the atrocious character of some of their principal instruments, are sufficient to account for one of the most sanguinary pages in the history of our time. Nor was the influence of the direst superstition wanting to complete the horror of this modern edition of the massacre of St Bartholomew's. The governor of the province of Gallicia knew of the existence of the conspiracy; but he refused to send for fresh troops, and chose to rely for the suppression of the outbreak, on the hateful irritating deceptions which the Jews and inferior agents of the government had practised on the peasantry. Yet, on the eve of this monstrous crime the authorities hesitated; and it was not until they had received absolution from a Jesuit confessor, who gave it in consideration of the service about to be rendered to the house of Austria, that the order for the destruction of the Polish landowners was given. Such a fact as this can scarcely be known with absolute certainty; but it is thoroughly believed by those who are best acquainted with the history of these transactions; and the character of some of the actors in them renders it highly probable.

It would be beside our present purpose to pursue the chain of evidence which has yet to be unravelled as to the Gallician massacres; but we most confidently affirm, that the connexion which the three powers have endeavoured to establish between Cracow and the conspiracy which was discovered in the Prussian and Austrian dominions, is altogether false and unfounded. No arms were found in Cracow; no preparations for rebellion; and no resistance was offered by the inhabitants: Yet the German papers, under the direct control of their respective governments, did not scruple to publish accounts of a fierce and protracted contest between the Austrian troops and the citizens; with all the additions which such a fabulous rencounter might admit of. It has subsequently been fully ascertained and published with the consent of the Prussian government, that no such disturbances whatever occurred on the part of the Cracovians! and that, when General Collin withdrew to Podgorze on the evening of the 22d February, under the belief that the insurgent leader Patelski was marching on the city with ten thousand men, this Patelski, who had never had more than eighty mounted peasants in his company, was, in fact, a fugitive; and not one of the insurgents from the neighbouring provinces was in arms on the territory of the republic. As General Collin, however, had carried off with him the senate, the

police, and the militia, nothing remained for the citizens to do but to form a temporary municipal government. In this government some unknown democratic adventurers took a leading part; but no excesses were committed, although the protecting powers had certainly abandoned Cracow to its fate. Such is the true history of what Prince Metternich calls 'the internal dissolu-'tion' of Cracow in February last, which 'filled the measure 'of her misdeeds.' Austria had supplied her chief magistrates, her police, her commander-in-chief, and her troops. On the first false alarm, these gallant representatives of the imperial power retired across the Vistula. The city remained in complete anarchy; and it was doomed to forfeit its independence for ever, for the monstrous crime of having provided for its own safety in that time of trouble, when the governments of the great adjacent empires were convulsed with terror!

Not one of these allegations will bear a moment's examination. And, in truth, the naked act of violence and injustice would hardly have been so repulsive as the pretences which have been employed to disguise it. We must seek elsewhere, and further back, for the true history of the crime which has just been consummated, to the astonishment of Europe. With the accession of Nicholas to the throne of Russia, all the pledges of Polish nationality and constitutional government which Alexander had given in his better days, were destined to be dissolved. The policy of the court, and the personal character of the Grand Duke Constantine, prepared that general insurrection of the kingdom of Poland which followed the French revolution of 1830. The Emperor Nicholas then thought himself released from his engagements to the Polish nation; and he adopted that stern line of policy for the extirpation of their nationality, to which, during a reign of twenty years, he has implacably adhered. The existence of Cracow, though not seriously compromised by its conduct in 1831, was a lasting memorial of the very different views towards Poland which had been recognised at Vienna in 1815, and a living protest against every fresh measure of the Russian government. In the eyes of the cabinet of St Petersburg, the extinction of the neutral and independent state became from that moment a favourite and important object. At Vienna, the recovery of the *tête-de-pont* on the Vistula overcame the habitual caution of the Austrian chancery; and there appears to be little doubt that, in the summer of 1834, a secret convention was signed by the three sovereigns at Münchengratz, by which the extinction of Cracow was determined on. The late King of Prussia acceded to this measure, on condition that it should not be put into execution until he should acknowledge that a fit opportunity had arrived.

This species of pledge descended to his son Frederic William IV. The disturbed state of Poland last spring was strenuously used by the other powers to overcome his strong reluctance. General de Berg and M. de Ficquelmont were sent to Berlin to urge, that if the promise of the late king was ever to be held good, the present was the time. Austria had surrendered her real or affected reluctance, to a threat of Russia, that if Cracow was not peaceably annexed to one empire, it should be forcibly joined to the other! Prussia wavered, lamented—and eventually obeyed! On the 15th April 1846, a secret convention was signed at Berlin by the members of this conference, which determined that the scheme of Münchengratz should be promptly executed. Prussia succeeded at that time in introducing a stipulation, that England and France should be consulted before the blow was struck; which relieves her from some portion of the bad faith which would otherwise attach to her conduct. On the very day that secret convention was signed, Lord Westmoreland writes:—'The proceedings which I have above detailed (for the 'trial of the Polish prisoners,) will probably not be terminated 'under twelve or eighteen months; till which time the protecting 'governments will allow the present provisional authority to con- 'tinue its functions, after which a plan for the permanent estab- 'lishment of the government of the state of Cracow will be 'prepared, and submitted for discussion to the governments of 'England and France.'

And two days later he adds:—'The conference established in 'this capital, which has now broken up, (as General Count 'Ficquelmont has this day quitted Berlin,) has decided that all 'Polish questions between the three states shall be treated in a 'conference to be established at Vienna.

'General Canitz has stated to me, that as soon as the proceed- 'ings against the prisoners in Cracow have been completed, the 'question of the establishment of the government of the state of 'Cracow will be entertained; and the proposals of the three 'protecting powers upon that subject referred to the allied 'governments of England and France; but that they will be such 'as are entirely in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty 'of Vienna, to which Prussia will most rigidly adhere.'

At that moment, perhaps, the Prussian minister believed the assurance he gave; and thought that the condition on which his sovereign had consented to the measure would be respected. The autumn, however, brought an unexpected change in the relative position of the states of Western Europe; and whilst France and England were engrossed with the Spanish marriages, Austria, who had undertaken, as the party beneficially interested

in the acquisition of Cracow, to break the scheme at London and Paris, found it more convenient to proceed to extremities, and present this gross act of violence and injustice to the world in that shape which seems now-a-days to defy infamy and opposition—the shape, we mean, of a *fait accompli!* Russia was triumphant—Austria had seized the booty—Prussia had yielded to the policy of the Northern Alliance; but, we trust, that history will add—for the last time.

Whatever historical interest may be attached to the partitions of Poland—still replete with instruction and with food for reflection even in our day—whatever desire we may have felt to place on record our indignant protest against the violation of the rights of nations in Cracow—we should hardly have been led to enter so fully into this subject, if it were not intimately connected with the most turning and momentous questions of policy that agitate, menace, and perplex the nations of Europe. The fate and condition of Poland are now, as they have been for the last century, the key to the whole policy of Russia. Constantinople understood the fall of Cracow; for the Divan has all along watched the destruction of the Polish nation, with a deep consciousness of the evil which that fatal change betokened to itself. It was to save Poland, that Turkey alone, of all the powers of the earth, declared war against Russia in 1768. It was to rescue Moldavia and Wallachia from the grasp of Russia, and to remove her armies from the frontiers of Hungary and the banks of the Danube, that Prince Kaunitz and Maria Theresa assented to the first treaty of partition. Poland accordingly has been engorged in the Russian empire: But to Turkey, to the principalities of the Danube, and to Austria, the menace and the peril are still the same. Above all, it was the anarchy, the partition, and, finally, the possession of Poland, which established for nearly eighty years the ascendancy of the policy of Russia over the most important courts of Germany. The treaty of 1763, which put an end to the animosities of the courts of St Petersburg and Berlin on the accession of Catherine II., pledged the Prussian government to conspire with the Empress to perpetuate the abuses and to prohibit the reforms of the Polish constitution. That plot was doubly successful. For it was scarcely more fatal to the existenee of the court of Warsaw than to the independent policy of the court of Berlin. In our own time, especially since 1815, the personal intimacy of the sovereigns, the mystical bonds of the Holy Alliance, a common abhorrence of constitutional liberty, and habits of dependence on one side and of authority on the other, contributed to prolong this state of bondage as long as the late King of Prussia lived.

Even on the present sovereign it has not been without a powerful influence; but his last act of reluctant submission in the affair of Cracow, was speedily followed by his first measure of complete independence—the convocation of the estates of his kingdom. On the 11th April of this year, and at the moment when these pages are made public, King Frederic William IV. will open in person the first general diet of his kingdom; and proceed with the auspicious task of founding anew the constitution of Prussia. This is not the place to discuss the causes, or to speculate on the results, of an event which is pregnant with the fate of the German people: But it is already evident, that from the day on which the ordinances for the convocation of these estates were promulgated, Prussia ceased to travel in the path of the absolutist powers; sprang over the barriers which had enthralled her for more than thirty years, and recovered a will and a policy of her own, which will henceforth count in Europe. If the fatal reverse of Jena preceded the regeneration of the monarchy in 1807, the diplomatic catastrophe of Cracow has now given an irresistible impulse to the emancipation of the court of Berlin, from the bondage of that alliance which was cemented by the ruin of Poland and the denial of constitutional rights to the people of Prussia.

In Austria the subordination of the cabinet is more complete. The causes of this subserviency to Russia are more irresistible; and as long as Prince Metternich lives, they will yoke the empire of the Cæsars to the empire of the Czars, by closer and more oppressive ties. The person of the sovereign, afflicted by the extremest degree of mental incapacity which is consistent with the formal possession of a crown, inspires in the princes of his own house no confidence, and in his allies only compassion or contempt. The policy of the empire is identified with the minister who has governed it so long; but, like him, it is tottering to decay. We do not impute unmitigated hypocrisy to Prince Metternich, when we find him dwelling with morbid anxiety on the dreaded influence of France, on the intrigues of democratic conspiracies, and all the ominous signs of the ultimate victory of those principles of freedom against which the energy and activity of his life have been directed. A course of policy, so long adhered to, is not easily changed by its author. The possession of Italy by Austria, is a difficulty, in comparison with which that of Poland itself dwindles to a secondary question. The necessity of giving a bold front to the empire on the one side, is the apology for leaving it exposed to the formidable hostility of race, religion, and military power on the other. It is too late for the present Austrian councils to make an effective

stand against Russian influence; and thus, probably, they were not sorry to yield to a sort of pressure which placed them in possession of so important a position as Cracow on the Vistula. If Austria is in a condition to fortify Cracow, and to give that city all its proper military importance, that consideration may have prevailed over great political objections: For in Gallicia and northern Hungary, Austria has not a single fortified position; and the whole of her north-eastern territories might be overrun by an army, which would meet with no resistance until it reached Olmütz in Moravia, and Komorn on the Waag and the Danube. Nevertheless, as a mere calculation of policy, independent of its gross illegality and injustice, there never was a more mistaken measure than the suppression of Cracow. The shock it has given to the faith of nations and the law of treaties, has reverberated through Europe. France has already hailed an event which she interprets as the signal of her own deliverance from the galling limitations of 1815. The menacing state of the Swiss cantons has been aggravated by the knowledge that one act of violent foreign interference had already been consummated elsewhere; and that the same power which has occupied Cracow has her troops in the Vorarlberg, and her emissaries among the Grey League. Prussia herself, we trust, may be held to have withdrawn in penitence from the alliance of the oppressors of Poland; and to have manifested her intention to base her foreign policy henceforth, not on the suggestions of foreign potentates, but on the interests of her own subjects and the sympathy of the German people. Lastly, for the first time since Queen Victoria ascended the throne of England, she has been called upon to apply to certain of the foreign sovereigns, her allies, words so justly severe, that the discomfited ambassadors of the three powers were not to be seen within the walls of Parliament when they were uttered.

Such are the memorable and significant results of an act which might, it was supposed, be consummated in obscurity. Happily the temper of the times we live in, is not prone to overlook the abuse of force and the violation of a public right. The scene of action may be small—the sufferers may be weak and few,—but *a right* has no such circumscribed dimensions. Whether it be broken by the ruin of a semi-savage ruler of the Society Islands, or by the extinction of a sixth-rate city of the continent of Europe, the blow is felt and resented in the name of those principles of good faith and justice which can alone preserve the peace of the world. The first disclosure and execution of the scheme for the partition of Poland itself in the last century, produced less commotion in Europe than the anni-

hilation of the rights of Cracow has done in our day—an auspicious change! an honourable indication of the progress which has been made, even on the steep path of political morality! but, above all, an encouraging proof that the activity of our age has really diffused amongst all nations a more enlightened acquaintance with their individual rights and their common interests!

ART. II.—1. *Lives of the English Saints.* Parts I. to XII. 12mo. London: 1844-5.

2. *Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen-Age.* Par L. F. ALFRED MAURY. 8vo. Paris: 1843.

A REMARKABLE contrast is presented by the circumstance, that while in France—a Roman Catholic country—writers are investigating, in a purely philosophical spirit, the legends and miracles of those morally dark ages, from the influence of which we have fortunately been long emancipated, there are found men in Protestant England—men bound by their duty to defend the church which they are deliberately undermining—eagerly engaged in republishing these legends to the world, and recommending them even with more than popish bigotry.

It is singular that any modern religious party, instead of resting its claims on some show of reason, should reject contemptuously the plainest dictates of common sense, and exact a blind acceptance of the most ridiculous, and most disgusting portions of the belief of the middle ages. With these men, absurdity is the extreme of wisdom; and the very errors which liberal-minded Romanists now reject, are, by our would-be 'Catholics,' held forth as the gage of orthodoxy. Justification is not sought in scriptural or apostolical authority; and the pure and simple faith which Jesus taught to his disciples is represented to be but a rude outline, an *ébauche*, which it required the 'wisdom' of the dark ages to develope. The testimony of history is rejected, for it has too much to say: while the mere *belief* of the 'Catholic' is the only sure evidence of truth, in this new school of religious professors. Such, at least, is the doctrine expressly inculcated in the tracts before us; which are generally attributed to a late proselyte to Romanism, who, at the time of their publication, was a member of the Church of England, and was receiving wages at its hands.

With regard to the principle upon which these Lives have been composed, and on which it is intended that they should be now studied, there is neither disguise nor reservation. We are warned, from the beginning and throughout, that in matters of this high order our belief is relieved from subjection to the ordinary rules of evidence. In a completely un-historical account of the primitive British church, (given in Part III., and containing the first portion of the life of St Augustine,) after stating the want of historical evidence of the pretended visits of the Apostles Paul and Peter to Great Britain, the writer observes, 'yet it has undoubtedly been 'long received as a *pious opinion* by the Church at large;' after which, he immediately informs us, that 'this sort of argument, 'although it ought to be kept quite distinct from documentary and 'historical proof, and will form no substitute for such proof with '*those who stipulate for something like legal accuracy* in enquiries 'of this nature, will not be without its effect upon *devout* minds.' In telling a miracle of a saint of the seventh century, which is not mentioned before the fourteenth century, our historian adds, —'This story is given on the authority of Capgrave, not of Bede; 'not that there seems any reason for *doubting its truth*.' After the relation of several absurd miracles, without meaning and without object, we meet repeatedly with remarks like the following:—'And from not understanding them (the saints,) 'we go on to criticise them, not always or at once remem- 'bering, that "the natural man discerneth not the things 'of the spirit," and that, in the case of certain given per- 'sons, it is on the whole far more likely that *such as we 'should be in the dark*, than *such as they in the wrong*.' 'If 'the reader so far forgets that he is occupied upon a por- 'tion of ecclesiastical history as to *stumble at the marvellous 'portions* of the present biographical sketch, it is hoped he will at 'least suspend his judgment till a few pages further on, or accept 'the statement, subject to any qualifications which may secure 'them from the chance of irreverent usage, and him from the 'risk of that *especial blasphemy* which consists in slighting the 'manifestations of God's Holy Spirit; a sin, one should have 'thought, denounced by our blessed Lord in language suffi- 'ciently awful to make the possibility of it an unspeakably 'more formidable alternative than *any amount of credulity*.' 'When, to the readers of one age, the miracles of another long 'past away *appear so grotesque as to provoke amusement*, their 'seeming eccentricity is *no ground for rejecting them*. If men 'are to be taught, the teaching will be shaped for them, adapted 'to their way of looking at things, corresponding to their 'habits of thought, and, as it were, echoing the actual life and

'manner of the times. Supposing a miracle wrought for the 'conversion of a barbarous people, will it not almost certainly 'have *a barbarous aspect*, and be what a philosophical age would 'deem a *gross* display of supernatural power or goodness?' Somewhere, near York, St Augustine restored a blind man to his sight in the name of Jesus Christ. At this time of day, there is something unusually *naïve* in the exclamation,—'Why 'should not that name work miracles at any time? *Why not* 'among ourselves now-a-days? Truly, because we lack the 'conditions of its power—Catholic faith and Catholic sanctity!' This is precisely the way in which the late Mr Irving accounted for the withdrawal of miraculous powers from modern prayers. In another place we are gravely told that the reason why we cannot believe the miracles of the saints is, that we are labouring under an intellectual darkness caused by three centuries of Heresy!

Ravings like these may appear at first sight undeserving of notice. Can they have any weight with any body? But when we look further into the body of the tracts themselves, (and they have been widely distributed,) we find their fallacious doctrines put forth so Jesuitically, the poison so cunningly hidden beneath the sugar, that it is right to exhibit the working of the system in its true colours. The object of this writer may be discovered without difficulty. He knows that the voice of the past, if impartially listened to, is against him—therefore he would cast a discredit upon all but *ecclesiastical* history. The cross-examination of his witnesses by a skilful advocate must be fatal—therefore he would impress upon us not only the *danger*, but the '*especial blasphemy*' of criticising. The scheme, too, has been to a small degree successful; because the experiment has fallen upon an age, when people are off their guard. At the time of the Reformation, the whole case was before the eyes of every body; the conviction of its rottenness was general among as many as ventured to enquire, because the evidence was overwhelming. On the contrary, our own age, satisfied with the judgment of our forefathers, has been gradually forgetting the evidence by which that judgment was obtained, until at last a little special pleading is enough to throw doubts upon its justice among the credulous and simple-minded. The only remedy is to produce the evidence again; and fortunately we shall find that in the present case it is increased rather than diminished by lapse of time. The Romanist knows this well, and therefore he sets his face against historical criticism and the publication of historical documents. This is the spirit exhibited in these new 'Lives of the English Saints;' on which account it will not, we think, be uninteresting, to examine a little into the materials of which those extra-

ordinary fabrications called *Lives of Saints* were constructed, and into the mode in which they were put together.

The Lives of Saints may be arranged in several classes. Some were mere forgeries, inventions to serve the purposes of those who first compiled them; others, equally lives of persons who never existed, had their foundation in nothing but popular fables, and even in mistaken allegories; in other instances, they are the mere legends which during ages had gathered round the memory of some personage known only by name, and committed to writing long after the period at which he lived; while, in many cases, we have the life of an individual written by his contemporary, sometimes a friend, almost always a prejudiced chronicler, intentionally or unwittingly inserting much which it would have been very difficult indeed to have ever authenticated or ascertained. The saints of this latter class (the only one which has much historical importance) are of two races. They gained a place in the calendar, either by the part they took in supporting the usurpations of the church upon the civil power, during the long struggle in which the former was not over-delicate in the choice of its weapons, or by their activity as missionaries in converting the heretics or the heathen to the Church of Rome. In general, the more authentic the lives, the fewer the miracles; and, in like manner, the earlier lives of the same saint contain much fewer miracles than the later ones. The mass of the mediæval miracles appears to have originated in the mixture of ideas produced by the conversion of the pagan tribes by men who, though Christians, were almost as superstitious and credulous as themselves.

When the missionaries first entered upon their labours among the people of western and northern Europe, they found a creed which acknowledged two classes of supernatural beings,—the gods (*dii majores*) of the respective tribes, such as Odin, Thor, &c.—and a multitude of lesser spirits, who were believed to haunt wood and valley and mountain, and to inhabit air and water, continually intermixing visibly or invisibly with mankind, and exerting over individuals an influence for good and for evil. The worship of the gods was the province of the higher classes, and was the business of priests; the minor spiritual beings, elves or nymphs, held intercourse with individuals at their pleasure, or sometimes by compulsion: And these individuals (the originals of the sorcerers and witches of later times) obtained by this means miraculous powers; for instance, the power of curing diseases, of working good or evil like the spirits themselves, and of foretelling future events. They were consulted by those who laboured under such diseases, who had sustained

losses by accident or robbery, or who sought to gratify revenge or conciliate love. As the monkish missionaries made their way, they banished the heathen priests—whose gods and their worship were soon forgotten—while their mythic histories were preserved in the form of romances and popular stories. But the elves and minor spirits, in whose existence the monk believed equally with the peasant, still held their sway; and sorcerers and witches continued to follow their occupations.

We trace, indeed, every where the attempts of the ecclesiastics, down to a late period, to turn the popular superstitions to their own purposes. Elves and nymphs were, in their creed, innumerable hosts of demons, against whom they had to contend. The martyrs of the primitive ages of the church had suffered for refusing to worship idols of wood and stone; the monkish saints advanced a step further, and embarked in a more substantial warfare with spiritual beings. These imaginary demons were naturally opposed to the intruders; and we find them seizing every opportunity of tormenting the missionaries and their converts. In the seventh century, St Sulpicius, while a mere child, went to pray by night at a ruined church near his father's house; two black demons, who haunted the ruin, would have scared him from his devotions, but he drove them away with the sign of the cross. With the same weapon his contemporary, St Frodobert, at that time also a boy, drove away a devil which used to stop him on his way to school. So late as the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Belgian St Juetta, when she went to her devotions at night, was persecuted by demons who appeared to her in every variety of form, ludicrous as well as fearful. We might fill a volume with such stories. The tricks which these demons played upon their spiritual adversaries are often of the most frivolous kind; precisely such as are laid to the charge of the playful elves of the popular mythology. When St Frodobert was at his nightly devotions in the church, a devil overthrew his candlestick and put out the light. A demon stole the bread of St Amatus, abbot of Remiremont. St Benedict, the father of monachism in the west, lived for some time at the summit of a rock, and his food was sent up by a rope to which a bell was attached; one day the Evil One threw a stone at the bell, and it was broken, whereby the saint could no longer make known his necessities. In a majority of cases, the demon exhibited much greater malignity; as in another adventure of St Amatus, when the fiend threw down the upper part of a lofty rock, that it might crush him in his cell; but the saint caused it miraculously to stop in the midst of its descent. Like the spiritual beings of the popular mythology, we often find the

demons in possession of ruined cities or fortresses; we have already had an example in which they haunted a ruined church; St Salaberga encountered a whole host in the ruins at Laon, who appeared in the shapes of fierce wild beasts. But, in the Teutonic mythology, the special haunts of spirits of almost every description were the wild morasses and the unfrequented woods. It was in such places that the mythic heroes of the pagan creed went to encounter them, or that the charmer consulted them; accordingly, when their imitators, the monks, had gained strength in the country, and were no more subject to the attacks of the demons at home, they began to act upon the offensive, and followed the enemy into his own dwelling-place. Under these feelings, St Guthlac took up his residence amid the marshes of Croyland, and St Cuthbert established himself in the island of Farne; where their legendary histories describe their long-continued struggle with their spiritual adversaries. People implicitly believed that such places could only be rendered habitable by the holiness of the saints. We sometimes find these saints contending with water-demons, the nickers of the ancient creed, the memory of whose transformation is still preserved in the popular term of 'Old Nick.' In a district in France, there was in the seventh century a certain whirlpool (*gurges*) in the river, which the pagans had 'consecrated to their demons,' and these demons dwelt in it, and, if any one entered the river in its vicinity, they dragged him to the bottom and he was drowned. The people of the neighbourhood prayed St Sulpicius to drive away these demons, which he did, but as it appears ineffectually; for a man falling in soon afterwards was strangled by the fiend, and brought out lifeless. The saint, to save his credit, restored the drowned man to life. The nymphs of the older mythology also acted their parts; according to the popular fables, they became frequently enamoured of men, and had intercourse with them, an intercourse which is the foundation of many romantic stories. The monks and hermits were no less frequently the objects of their amorous propensities, and had need of all their piety and miraculous powers to withstand their seductions. Water-nymphs appeared to St Gall (Act. Ss. Bened. sec. ii. p. 237); a nymph (or, according to the legend, a devil in woman's form) came by night to St John, abbot of Moultier, in the diocese of Langres, and tried her seductive arts upon him in vain; a similar attempt was made upon St Benedict, and it was repeated with a multitude of other saints.

Such, evidently, was the origin of a considerable portion of the multifarious demoniacal agency, which fills the mediæval saints' legends. The monks borrowed another class of miracles from the

observances of paganism, in their desire to vindicate to themselves powers, the same as those with which popular superstition had invested priests and sorcerers. The heathen priest, as well as his Christian rival, cured diseases: and that by charms, which were in many cases identical, if we except the mere insertion of Christian terms. For instance, the pagans applied to their priests and sorcerers for the detection of robbers, and for the recovery of goods lost or stolen; in due course this attribute was transferred to the monkish saints, whose legends are so full of instances of the miraculous detection of theft and robbery, that it is unnecessary to particularise them. We know what reverence our heathen ancestors paid to fountains—the favourite objects of their pilgrimages and religious ceremonies: These also enter extensively into the saints' legends; and were every where translated into objects of Christian worship under the Romanized Christianity of the middle ages. If we believe the legends, the saints made so many of the fountains now in existence, that the pagans can hardly have found a spring to worship at. The stories of fountains produced miraculously by the saints are repeated, by the compiler of our new *Lives of Saints*, without a smile,—on the contrary, he seeks to awe us into the impression, that it would be a 'special blasphemy' to disbelieve them. (See the *Life of St Augustine*, p. 87.) The monks even fell into the reverence with which the people cherished the barrows, or graves, of their ancestors, and they sometimes dug up their bones to make relics of them. Thus, while the unconverted Saxon revered the barrow, because he believed that it was from time to time revisited by the spirit of its tenant, the English monk, with a grosser superstition, worshipped the bones, the last mouldering witnesses of his mortality. On the site of the present town of Ludlow, in Shropshire, stood, in early times, a large barrow, probably Roman: It was an object of popular superstition, and in Christian times a church was built beside it. In 1199, as we learn from a document printed in Leland's *Collectanea*, (iii. 407,) it being found necessary to remove the mound, three sepulchral interments were discovered. The clergy of the adjoining church carefully gathered up the bones, and placed them in a coffer; telling people that they were the blessed relics of three saints of Irish extraction—St Fercher, St Corona, and another, whose name is preserved only imperfectly in the document!

One of the most common exploits of the heroes of the Teutonic mythology was the destruction of dragons, which were supposed to have the care of treasures concealed in old ruins and in the barrows of the dead. The monks would have their saints rival

these mythic heroes. When St Julian preached the gospel to the Franks, a dreadful dragon brooded in a ruined temple at 'Artinas,' which the saint immediately put to flight. Nearly at the same period, in another part of France, (*in deserto Thornodorensi*,) a dragon, the terror of the neighbourhood, dwelt in an ancient pit or well; it was killed by St John of Remiremont. When, in the sixth century, St Tozzo, St Magnus, and St Gall had wandered through France to the borders of Switzerland, they came to the Roman Campodunum, (Kampten,) which was then a deserted mass of ruins. A presbyter of the neighbourhood told the strangers that the people of the country sometimes visited the ruins by day; but that at night the access was dangerous on account of the fearful dragons and serpents which had their dens there, and which frequently slew such incautious hunters as might be led thither by their eagerness in the chase. In the midst of their conversation, 'a great serpent called a boa' (*egressus est foris de oppido vermis magnus qui dicitur boa*) suddenly issued from the ruined town and approached the saints; Tozzo and one of his companions sought refuge in a tree; but St Gall miraculously slew the assailant, and afterwards cleared the old town of its noxious occupants. In the sequel of their journey, the saints came to a narrow pass in the mountains of Switzerland, called Rosshaupten, which was strictly guarded by a ferocious dragon; they pitched their tent, and spent the night in prayers for the overthrow of the monster, and in the morning they found it stretched lifeless on the ground. St Maximin, abbot of Micy, in the diocese of Orleans, slew a dragon which vomited flames, and ravaged the country far and wide, sparing neither age nor sex. By his own desire, the saint was buried on the spot where he vanquished this dragon, and many miracles were afterwards performed at his grave. Towards the end of the seventh century, his bones were dug up and carried to the church of Micy, where they were preserved as relics endowed with miraculous powers. It is probable that these also were nothing more than bones found in an ancient barrow, the hero of which was believed to have slain a dragon. St Samson, bishop of Dol, slew several dragons in Brittany; St Gildas destroyed a dragon in Italy; and St Lifard killed another at Méhun, in the diocese of Orleans. M. Alfred Maury (in the work indicated at the head of the present article) enumerates nearly forty saints who slew dragons, chiefly in France. There is no room for mistaking the animals slain; they were the identical dragons of the Teutonic mythology—imaginary beings, in the existence of which we will, fearless of the consequence of our 'irreverence to the saints,' venture to disbelieve.

The outline or groundwork of the lives of many other of the saints is clearly taken from some of the stories of the earlier mythology of the people, or of the mediæval romances which sprung out of it. The saint is often a creature of the imagination; while sometimes the story is attached to a name which had been handed down almost without a history. Thus, from the early writers, we know little more of St Furseus, than that he was the hero of a vision of purgatory. But a monk, at a later period, has compiled a wild and extravagant life, in which we are told that his father had contracted a secret marriage with a king's daughter without the monarch's consent; and that, when the damsel was discovered to be with child, her father, in his wrath, ordered her to be burnt for her incontinence. As she was dragged to the place of execution, the child, which was Furseus, cried out from its mother's womb, and declared that it was unworthy of a king to condemn his daughter without a trial. The king treated the admonition with contempt, and the lady was thrown into the fire; but she shed so large a flood of tears that the flames were instantly extinguished. The king, finding that he could not burn his daughter, banished her from his kingdom; and she gave birth to Furseus in a foreign land. This is an incident which occurs, with some variations, and without the miracle, in several mediæval romances, from one of which it was doubtless taken. The mother of St Samson of Dol was barren, to the grief of her lord; they went to a wise man or priest, by whose blessing the lady's infirmity was removed; and his prophecy that she should soon give birth to a son was confirmed by the visit of an angel, to announce to the mother her pregnancy. A similar story is told of the birth of St Molagga, and it is repeated in the legends of other saints. A somewhat similar incident occurs also in some of the mediæval romances, such as that of Robert le Diable; but, in the *Saints' Lives*, it is probably imitated directly from the New Testament.

Invention, we are aware, is a rare talent. Nevertheless, we are surprised at finding how often the same incident is repeated in the lives of different saints. St Mochua was attended by a multitude of people in a wild district, where he had nothing to offer them for food. In this dilemma, the saint called to him stags from the forest, and, having killed them, they were soon eaten up; but he had given strict orders that the bones and skin should be carefully preserved and kept together: Next morning, after he had said a blessing or a charm over them, the stags were restored to life and vigour, and hurried off to their old haunts in the woods. St Euchadius was, on one occasion, obliged to kill a favourite cow to regale his guests; after the meal, he

placed the bones in the skin, and restored the animal to life. St Finnian performed the same exploit with a calf. These are all variations of one original story, and that story, singularly enough, is found in the ancient mythology of the North. We quote it from the readiest source at hand—Pigott's *Manual of Scandinavian Mythology*, p. 117. Thor, on one of his expeditions against the giants, went in his car, drawn by two he-goats, to seek a lodging in the hut of a peasant. 'The peasant's family 'consisted of himself and his old wife, and of a son and daughter, 'Tialf and Roska. The old woman lamented to Thor, that she 'had nothing to offer him for supper but some roots. Thor 'answered that he would provide food, and bade her prepare the 'table. He then took Miölner, his hammer, and slew his two 'he-goats; and having stripped them of their skins, put them 'into the boiler. The skins were spread out carefully before the 'hearth, and Thor desired the peasant to be sure to put all the 'bones into them. When the meat was cooked, they all sat 'down to supper . . . . . During the supper, however, Tialf, 'the boy, had contrived to get a thigh-bone of one of the goats, 'which he brake for the sake of the marrow. Thor staid over 'the night in the cottage. The next morning, before dawn, he 'rose, and taking Miölner in his hand, he swung it in the air 'over the goat-skins and bones. The goats immediately sprang 'up in life and spirits; but one of them was lame in the hind-'leg. Thor's anger on this was kindled. He said that the pea-'sant or his people must have been careless with the bones, 'seeing that a thigh-bone had been broken.' Mr Piggot observes in a note, that 'the heathen Fin-lapps still take care not 'to break the bones of the animals which they sacrifice, saying 'that the gods may put flesh and skin on them again.' It would not be easy to conceive a more convincing illustration of the source of the mediæval legends of saints.*

If more of the stories of the earlier mythology of the Teutonic race had been preserved, we should without doubt be enabled to identify in this manner many particulars in the outlines of the Saints' legends, of the origin of which we are now ignorant. With such a beginning, it was easy to fill the canvass; and we shall find that, in the composition of the life of a saint almost every class of materials was made to contribute. In

* Several of the saints, like St Colman, left the imprint of their feet or hands on rocks, which were afterwards worshipped. These marks had no doubt been objects of pagan reverence, as we still find them in the East.

illustration of this part of the subject, we would point out to particular attention the number of interesting facts collected together by M. Maury, in his *Essay on the Pious Legends of the Middle Ages*. He has divided the mediæval miracles into three classes—1. Miracles imitated from the Gospels, and from the Old Testament; 2. Legends formed by confounding the figurative meaning with the literal, in consequence of the tendency of uncultivated minds to refer every thing to material life; and, 3. Miracles or legends invented to explain figured symbols or emblematical images, the real meaning of which had been forgotten. Instances of the latter class meet us at almost every turn. We know that even in modern times people are frequently inventing fables to account for pictured representations which have been handed down from the past without any authentic explanation. The number of imitations—evident copies—of the Scriptural miracles, found in the legends of the saints, is perfectly extraordinary. M. Maury cites imitations of the Annunciation in the lives of fourteen different saints; twenty-nine imitations of the miraculous multiplication of food, and of the changing of water into wine; and so on with every miracle in the Old and New Testaments. Instances of the two other classes of miracles are equally numerous; even the Gospel parables, or Eastern apologues, are thus transformed. After this fashion, in the coarse comprehension of these monkish biographers, the odour of sanctity, or its reverse, become material scents; the bones of the saints, when dug up from the grave, smell like roses, while those of sinners and pagans stink insufferably. The new writer of *Saints' Lives* gravely informs us, that 'It is said of the holy Sturme, a 'disciple and companion of Winfrid, that in passing a horde of 'unconverted Germans, as they were bathing and gamboling in 'a stream, he was so overpowered by the intolerable stench [of sin] 'which arose from them, that he nearly fainted away.' Thus, also, the fervour of holiness becomes a material warmth. It is related in the life of St Fechin, how his piety was so fervent, that when he bathed himself in cold water, the water was rendered nearly boiling hot. A similar unspiritual conception led the monks of Mont St Michael to show amongst their relics the spear and shield with which St Michael was armed when he encountered the dragon of the Revelations; and we have read that some relic-monger of old, mistaking the symbolical representation of the Holy Spirit for a real pigeon, exhibited to the pious gaze of his hearers a feather of the Holy Ghost!

Then the immense profusion of miracles! This is a characteristic of the mediæval lives of saints, which immediately attracts the attention of the reader. In Scriptural history, the Creator inter-

rupts rarely the laws which he has given to Nature, and that only on occasions of extraordinary importance; On the other hand, the monkish saints seem to be so overburdened with the miraculous power, that they daily perform miracles, the only object of which appears to be the relieving themselves of the desire of exercising it. Their frequency must have changed altogether the aspect of society. Prisons are so often miraculously opened by their intervention, that the ordinary course of justice must have been constantly at fault: while between those whom they relieved from wounds and sickness, and the dead whom they recalled to life by dozens and scores, the land must have been peopled for successive generations with a population literally stolen from the grave. When the Franciscans compared the miracles of their founder with those of the Saviour, they boasted that, for Christ's single transformation, St Francis had exhibited twenty; that Jesus had changed water into wine but once, whereas St Francis had performed the same miracle thrice; and that in place of the small number of miraculous cures enumerated in the Gospel, St Francis and his disciples had restored more than a thousand blind to their sight, and more than a thousand lame to the use of their limbs, and had raised more than a thousand dead to life.

The writer of the *Lives of the English Saints* argues insidiously, that as the object of the miracles was *teaching*, we have no right to judge, by our present standard, of the homely and ridiculous character which they often possess. The criterion which he proposes is—were they fitted to the manners and comprehension of the age? In any thing but miracles, an argument like this might have its weight. But, instead of considering the false logic implied in it, let us show that it is founded on an untrue statement. A majority of the saints' miracles are performed for the most frivolous causes—often with selfish motives and for personal revenge, and very commonly in private. A few examples taken at random, will give the best idea of their usual character.

The object of many of these miracles was the mere personal convenience or advantage of the saint. When St Mochua wanted a fire in his cell, he called down a flame from heaven to light it. The candles of the saints were often lit in a similar manner. When St Senan found that he had only one small candle, and that no more were to be obtained, he caused it miraculously to burn during a whole week without consuming. When St Faro of 'Meldis,' in Burgundy, was at supper, his cup-bearer let fall the vessel from which he drank, and it was broken to pieces. The saint, by a miracle, made it whole, and continued his meal.

St Goar, of Treves, seeking a beam to hang up his cape, saw a sunbeam that came through the window, on which he suspended it, and it remained hanging there till he took it down. The biographer observes, that 'it is not to be wondered at if a ray of 'the sun assumed the hardness of wood in obedience to the holy 'man, since, to one who lives in devout intimacy with the 'Creator, the creature is also subjected by the Creator's will.' The same miracle was performed by (among others) St Aicadrus, abbot of Jumieges, who similarly hung up his gloves on a sunbeam. St Leufroi, when in summer the flies infested his cell, and settled on his food, drove them away by a miracle. By another miracle, St Columbanus kept the grubs from his cabbages, when other gardens were over-run by them. St Cuthbert, in a similar manner, kept the field he had sown with corn from the intrusion of birds. St Fechin, on his return from a distant excursion, finding that he had a long way to travel before he regained his monastic home, and perceiving the approach of night, caused the sun to stand still, in order that he might not be overtaken by darkness. Thus the miracle which God had once vouchsafed in the hour of battle for the salvation of his chosen people, was here repeated at the caprice of an individual to avoid a very slight inconvenience. The want of a meal was a sufficient cause for a miracle. When St Fintan expected company, having no flour to make bread, and there being no water to turn the mill, he ordered the mill to work of itself, and it obeyed. When St Cadoc was travelling in Cornwall, and overtaken by thirst in a district where there was no water, he struck his staff into the ground, and a beautiful stream at once administered to his wants. When St Mæl was in want of fishes, he caught them on dry ground; and when another Irishman, St Berach, wanted fruit, he caused the willows to bear apples. When St Aidan, bishop of Ferns, was hungry, he took a handful of leaves and turned them into bread; and when St Fechin wanted meat, he took acorns and turned them into pork. St Tillo on visiting his monks, finding they had no wine to give him, filled their barrel by a miracle. St Romaric also miraculously filled a vessel with wine, and another with ale. Turning water into wine was the most common of miracles.

In the course of their travels, the saints had still more frequent occasions for the exertion of their miraculous powers; which, to judge from the narratives of their biographers, must have rendered their labours extremely easy. In the first place, they were not liable to be wet. When St Albin, a French saint of the sixth century, (even in his youth,) went forth with his companions, he alone was untouched by the

heaviest rain. When St Roger, abbot of Elant, fell into a river, he was brought out perfectly dry. The saints, indeed, seem to have possessed the same power over the elements as the witches and sorcerers, from whom probably the idea was derived. St Columbanus forbade the rain to wet his corn in harvest time; and when the reapers of St Geneviève were occupied in the field, she ordered the rain away, that they might not be inconvenienced by it. When St Gildas and his companions resolved to take their lodging in an island that was inconveniently small, it miraculously expanded at their desire. When St Trivier, with two or three companions, was on his way to Italy, and they lost their way in the woods, at his prayer two wolves came forward to offer themselves as guides. It may be observed, too, that he must have been only a second-rate saint; for Bolland, who prints his life from a manuscript, acknowledges that he could not find his name in any of the calendars. When St Fechin was travelling, he came to where a large tree had fallen across his path; instead of taking the trouble to walk round or scramble over it, he merely ordered it to make way: and immediately it raised itself upright in its place. St Dominic, under similar circumstances, beheld a large beech-tree falling upon him; he stretched out his arms towards it, and it drew itself back and fell in the contrary direction. St Corbinian travelled on horseback from France to Bavaria; in his way through a forest, a savage bear rushed out, and killed and devoured his horse: another saint would have restored the horse to life, but a word from Corbinian rendered the bear as tame as a lamb; the saint saddled and bridled it, and so proceeded on his journey. On St Mochua getting tired of walking, he called to the nearest wood for a wild stag, which became as tame as St Corbinian's bear.

No amount of water was any obstacle to their progress. When St Mochua with his disciples came to a deep and rapid river, he threw his cloak on the water; and they all passed over upon it as in a boat. A lady saint, St Fanchea, passed over the sea on her cloak in a similar manner. In the popular mythology, we frequently meet with nymphs and witches passing the water on carpets, sieves, or other articles of magical power. Another lady, St Cannera the virgin, when she had to pass the sea, walked upon the water. This was a very common practice. One day as St Scothinus was walking in this manner across the Irish channel, he met St Barras the bishop passing him in a ship. The bishop appears to have been jealous, and asked him what he was walking upon; to which St Scothinus replied that it was a beautiful green meadow. When St Barras

denied this, he stooped down and gathered a handful of fresh flowers; St Barras, to refute him in his own way of arguing, also stooped down, and, dipping his hand in the water, drew it out full of fishes. This is duly set forth in the authentic life of the saint printed by Colgan. St Aidan, or Maedhog, bishop of Fern, at the beginning of the seventh century, was one day walking over the sea from Ireland to Wales; upon which, an angel came and checked him for his presumption in performing a miracle like this without God's permission. He returned, however, by the same road; and on his arrival in Ireland, finding that he had inadvertently left a bell behind him, he had only to wish for it, and the sea brought it over to the Irish shore. This saint subsequently made a practice of taking his horse exercise at sea. Either the same, or another saint with a similar name, drove a waggon and a team of horses over an Irish bog; and as often as he and his friends went out to sea on horseback, the water became hard under their horses' hoofs. The saints who rode thus were chiefly Irish; and every one acquainted with the fairy mythology of the sister island, will remember its stories of troops of horsemen riding over lakes and seas. Other saints advanced a step in the miraculous: St Patrick passed over the sea, and St Cuanna over a lake, mounted on a large flag-stone instead of a boat. When St Cadoc came with twenty-four of his disciples to a wide and rapid river, he struck it with his staff; the waters separated and left a dry path to the other side. In like manner, St Serenicus caused the waters of a river in the diocese of Sens, in France, to divide, that he might pass over dry. These, of course, are imitations of the passage of the Red Sea by the people of Israel.

There is another problem, which has attracted the attention of several ingenious persons—the possibility of being in two places at once. The saints long ago approached very near to its solution. The compiler of the original Life of St Cadoc, having confounded a British saint with an Italian, and finding that the same person was thus on the same day in Italy and in Britain, tells us that, as he was occupied about his affairs in the latter country, he was suddenly seized up in a cloud or whirlwind, and that in the winking of an eye (*quasi in palpebræ motu*) he was set down at Beneventum. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that this was precisely the method of travelling practised by the witches, fairies, and other beings of the popular creed. Several saints might be mentioned as repeating this experiment of passing to a distant place 'in the winking of an eye.' St Scothinus, already cited for his exploits on the sea, usually went to Rome in a day,

transacted his business there the same evening, and returned to Ireland the next morning.

We may trace this rage for miracles into every department of the monastic life. When St Fechin designed to build a magnificent church in a valley that was too narrow, he ordered one of the hills to move further off, and was obeyed. When St Laumer was building a monastery at the place called after him, Laumer-le-Moutier, a large oak stood in a position where it was difficult for the woodmen to cut it; he said a prayer, (a Pagan would have called it a charm,) and the oak at once moved to a more convenient place. St Maedhog was desirous of building, and had no architect; he took the hand of a rough, untaught labourer, named Gobban, and blessed it; and Gobban in an instant became a most skilful architect, and built for the saint a noble church.* One of the most common miracles connected with building, was that of lengthening a beam which the carpenter had made too short. This was performed by St Amatus and St Gall for their cells or oratories; and by St Pardulf, St Æmilian, and St Augustine of Canterbury, for their monasteries and churches. It was repeated by several English saints. The earlier monasteries were sometimes built in elevated positions: When the monks complained of the labour of fetching water from the plain, their founders, as in the cases of St Benedict and St Basoli, brought the fountains to the top of the hill. St Fechin built a mill on a hill-top; the carpenter employed upon it accidentally exclaimed, in the midst of his work, that he wished he might live till he saw there water to work it. The saint reproved him for his want of faith, and walked to a lake about a mile distant, into which he threw his stick; the stick followed him on his return, and the water after it: a plentiful stream soon set the mill to work.

It would be an endless task, and by no means an agreeable one, to mention all the different miracles said to have been performed, with no other object than to increase the comforts of the monks, individually or collectively, as soon as they were established in their monasteries. St Fechin's monastery had once the misfortune to have a monk so ugly that he was ashamed to show himself among his brethren; the saint spat on the ground, and anointed his ill-favoured features—they instantly underwent so

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* 'Quodam tempore cum B. Maedhog basilicam sibi ædificare voluisset, non potuit artificem tam invenire. Confidens in Deo, benedixit manus cujusdam ineruditi nomine Gobbani, et statim subtilissimus artifex est factus. Postea in summâ arte illam basilicam ædificavit.'—*Acta Sanctorum Bolland., Mens. Jan.*, vol. ii. p. 1118.

great a change, that he was ever afterwards remarkable for his beauty. St Berach also made an ugly man handsome, and a short man long. St Gerald and St Abban, both Irish saints, changed girls into boys. All these are incidents of the old fairy legends. The same may be said of another marvel; that of purses or vessels endowed with the quality of furnishing a constant supply of money or liquor. The stories figure among the myths of the Scandinavians and Germans. St Odilo of Cluny, visiting a dependent cell, found that there was only a small vessel full of wine to serve a large number of monks; nothing daunted, he ordered them to pass it round, and, after every one had drunk his fill, the vessel was found to be just as full as when they began. A similar miracle was ascribed to St Patrick. There can be but little doubt, but that the principal precedent upon which the worthy man proceeded in this instance, would be that of Elijah and the widow's cruise.

As we have already intimated, many of these miracles were performed with no other apparent object than the gratification of a very petty feeling of revenge. St Roger, abbot of Elant, was treated with disrespect at a priory he visited; he went away praying fervently that the uncourteous monks might be punished. The priory immediately took fire and was burnt to the ground. A man who refused to carry St Fechin in his boat, was drowned. St Cadoc made some trifling demand of a peasant, which the latter refused jeeringly; the saint turned up his eyes to heaven—and at his prayer fire came down and destroyed the clown who had thus offended him. Men who laughed at St Præjectus of Clairmont, were struck dead. A monk, who had offended St Molagga, died immediately. This revengeful feeling of the saints was cherished even towards animals. In the Life of St Bertulf, we are told that a monk named Leopardus had the care of his vineyard, where, one day, he found a fox devouring a bunch of grapes. Leopardus rebuked the fox, and forbade its touching the grapes in future. But the fox, unable to resist the temptation, returned to the vineyard, seized a bunch of grapes in its mouth, and instantly dropped down dead. St Attracta changed dogs, which disobeyed her, into stones. The same fate was experienced by two wolves, which attacked the sheep of St Cadoc. As St Marius, abbot of Revons in France, in the sixth century, was proceeding to visit his dependent cells, a dog ran after him and tore his robe. A simple ejaculation from the saint was sufficient to call two wolves from a neighbouring wood: and they immediately devoured the offending animal. St Ebrulf had a monastery in the wilderness of Ouche; a raven built its nest near him, and frequently stole the provisions of the monks; on

which one of them, who wished to try his hand at a miracle in imitation of his master, prayed that it might be punished, and it was immediately afterwards found dead. A raven flew away with one of the gloves belonging to Columbanus; but it came back and restored it at the call of the saint. In the same manner a fox, which had stolen a cock belonging to St Condedus the hermit, was made to bring back its prey with the greatest contrition. Some crows carried away part of the thatch of St Cuthbert's hut to build their nests; at his rebuke, they not only made an apology, but they brought him a piece of hog's lard (which they must have stolen from somebody) to make him amends for the injury he had sustained. This miracle is told by Bede, whose authority our modern miracle-mongers look upon it as little less than blasphemy to doubt.

The class of miracles which our new writers of saints' lives are willing to consider as coming under the title of 'grotesque,' but which they think there is nevertheless 'no ground for rejecting,' is also extremely numerous. We confess that we do not always very easily perceive their object or utility, even for 'teaching.' For instance, St James of Tarentaise, a disciple of St Honoratus, hoping to conciliate the favour of the Burgundian prince, Gundicarius, by a present of ice in the summer, carried it on the back of an ass: by miraculous interference, the sun, though intensely hot, had no effect upon it. But the saint and his attendants, having forgotten to put themselves under protection of the miracle, were soon overcome by the heat, and they retired to a shady spot to seek repose. Here a raven suddenly pounced upon the head of the ass, tore out one of its eyes, and flew away. The saint, on learning what had happened, made a hasty invocation: Upon this, the raven instantly returned croaking forth its penitence, and carrying the eye in its beak. The eye was replaced in its socket, and, wonderful to relate! the sight of the ass was so perfectly restored, that the animal arose more vigorous then ever, and continued its journey. The Irish St Ita, finding a man with his head cut off, restored it to his shoulders, and sent him about his business. St Cronan caused a wild beast, which had killed and eaten a man, to reject the meal from its stomach, and he then brought back the man to life. St Maclou found a boy weeping for the death of one of his swine; he stretched out his hand, and it immediately rose up alive. St Melorus having lost his hand, caused another to be made of silver, which became fixed to his arm and as pliable as a hand of flesh and muscles. St Benedict employed a man to clear the thorns and brushwood from the side of a lake, and lent him an axe for the purpose. While he was actively employed in his

work, the head of the axe flew from the handle into the lake. St Benedict, informed of this accident, took the handle, blessed it, and cast it into the lake; it sank, and then returned to the surface of the water, with the head firmly attached to it. St Leufroi performed the same miracle in a river. Both, of course, copies of the miracle of the prophet Elisha, in the Old Testament.

Such, it appears, is the trash in which 'devout minds' are required to believe; and for the sake of believing which, we are called upon to relinquish our right of investigating and judging. We have taken our examples very indiscriminately, from less than a tithe of the materials of this description which have been committed to print, and among which may be found many more absurd miracles than any here alluded to. Several, indeed, of the very worst class are retailed with becoming gravity in the *Lives of the English Saints*, which are lying before us. What, for instance, shall we think of the following? We are told of St Augustine's missionary wanderings, that 'there is no record, or even tradition, 'of his reception in the north of England having been otherwise 'than favourable, and even hearty. Very different from this are 'the accounts of his travels in Dorsetshire. While there, we 'hear of his having come to one village where he was received 'with every species of insult. The wretched people, not content 'with heaping abusive words upon the holy visitors, assailed them 'with missiles, in which work, the place being probably a seaport, 'the sellers of fish are related to have been peculiarly active. 'Hands, too, were laid upon the archbishop and his company. 'Finding all efforts useless, the godly band shook off the dust 'from their feet and withdrew. The inhabitants are said to have 'suffered the penalty of their impieties even to distant genera-'tions. All the children born from that time bore and trans-'mitted the traces of their parents' sin in the shape of a loathsome 'deformity.'—(*Life of St Augustine*, p. 327.) The insult put upon the saints was that of attaching the tails of fish behind their robes. To explain the nature of the deformity, it will be enough to state that, according to the narrator of this miracle, the inhabitants of the village in question were ever afterwards born with tails! It was probably in reference to this judgment, pronounced on some of their countrymen by their great apostle, that the English crusaders who accompanied Richard I. are reported to have been mocked with the title of *caudati*, or the people having tails.

Vast as was the number of miracles said to have been performed by the saints while alive, they bear no comparison with those performed in after ages by their bones. This is one of

the many startling problems, which are to be found among Pascal's 'Thoughts.' 'The lives of saints,' says their modern biographer, in 'many cases do not end with their deaths; their 'influence over the visible church is often more signally exerted 'through their relics than it was in their sojourn upon earth. 'Somewhat of that power which they now have in their glori-'fied state is permitted to be transfused into their mortal re-'mains, and through them to act upon the church. Many 'of the saints have lived and died almost in obscurity, whose 'relics have worked wonders for centuries; God, who saw them 'in secret while on earth, thus manifesting them openly after 'He has taken them from us.' In fact, some of the saints, who lived not in obscurity, but of whose lives we have more authentic memorials than of the others, worked no miracles until ages after their death; and when their marvellous qualities had become a matter of pecuniary importance.

It takes but a step to pass from the age of saints to that of relics. The worship of relics, and a faith in the miracles performed by them, are surely a degrading superstition under any system. In all ages, and under all creeds, a reverence for the memory of the individual has often been transmitted to his mortal remains, and to the spot in which they are deposited. It is the same universal sentiment, which makes us desire to fix some lasting memorial over the graves of departed friends; and in credulous ages, it easily degenerated into a belief that the relics of the dead possessed something more of the living individual than their mere physical structure might indicate. Under this impression, the bones of the saints (the most durable parts of their frames) were looked upon as representing the saints upon earth, and purified from fleshly taints. From this supposition it was an easy step to believe that they possessed the power of working miracles—greater than they have worked while in the flesh. For it seems to have been the vulgar notion, that the miracle was not so much done by God at the saint's intercession, as by some mysterious influence with which the latter was endowed. The bodies of individuals whose sanctity was thus acknowledged became the objects of pilgrimage, and were believed to perform miraculous cures on those who solicited their aid. As few would seek a benefit of this kind without making some offering in return, (this offering being not unfrequently the measure of the efficiency of the relics,) they soon became a source of great riches to the church or monastery which possessed them. When this was once discovered, the relics themselves increased rapidly in number; until there was scarcely a parish church but, if it could not boast of a whole saint, could at

least show a fragment of one. This gave rise to an extensive and disgraceful system of jugglery and deception, which was carried to the most extraordinary lengths. It was only necessary to open some long-forgotten grave, or to meet by accident with a heap of unknown bones; a monk of the house was brought forward to declare that he had received a divine intimation, either in a vision or in a dream, that they were the remains of a saint; the bones were carried with great ceremony into the church; and, if such a saint had never been heard of before, the fertile brains of the same or of some other monk, soon produced a life filled with marvellous details. Such, in all probability, was the origin of three-fourths of the saints in the calendar. Whence the materials were chiefly derived, has been already shown. We have seen, in at least one instance, bones taken out of a Pagan barrow and turned to this purpose. The period during which the greatest number of relics were thus miraculously discovered, was that of the rebuilding of monasteries which followed the devastating invasions of the Danes and Normans.

It was a very suspicious circumstance attendant on these relics, that in general they gave no miraculous evidence of their existence, except while they were in the hands of those who were making a profit of them. St Marcellus, the pope, was buried in the monastery of Hautmont, in the diocese of Cambrai. It had been almost destroyed by the Huns, and lay ruined and neglected till the eleventh century. At that period, Abbot Ursio ruled over it; and it was reduced to such extreme poverty that, tormented by enemies, and perhaps by creditors, the abbot searched every part of the house in the hope of discovering some lost object of value which might be turned into money. Abbot Ursio and his monks found, accordingly, in a lumber-room, a coffer of silver; but they were totally ignorant of its contents, and are said to have felt some unaccountable hesitation in opening it. After consulting together, they laid their doubts before the Bishop of Cambrai, and, by his advice, proceeded to examine it with becoming reverence. When they opened it, a sweet odour issued from the interior, where they found a parcel of bones, which a document—placed there, it was said, in the time of Dagobert—stated to be the relics of St Marcellus. There was now nothing but rejoicing among the poverty-stricken monks. A new and elegant shrine was constructed; the bones, which had been so long dormant, began to work miracles anew; and a crowd of devout worshippers soon relieved the monastery from its pecuniary difficulties. The tomb of St Frodobert had in like manner been forgotten, and the church in which he lay had long been a ruin. As long as they had been unknown, his

bones had worked no miracles; but some pious and rich individual took it into his head to rebuild the church in a stately manner. Upon this, the saint gave information of his resting-place; and, as soon as due honours and *offerings* were paid to his tomb, he vouchsafed to perform an endless list of miraculous cures.

We are the more surprised at the caprice with which the relics sometimes kept themselves long hidden, when we compare this with the jealousy with which, at other times, they punished the slightest disrespect or neglect. When enemies ravaged the territory of Arbonne, a soldier who attempted to open the coffin of St Gall was seized with madness. A man who struck the tomb of St Erminold irreverently, fell down dead. A hundred similar instances might be quoted. This jealousy was cherished even against those who robbed the shrine of its dues. A good dame of Ratisbon, unable by the severity of her disease to go herself, sent another woman, who dwelt with her in the same house, to offer for her a piece of money and light candles at the tomb of St Erminold. She came with a crowd of devotees, and offered her money and lighted her candles; but, incited by covetousness, in the confusion created by the crowd of offerings, she drew back the money with her hand. She was putting it in her purse, when her fingers became suddenly stiff and contracted, and adhered so firmly to the coin, that she was compelled in her agony to confess her crime. On receiving absolution, her hand was restored to its natural condition. Considering the innumerable miracles of this kind which are related in the Romish legends, it seems remarkable that, when the Reformers (who certainly provoked such manifestations as much as any Pagan invaders) drew forth these time-worn relics at a later period, and scattered them to the winds, no miracle was ever wrought for their protection. The age of saints' relics, as well as that of saints' miracles, was then past; and a second time—

> 'Peor and Baalim
> Forsook their temples dim.'

In older times, if we believe their story, this jealous spirit of self-defence was often found necessary to guard against pious, as well as impious, depredators. For the possession of relics was sometimes the cause of dire war, even between the inmates of different religious establishments. When St Fanchea died in Ireland, the inhabitants of two petty kingdoms assembled in separate parties to fight for her body, almost as soon as the breath had left it. Instead of loathing the quarrelsome spirit

which had brought them together, the saint declared by a miracle to which party she wished to belong. The body of St Furieus, in like manner, was nearly the subject of a battle.

Sometimes, when a larger or more influential party were in want of the relics of a saint of celebrity, they looked round for a weaker who possessed them, and plotted a pious theft. If they succeeded, it was a miracle by which the saint showed his preference for the new place of abode; if they failed, the miracle was in favour of the old possessors. The bones of St Neot were preserved at the church in which he had been buried, St Neot's in Cornwall, until the year 974. A powerful Saxon earl at that time founded a priory at Eynesbury, now St Neot's in Huntingdonshire, and wanted a patron saint. He obtained for his praiseworthy attempt the sanction of three powerful individuals, Brithnod of Ely, Athelwold bishop of Winchester, and King Edgar. The official guardian of the shrine in Cornwall was corrupted: he secretly fled with the treasure entrusted to his care, reached Huntingdonshire in safety, and was received into the earl's house, as the monastic buildings were not yet completed. The people of the Cornish St Neot's, when they discovered the theft, armed themselves hastily, and pursued the fugitive to Eynesbury, where they besieged the house, and demanded their relics. But the king sent an armed force to drive the Cornishmen out of the village, with orders to put them to the sword without mercy, in case of resistance. It was proclaimed that the saint, having been disgusted with the sins of the Cornishmen, had miraculously made known his wish to seek a new and more splendid shrine in the county of Huntingdon.

In the tenth century, the relics of St Bertulf were deposited at Boulogne. They were one night stolen in order to be carried over to England to King Athelstan: But the robber had proceeded no further than the Flemish port of Audinghem, when he was overtaken by the clergy of Boulogne, and obliged to surrender his prey. A miracle had withheld him from passing the sea. In the latter part of the eleventh century, the clergy of Laon made an attempt to steal the body of St Theodoric (or Thierri,) abbot of Rheims, which had been laid in a richly ornamented coffin by Abbot Raimbald. There was at this time a dispute between the clergy of Laon and the abbot of Rheims. The relics of St Theodoric were carried to Laon to decide the cause, and were honourably received in the church. As appears to have been the custom in such cases, the guards of the sacred deposit were chosen from the clergy of Laon, and not from those of Rheims. This circumstance furnished the looked-for opportunity for the theft. In the dead of the night, when the treacherous keepers were intention-

ally off their guard, two persons entered the church, silently lifted the cover of the shrine, and put in their hands. To their astonishment they found the coffer empty. Supposing that they had been anticipated, they left the church as noiselessly as they came: and the clergy of Rheims carried home their relics in safety. The thieves, however, subsequently made a full confession: And it was placed among one of the most remarkable miracles of the saint, how his relics had become invisible and intangible, when an attempt was made to steal them. This system of relic-stealing had become so common, that in some houses extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent it. We are told that it was an ordinance strictly enforced in the church of St Cadoc at Beneventum, that no native of the British Isles should be allowed to pass the threshold, in consequence of an old prophecy that a monk of Lancarvan would one day steal and carry away St Cadoc's relics. Other arts than that of robbery were employed at times to gain possession of relics. St Romanus, the abbot, was buried at Fontrouge, near Auxerre. It appears that the clergy of this place did not make the most of his relics, and, under pretence that the saint was dissatisfied with so obscure a resting-place, they were removed to a church in Auxerre. There they soon became famous for miraculous cures, and the bishop, not without much trouble, effected their translation to his cathedral. But even here they were not allowed to rest quietly; for, at a subsequent period, the Archbishop of Sens employed similar intrigues to obtain them for the metropolitan church.

It was not only found necessary to guard against these attempts to steal the bodies of the saints: there were many depredators on a smaller scale, who attempted to gain possession of a bone or a fragment. In such cases the bones, when taken away, either lost their power of working miracles, or they became hurtful, and even fatal, in the hands of their new possessors. The bodies of St Deicolus and St Columbanus were deposited in shrines in the church of Lure. The Countess Hildegardis was anxious to carry some portion of the relics with her into Alsace: she went to the church, and tried in vain to lift the cover of the coffin of St Deicolus. As she persisted in her attempt, a sudden earthquake, accompanied with thick darkness, shook the monastery from its foundation, and struck the inmates with terror. The Countess now desisted; and, turning to the shrine of St Columbanus, opened it with comparative ease, and abstracted a tooth. From this moment, until the time she returned, and publicly restored the tooth, we are told that the Countess was never free from excruciating toothache! When the relics of St Genevieve

were carried about in fear of the Norman invaders, an abbot, Herebert, more pious than wise, (*zelum quidem pietatis habens, sed non secundum scientiam,*) stole one of the teeth; but he was punished with a succession of fearful dreams and visions, until he restored it. Something of a similar kind happened to the relics of the Belgian hermit, St Gerlac. A stranger came from a distance to offer at his shrine, and under pretence of devoutly kissing his head, drew out a tooth unperceived, and went his way, exulting in the possession of so holy a relic. His joy, however, was not of long duration; for, within a year, he brought back the relic in penitent humility, and showed the guardians of the shrine that, in the interim, he had himself lost every tooth in his head.

When, however, the clergy *sold* their relics, which they often did by bit and bit, their virtues remained unimpaired; and this became, in course of time, a very lucrative source of revenue. Long before the Reformation, the bones (or pretended bones) of the principal saints of the Romish ritual had been scattered over every part of Europe; and, by some mysterious power of development or multiplication, there were often found as many heads, arms, hands, &c., of the same saint, as, put together, would have made a dozen individuals.

Such is, in brief, the history of saints' lives and saints' miracles. It must be confessed not a very flattering one for human reason; although an instructive one for those who would study the errors of the past in the light of a warning for the future. The Reformers were not far from the truth when they charged with idolatry the church of the middle ages; that church which, after it had once lost its original purity, seems to have gone on adopting some of the most exceptionable characteristics of almost every pagan creed with which it came in contact. At first, probably, these corruptions were taken up unwittingly: And various allusions in old canons and homilies would seem to show, that there were at all times enlightened members of the Roman communion, who set their faces against them. There are instances of fathers of the mediæval church lifting up their voices against these pretended miracles, as mere instruments of worldly vanity. Few, indeed, of the wiser Catholics, even of the middle ages, who must have known well the secrets of their order, can have ever looked upon them as any thing better than as parts of the painful chapter of serviceable frauds.

If any thing on such a subject ought to astonish us, the *revival* of these legends in our own age and country is surely an astonishing phænomenon. But it it useless to talk of reason and of evidence to enthusiasts, young or old, who have made up their minds to believe, without evidence and against reason. We will

end with a modern story, which our readers may apply. Every body has read of the miraculous cures performed, not long ago, by Prince Hohenlohe. In 1821, the magistrates of Bamberg forbade him to exercise his miraculous powers without first acquainting the police, nor unless in the presence of a commission deputed by the authorities, nor unless one or more physicians were in attendance. The Prince appealed to the Pope. The Pope ordered him to conform to the restrictions. The miracles have not been heard of since.

——'Ghosts prudently withdraw at peep of day.'

ART. III.—1. *A Brief Sketch of the Life of the late Miss Sarah Martin of Great Yarmouth: with Extracts from the Parliamentary Reports on Prisons; and her own Prison Journals.* 8vo. Yarmouth: 1844.

2. *Selections from the Poetical Remains of the late Miss Sarah Martin of Great Yarmouth.* 8vo. Yarmouth: 1845.

THE town of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, which has been for many ages a place of considerable commercial importance, was originally a mere fishing-station. The men of the Cinque Ports, who were in early times the principal fishermen of the kingdom, used to assemble on that coast during the herring-season; and a sand-bank, situate at the mouth of an arm of the sea, which then flowed far into Norfolk, was their usual landing-place. There, upon the deanes, or *dunes*, by the sea-shore, they spread their nets to the sun, repaired their boats, and cured or otherwise disposed of their catch of fish. The recession of the sea, the convenience of the situation, and the periodical visits of a concourse of busy men, led to the permanent occupation of this bleak and barren spot. The rearing of a few huts for the residence of such handicraftsmen as could assist the fishermen in the repair of their barks and nets, and of such dealers as could supply their accustomed wants, was the first advance towards a settlement. The next was the erection of a little chapel upon a green, bent-covered hill in the sand, which was indiscreetly dedicated to the patron of black monks, Saint Benedict. Hence arose discord and confusion. The men of the Cinque Ports had probably begun to doubt the efficacy of the winds which they bought before they started upon their voyages; and, in lieu of the

ancient application to the wise woman, now took with them a chaplain, some true clerk of St Nicholas, the seaman's universal patron. The fisher-priest soon quarrelled with the clerk of St Benedict upon the subject of oblations; and, as must have seemed likely from their respective habits of life, the worshipper of St Nicholas 'removed, expelled, and evil-intreated,'* his adversary. He probably even pulled down the little opposition chapel to the ground; for antiquarian diligence has never been able to discover the slightest trace of it. But the triumph of this vigorous stroke of conservative policy was short-lived. Some few years afterwards, a bishop of Thetford, the same who removed that see to Norwich, happened to be the king's chancellor, and a church-builder. He heard the Norfolk priest's cause in his equitable tribunal, and, with an appearance of kindness, as well as impartiality, settled the dispute, by himself erecting, not far from the mouth of the river Yare, a church so large, that *both* priests might officiate in it at separate altars! and, by way of compensation to the prescriptive rights of the men of the Cinque Ports, he dedicated the whole building to the true saint of the sea-shore, St Nicholas. The church thus erected was rendered by subsequent additions one of the largest parish churches in England, and remained, until a comparatively recent period, the only church in Yarmouth.

Within the next hundred years after the settlement of this church question, the importance of Yarmouth increased rapidly, and, at the end of that time, the town was raised into the first rank of English municipalities by a royal charter, which conferred upon the burgesses a great variety of privileges, and, amongst them, that of trying pleas of the crown, or criminal causes, 'according to the law and custom of Oxford.' Hence arose the necessity for a prison; and a building was erected for that use on the site of the present strange, grotesque, and in part ancient jail, whose ugliness seems intended to aid the law in exciting feelings of terror and aversion in the minds of evil-doers.

According to the theory of our ancestors, the people of Yarmouth had now advanced to the point of completeness as a borough. Law and gospel had each its representative amongst them. Their sanctions and their penalties were brought home to every man's own door. When men sinned, the church assessed a compensation to Heaven, in the shape of penances, and insisted upon external marks of contrition before the offender was permitted to resume his standing in the visible congregation of

* Swinden's History of Yarmouth, p. 9.

the faithful. When men committed crimes, the law mulcted them in pecuniary fines, or deprived them of their liberty, sequestered them from kirk and market, but, instead of aiming at reformation, or even at penitence, sought only punishment; secluded them in loathsome places of confinement; subjected them to the tyranny of ignorant, and often brutal keepers, who were responsible only for their safe custody; and herded them all together, whatever their ages, stations, or offences, without occupation, without instruction, and sometimes even unfed and unclad, save by the poor proceeds of a begging-box, the rattling of which invoked the charity of passers-by. Strange as this now seems, it continued for centuries. The church was the first to awake. She discovered that her outward penances were unavailing towards the rectification of the heart, and following out that principle, effected all the changes of the ecclesiastical Reformation. There, for a time, the course of social improvement seemed stayed. The law, in spite of this glimmer of right reason in its sister institution, still held its ancient way. Jails were thought to be places by means of which men were to be intimidated from crime; but it was not seen, or the fact was disregarded, that *such* jails were mere academies of crime, and that, through their instrumentality, the law itself was the principal teacher of the science of law-breaking.

Yarmouth was one of the last places in the kingdom to become convinced of this fact. The town, however, increased in size and importance. A spacious quay afforded accommodation for the numerous fleet which carried the produce of Yarmouth fisheries, and the manufactures of Norwich, to the remotest quarters of the globe; noble mansions testified to the wealth of Yarmouth merchants; while no less than four hundred narrow lanes, locally termed *rows*, by which the principal streets are intersected at right angles, demonstrated the existence of a dense population. The whole place looked prosperous, cheerful, busy; and gay visitors flitted about, in search of health or pleasure, upon that very beach on which the men of the Cinque Ports had spread their nets. Still there stood that jail, with its long succession of corrupt and ever-corrupting inmates. Infinite changes and improvements had taken place around it, but within, the system of mismanagement remained almost untouched. Generation after generation passed along that narrow street, and looked with the outward eye upon that hideous abode of misery and built; but their feelings were so thoroughly engrossed by their own affairs, their merchandise or their farm, their pleasures or their griefs, that they remained mentally unconscious of the guilt which the continued existence of such a building and such

a system was entailing upon society at large. And this continued down to the year 1819, and even much later. There was no schoolmaster, no chaplain, no attempt at occupation or reformation. 'The doors were simply locked upon the prisoners . . . 'their time was given to gaming, swearing, playing, fighting, 'and bad language; and their visitors were admitted from with-'out with little restriction.'* There was no divine worship in the jail on Sundays, nor any respect paid to that holy day.† There were 'underground cells,' (these continued even down to 1836,) 'quite dark, and deficient in proper ventilation. The prisoners describe their heat in summer as almost suffocating, but they prefer them for their warmth in winter; their situation is such as to defy inspection, and they are altogether unfit for the confinement of any human being.'‡ The whole place was filthy, confined, unhealthy; and its occupants were 'infested with ver-'min and skin disease.'‖ Such a state of things could not continue for ever. It is the great comfort and consolation of all persons who seek after social reformation, that the abuses of society have within them a principle of decay, under the influence of which no power can long uphold them against the peaceable assaults of advancing civilisation. Human impatience has often caused premature reformation, after many a hard struggle, to stop short of the point which might have been attained with ease, if the over-hasty hand could have been stayed, until the arrival of that 'fulness of time' which the laws under which all human things exist are surely bringing about. At Yarmouth, that fulness of time was allowed to travel onwards at its slowest pace; but arrive it did at last, and then these iniquities fell before the touch of apparently the weakest instrument that could have been raised up to wield a lance against them.

In August 1819, a woman was committed to the jail for a most unnatural crime. She was a mother who had 'forgotten her 'sucking child.' She had not 'had compassion upon the son 'of her womb,' but had cruelly beaten and ill-used it. The consideration of her offence was calculated to produce a great effect upon a female mind; and there was one person in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth who was most deeply moved by it. She was a poor dressmaker; a little woman of gentle, quiet manners, possessing no beauty of person, nor, as it seemed, any peculiar endowment of mind. She was then just eight-and-twenty years

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* Life of S. Martin, p. 27. † *Ibid*, p. 12.
‡ Report of Inspector of Prisons, Northern District, 1836, p. 67.
‖ Life of S. Martin, p. 27.

of age, and had, for thirteen years past, earned her livelihood by going out to the houses of various families in the town as a day-labourer in her business of dressmaking. Her residence was at Caister, a village three miles from Yarmouth, where she lived with an aged grandmother, and whence she walked to Yarmouth and back again in the prosecution of her daily toil. This poor girl had long mourned over the condition of the inmates of the jail. Even as long back as in 1810, 'whilst frequently passing the jail,' she says, 'I felt a strong desire to obtain 'admission to the prisoners to read the scriptures to them; for I 'thought much of their condition, and of their sin before God: 'how they were shut out from society, whose rights they had 'violated, and how destitute they were of the scriptural instruc-'tion which alone could meet their unhappy circumstances.'—(*Life*, p. 11.) The case of the unnatural mother stimulated her to make the attempt, but 'I did not,' she says, 'make known 'my purpose of seeking admission to the jail until the object 'was attained, even to my beloved grandmother; so sensitive 'was my fear lest any obstacle should thereby arise in my way, 'and the project seem a visionary one. God led me, and I 'consulted none but Him.'—(*Ibid.* p. 12.) She ascertained the culprit's name, and went to the jail. She passed into the dark porch which overhung the entrance, fit emblem of the state of things within; and no doubt with bounding heart, and in a timid modest form of application, uttered with that clear and gentle voice, the sweet tones of which are yet well remembered, solicited permission to see the cruel parent. There was some difficulty—there is always 'a lion in the way' of doing good—and she was not at first permitted to enter. To a wavering mind, such a check would have appeared of evil omen; but Sarah Martin was too well assured of her own purposes and powers to hesitate. Upon a second application she was admitted.

There has been published an interesting account of Mrs Fry's first entry into the female ward of Newgate. Locked up with viragos, amongst whom the turnkeys had warned her that her purse, her watch, and even her life, would be in danger, 'she 'addressed them with dignity, power, and gentleness,' and soon awed them into compliance with a code of regulations which there was a committee of ladies ready to aid her in carrying into execution. All this was very admirable, and, in its results, has been most beneficial. But Mrs Fry was a woman of education, and had something of the dignified bearing of a person accustomed to move in the higher walks of life; she was also a practised speaker in the meetings of the religious community of

which she was a member, and was supported by influential and well-tutored assistants. Sarah Martin's position was the reverse of this in every respect. 'My father,' she says, 'was a village 'tradesman. I was born in June 1791; an only child, deprived 'of my parents at an early age, and brought up under the care 'of a widowed grandmother,' a poor woman of the name of Bonnett, and by trade a glover, at Caister. Sarah Martin's education was merely such as could be obtained at a village school; all her real information was acquired by self-tuition in after-life. At fourteen she passed a year in learning the business by which she was to earn her bread, and, after that time, being a superior workwoman, was constantly employed. She had no other preparation for becoming a jail-visitor than could be acquired from teaching a class in a Sunday-school, or from occasionally reading the Scriptures in the sick-ward in the workhouse. Without in any degree undervaluing, but, on the contrary, highly applauding the labours of Mrs Fry, we think there was something far more simple, and far more nearly heroical, in the conduct of her humbler sister. Of Mrs Fry's adventitious advantages Sarah Martin had none; but she had drunk deep into the spirit of that book, 'which ever tells,' she says, 'of mercy,' and in the strength of that spirit she proceeded, without confidant or companion, to convey comfort to those wretched outcasts.

The manner of her reception in the jail is told by herself with admirable simplicity. The unnatural mother stood before her. She 'was surprised at the sight of a stranger.' 'When I 'told her,' says Sarah Martin, 'the motive of my visit, her 'guilt, her need of God's mercy, &c., she burst into tears, and 'thanked me!' Those tears and thanks shaped the whole course of Sarah Martin's subsequent life. If she had been rudely repelled, even her fortitude might have given way. But the messenger of mercy is ever welcome to those who feel their guilt, and the more guilty the more welcome, if the glad tidings be but kindly proclaimed. 'I read to her,' she adds, 'the 'twenty-third chapter of St Luke;'—the story of the malefactor, who, although suffering justly by man's judgment, found mercy from the Saviour.

Her reception at once proved the necessity for such a missionary, and her own personal fitness for the task; and her visit was repeated again and again, during such short intervals of leisure as she could spare from her daily labours. At first she contented herself with merely reading to the prisoners; but familiarity with their wants and with her own powers soon enlarged the sphere of her tuition, and she began to instruct them

in reading and writing. This extension of her labour interfered with her ordinary occupations. It became necessary to sacrifice a portion of her time, and consequently of her means, to these new duties. She did not hesitate. 'I thought it right,' she says, 'to give up a day in a week from dressmaking, . . . 'to serve the prisoners. This regularly given, with many an 'additional one, was not felt as a pecuniary loss, but was ever 'followed with abundant satisfaction, for the blessing of God 'was upon me.'

Her next object was to secure the observance of Sunday, and, after long urging and recommendation, she prevailed upon the prisoners 'to form a Sunday service, by one reading to the 'rest; . . . but aware,' she continues, 'of the instability 'of a practice in itself good, without any corresponding principle 'of preservation, and thinking that my presence might exert a 'beneficial tendency, I joined their Sunday morning worship as 'a regular hearer.'

After three years' perseverance in this 'happy and quiet 'course,' she made her next advance, which was to introduce employment, first for the women prisoners, and afterwards for the men. In 1823, 'one gentleman,' she says, 'presented me 'with ten shillings, and another, in the same week, with a 'pound, for prison charity. It then occurred to me that it 'would be well to expend it in material for baby clothes; and 'having borrowed patterns, cut out the articles, fixed prices of 'payment for making them, and ascertained the cost of a set, 'that they might be disposed of at a certain price, the plan was 'carried into effect. The prisoners also made shirts, coats, &c. '. . . By means of this plan, many young women who were 'not able to sew, learned this art, and, in satisfactory instances, 'had a little money to take at the end of the term of imprisonment. . . . The fund of L.1, 10s. for this purpose, as a 'foundation and perpetual stock, (for whilst desiring its preservation, I did not require its increase,) soon rose to seven 'guineas, and since its establishment, above L.408 worth of 'various articles have been sold for charity.'

The men were thus employed:—

'They made straw hats, and, at a later period, bone spoons 'and seals; others made men's and boys' caps, cut in eight 'quarters—the material, old cloth or moreen, or whatever my 'friends could find up to give me for them. In some instances, 'young men, and more frequently boys, have learned to sew 'grey cotton shirts, or even patch-work, with a view of shutting 'out idleness and making themselves useful. On one occasion 'I showed to the prisoners an etching of the Chess-Player, by

'Retzsch, which two men, one a shoemaker and the other a 'bricklayer, desired much to copy; they were allowed to do so, 'and being furnished with pencil, pen, paper, &c., they suc- 'ceeded remarkably well. The Chess-Player presented a 'pointed and striking lesson, which could well be applied to 'any kind of gaming, and was, on this account, suitable to my 'pupils, who had generally descended from the love of marbles 'and pitch-halfpenny in children, to cards, dice, &c., in men. 'The business of copying it had the advantage of requiring all 'thought and attention at the time. The attention of other 'prisoners was attracted to it, and for a year or two afterwards 'many continued to copy it.'

After another interval she proceeded to the formation of a fund which she applied to the furnishing of work for prisoners upon their discharge; 'affording me,' she adds, 'the advantage 'of observing their conduct at the same time.'

She had thus, in the course of a few years—during which her mind had gradually expanded to the requirements of the subject before her—provided for all the most important objects of prison discipline; moral and intellectual tuition, occupation during imprisonment, and employment after discharge. Whilst great and good men, at a distance, unknown to her, were inquiring and disputing as to the way and the order in which these very results were to be attained—inquiries and disputes which have not yet come to an end—here was a poor woman who was actually herself personally accomplishing them all! It matters not whether all her measures were the very wisest that could have been imagined. She had to contend with many difficulties that are now unknown; prison discipline was then in its infancy; every thing she did was conceived in the best spirit; and, considering the time, and the means at her command, could scarcely have been improved.

The full extent to which she was personally engaged in carrying out these objects, has yet to be explained. The Sunday service in the jail was adopted, as we have seen, upon her recommendation, and she joined the prisoners, as a fellow-worshipper, on Sunday morning. Their evening service, which was to be read in her absence, was soon abandoned; but, finding that to be the case, she attended on that part of the day also, and the service was then resumed. 'After several changes of 'readers, the office,' she says, 'devolved on me. That happy 'privilege thus graciously opened to me, and embraced from 'necessity, and in much fear, was acceptable to the prisoners, 'for God made it so; and also an unspeakable advantage and 'comfort to myself.'—(*Life*, p. 13.) These modest sentences

convey but a very faint notion of the nature of these singular services. Fortunately, in a report of Captain Williams, one of the inspectors of prisons, we have a far more adequate account of the matter. It stands thus :—

'Sunday, November 29, 1835.—Attended divine service in 'the morning at the prison. The male prisoners only were 'assembled; a female, resident in the town, officiated; her voice 'was exceedingly melodious, her delivery emphatic, and her 'enunciation extremely distinct. The service was the liturgy of 'the Church of England; two psalms were sung by the whole 'of the prisoners, and extremely well—much better than I have 'frequently heard in our best-appointed churches. A written 'discourse, of her own composition, was read by her; it was 'of a purely moral tendency, involving no doctrinal points, and 'admirably suited to the hearers. During the performance of 'the service, the prisoners paid the profoundest attention, and 'the most marked respect, and, as far as it is possible to judge, 'appeared to take a devout interest. Evening service was read 'by her afterwards to the female prisoners.'—(*Second Report of Inspectors of Prisons*, 1836, p. 69.)

Sarah Martin is here brought before us in a new character. Hitherto we have seen her pursuing, energetically and successfully, certain definite practical ends of plain and obvious utility. She now claims our attention as a moral teacher. From the commencement of her Sunday labours, which began probably in 1820, or shortly afterwards, up to 1832, she read printed sermons; from that time to 1837, she wrote her own sermons; from 1837 to the termination of her labours in 1843, 'I was 'enabled,' she says, 'by the help of God, to address the 'prisoners without writing beforehand, simply from the Holy 'Scriptures.'—(*Life*, p. 13.) We were curious to know what kind of addresses a person so intimately acquainted with the habits and feelings of criminals would think it right to deliver to such an audience, and have been kindly permitted to peruse her unpublished notes of various sermons delivered by her in the year 1835. They have certainly surprised us.

We believe that there are gentlemen in the world who stand so stiffly upon the virtue of certain forms of ministerial ordination, as to set their faces against all lay, and especially against all female, religious teaching. We will not dispute as to what may, or may not, be the precise value of those forms. They ought to confer powers of inestimable worth, considering how stubbornly they are defended—and perhaps they do so; but every one amongst us knows and feels, that the power of writing or preaching good sermons is not amongst the number. The

cold, laboured eloquence which boy-bachelors are authorised by custom and constituted authority to inflict upon us—the dry husks and chips of divinity which they bring forth from the dark recesses of the theology (as it is called) of the Fathers, or of the middle ages, sink into utter worthlessness by the side of the jail addresses of this poor uneducated seamstress. From her own registers of the prisoners who came under her notice, it is easy to describe the ordinary members of her congregation:—pert London pickpockets, whom a cheap steam-boat brought to reap a harvest at some country festival; boors, whom ignorance and distress led into theft; depraved boys, who picked up a precarious livelihood amongst the chances of a seaport town; sailors, who had committed assaults in the boisterous hilarity consequent upon a discharge with a paid-up arrear of wages; servants, of both sexes, seduced by bad company into the commission of crimes against their masters; profligate women, who had added assault or theft to the ordinary vices of a licentious life; smugglers; a few game-law criminals; and paupers transferred from a workhouse, where they had been initiated into crime, to a jail, where their knowledge was perfected. Such were some of the usual classes of persons who assembled around this singular teacher of righteousness. Their characters were as distinct as their crimes. A few extracts from Sarah Martin's 'Prison 'Records' will exhibit their variety:—

'W. W. Homely villager. Very good natural powers; temper good; grateful for instruction; desirous of improving.

'W. Wa. Inferior capacity; inoffensive; always behaved well; does not seem to have had a bad character.

'J. B. Extremely ignorant; low habits.

'B. P. Quiet; slow in capacity and habits; shrewd in his way, and sly.

'W. T. Depraved; deceitful; full of pretence; obsequiously obliging; troublesomely forward in manners.

'J. S. With me, still and almost dumb—he soon compelled the governor to order him to the cell for the most violent conduct.

'J. C. One of the very worst. Foolish; hardened; idle; lazy; and destitute of the wish to improve. In prison a corrupter.'

Judging from the notes which we have seen, her addresses to this strange auditory were formed upon a regular system, which was calculated to set before them that particular view of Christian truth which she thought best suited to their circumstances and comprehension. She principally urged three points. I.—The inseparable connexion between sin and sorrow; the great fact, that, in spite of all the allurements and artful promptings of

temptation, misery 'doth vice, e'en as its shade, pursue,' and with the same certainty that effect follows cause in any of the physical operations of nature. This was a foundation upon which, before such an auditory, she might most safely build; and, whilst she reiterated the position in many varieties of expression, her hearers must have felt bitterly conscious that she was not dealing with an imaginary case, but with a stern truth of which they were themselves the evidences and the victims. II.—Her second point was, that there was a similar and equally indissoluble connexion between goodness and happiness. Station, wealth, and the pleasures of life, when viewed at a distance, seemed to lead to a different conclusion. They promised fairly, but if approached, or partaken of, it became evident that they excited hopes which it was not in their power to gratify, and that unless united to goodness, sorrow was their inseparable adjunct. God is eternally happy only because He is immutably good, and man can procure exemption from misery only by attaining to freedom from the shackles of vice. III.—Her third point was to lead her auditors to the ever-open door of mercy, and, in glowing strains of Bible-eloquence, to invite, intreat, and urge them to enter in. The Almighty was held forth to them as desirous to communicate of his own sinless happy nature to all who came to Him as the willing servants of the crucified Redeemer; ready by his own Spirit to purify and guide them; to be to them as a hiding-place from trouble, a pavilion in which they should be kept secretly from the strife of tongues, a place of refuge in which they should be compassed about with songs of deliverance. Thus were the realities of their position traced to their fountain-head, a way of escape was pointed out, and, in the midst of their sin and shame, they were affectionately allured towards the service of God, as that which should give them freedom, peace, and happiness. There is reason to believe that these doctrines, urged with a kindly, warm-hearted sincerity, were eminently successful. The respect and attention which would not have been yielded to a preacher who had endeavoured to excite alarm by the enforcement of religious terrors, were willingly conceded to an instructor who sought to win them to a love of purity, by considerations which, without being directly personal, flowed naturally out of a knowledge of their feelings. The papers we have seen are, for the most part, mere skeletons or rough notes of sermons, and their entire publication would not be desirable; but in any more extended biography, a few extracts from them might be very usefully introduced.

In the year 1826, Sarah Martin's grandmother died, and she came into possession of an annual income of ten or twelve pounds,

derived from the investment of 'between two and three hundred 'pounds.' She then removed from Caister to Yarmouth, where she occupied two rooms in a house situated in a row in an obscure part of the town, and, from that time, devoted herself with increased energy to her philanthropic labours. A benevolent lady, resident in Yarmouth, had for some years, with a view to securing her a little rest for her health's sake, given her one day in the week, by compensating her for that day in the same way as if she had been engaged in dressmaking. With that assistance, and with a few quarterly subscriptions, 'chiefly 2s. 6d. each, for 'bibles, testaments, tracts, and other books for distribution,' she went on devoting every available moment of her life to her great purpose. But dressmaking, like other professions, is a jealous mistress; customers fell off, and, eventually, almost entirely disappeared. A question of anxious moment now presented itself, the determination of which is one of the most characteristic and memorable incidents of her life. Was she to pursue her benevolent labours, even although they led to utter poverty? Her little income was not more than enough to pay her lodging, and the expenses consequent upon the exercise of her charitable functions: and was actual destitution of ordinary necessaries to be submitted to? She never doubted; but her reasoning upon the subject presents so clear an illustration of the exalted character of her thoughts and purposes, and exhibits so eminent an example of Christian devotedness and heroism, that it would be an injustice to her memory not to quote it in her own words:—

'In the full occupation of dressmaking, I had care with it, 'and anxiety for the future; but as that disappeared, care fled 'also. God, who had called me into the vineyard, had said, '"Whatsoever is right I will give you." I had learned from 'the scriptures of truth that I should be supported; God was 'my master, and would not forsake his servant; He was my 'father, and could not forget his child. I knew also that it 'sometimes seemed good in his sight to try the faith and 'patience of his servants, by bestowing upon them very limited 'means of support; as in the case of Naomi and Ruth; of the 'widow of Zarephath and Elijah; and *my mind, in the contem-* '*plation of such trials, seemed exalted by more than human energy;* '*for I had counted the cost, and my mind was made up. If,* '*whilst imparting truth to others, I became exposed to temporal* '*want, the privation so momentary to an individual, would not* '*admit of comparison with following the Lord, in thus administer-* '*ing to others.*'—(*Life*, p. 30.)

Noble woman! A faith so firm, and so disinterested, might

have removed mountains; a self-sacrifice founded upon such principles is amongst the most heroic of human achievements.

This appears to have been the busiest period of Sarah Martin's life. Her system, if we may so term it, of superintendence over the prisoners, was now complete. For six or seven hours daily she took her station amongst them; converting that which, without her, would have been, at best, a scene of dissolute idleness, into a hive of industry and order. We have already explained the nature of the employment which she provided for them; the manner of their instruction is described as follows: —'Any who could not read I encouraged to learn, whilst others 'in my absence assisted them. They were taught to write 'also; whilst such as could write already, copied extracts from 'books lent to them. Prisoners who were able to read, com-'mitted verses from the Holy Scriptures to memory every day 'according to their ability or inclination. I, as an example, 'also committed a few verses to memory to repeat to them every 'day; and the effect was remarkable; always silencing excuse 'when the pride of some prisoners would have prevented their 'doing it. Many said at first, "It would be of no use;" and 'my reply was, "It is of use to me, and why should it not be 'so to you? You have not tried it, but I have." Tracts and 'children's books, and larger books, four or five in number, of 'which they were very fond, were exchanged in every room 'daily, whilst any who could read more, were supplied with 'larger books.'—(*Life*, p. 32.)

There does not appear to have been any instance of a prisoner long refusing to take advantage of this mode of instruction. Men entered the prison saucy, shallow, self-conceited, full of cavils and objections, which Sarah Martin was singularly clever in meeting; but in a few days the most stubborn, and those who had refused the most peremptorily, either to be employed or to be instructed, would beg to be allowed to take their part in the general course. Once within the circle of her influence, the effect was curious. Men old in years, as well as in crime, might be seen striving for the first time in their lives to hold a pen, or bending hoary heads over primers and spelling-books, or studying to commit to memory some precept taken from the Holy Scriptures. Young rascals, as impudent as they were ignorant, beginning with one verse went on to long passages; and even the dullest were enabled by perseverance to furnish their minds and memories with 'from two to five verses every day.' All these operations, it must be borne in mind, were carried on under no authority save what was derived from the teacher's

innate force of character. Aware of that circumstance, and that any rebellion would be fatal to her usefulness, she so contrived every exercise of her power as to 'make a favour of it,' knowing well that 'to depart from this course, would only be 'followed by the prisoners doing less, and not doing it well.'—(*Life*, p. 104.) The ascendancy she thus acquired was very singular. A general persuasion of the sincerity with which 'she watch'd, and wept, and pray'd, and felt for all,' rendered her the general depository of the little confidences, the tales of weakness, treachery, and sorrow, in the midst of which she stood! and thus she was enabled to fan the rising desire for emancipation, to succour the tempted, to encourage the timid, and put the erring in the way.

After the close of her labours at the jail, she proceeded, at one time of her life, to a large school which she superintended at the work-house, and afterwards, when that school was turned over to proper teachers, she devoted two nights in the week to a school for factory girls, which was held in the capacious chancel of the old church of St Nicholas. There, or elsewhere, she was every thing. Other teachers would send their classes to stand by and listen, whilst Sarah Martin, in her striking and effective way, imparted instruction to the forty or fifty young women who were fortunate enough to be more especially her pupils. Every countenance was riveted upon her: and, as the questions went round, she would explain them by a piece of poetry, or an anecdote, which she had always ready at command, and, more especially, by Scripture illustration. The Bible was, indeed, the great fountain of her knowledge and her power. For many years she read it through four times every year, and had formed a most exact Reference Book to its contents. Her intimate familiarity with its striking imagery and lofty diction, impressed a poetical character upon her own style, and filled her mind with exalted thoughts. After her class duties were over, there remained to be performed many offices of kindness, which with her were consequent upon the relation of teacher and pupil; there was personal communication with this scholar and with that; some inquiry here, some tale to listen to there; for she was never a mere schoolmistress, but always the friend and counsellor, as well as the instructor.

The evenings on which there was no tuition, were devoted by her to visiting the sick, either in the work-house, or through the town generally; and occasionally an evening was passed with some of those worthy people in Yarmouth by whom her labours were regarded with interest. Her appearance in any of their houses was the signal for a busy evening. Her benevolent smile

and quick active manner communicated her own cheerfulness and energy to every one around her. She never failed to bring work with her, and, if young people were present, was sure to employ them all. Something was to be made ready for the occupation of the prisoners, or for their instruction; patterns or copies were to be prepared, or old materials to be adjusted to some new use, in which last employment her ingenuity was pre-eminent. Odd pieces of woollen or cotton, scraps of paper, mere litters, things which other people threw away, it mattered not what, she always begged that such things might be kept for her, and was sure to turn them to some account. If, on such occasions, whilst every body else was occupied, some one would read aloud, Sarah Martin's satisfaction was complete; and at intervals, if there were no strangers present, or if such communication were desired, she would dilate upon the sorrows and sufferings of her guilty flock, and her own hopes and disappointments in connexion with them, in the language of simple, animated truth.

Her day was closed by no 'return to a cheerful fireside pre-'pared by the cares of another,' but to her solitary apartments, which she left locked up during her absence, and where 'most 'of the domestic offices of life were performed by her own 'hands.'* There she kept a copious record of her proceedings in reference to the prisoners; notes of their circumstances and conduct during such time as they were under her observation, which generally extended long beyond the period of their imprisonment; with most exact accounts of the expenditure of the little subscriptions before mentioned, and also of a small annual payment from the British Ladies' Society, established by Mrs Fry, and of all other monies committed to her in aid of any branch of her charitable labours. These books of record and account have been very properly preserved, and have been presented to a public library in Yarmouth.

During all this time she went on living upon her bare pittance; in a state of most absolute poverty, and yet of total unconcern as to her temporal support. Friends supplied many of her necessities by occasional presents; but, unless it was especially provided, 'This is not for your charities, but for your own ex-'clusive use and comfort,' whatever was sent to her was given away to persons more destitute than herself. In this way she was furnished with clothes, and occasional presents were sent to her of bread, cheese, eggs, fruit, and other necessaries of a simple

* Poems of S. Martin, p. x.

kind. Some members of the corporation were desirous that a pecuniary provision should be made for her out of the borough funds; but the proposal was soon laid aside, in deference to her own most strenuous opposition. In 1841, the question was renewed, and the wife of one of the magistrates wrote to her:—
'We consider it impossible, from the manner in which you live, 'that you can long continue your arduous labours at the jail, '&c. Mr —— and myself will feel angry and hurt if you 'refuse to accept it. I must intreat you to do this,' &c.

Angry, forsooth! Poor lady! Sarah Martin's answer ran thus:—

'Here lies the objection which oppresses me: I have found 'voluntary instruction, on my part, to have been attended with 'great advantage; and I am apprehensive, that in receiving 'payment my labours may be less acceptable. I fear, also, that 'my mind would be fettered by pecuniary payment, and the 'whole work upset. To try the experiment, which might injure 'the thing I live and breathe for, seems like applying a knife 'to your child's throat, to know if it will cut. . . . . Were 'you so angry as that I could not meet you, a merciful God and 'a good conscience would preserve my peace; when, if I ven-'tured on what I believed would be prejudicial to the prisoners, 'God would frown upon me and my conscience too, and these 'would follow me every where. As for my circumstances, I have 'not a wish ungratified, and am more than content.'—(*Life*, p. 35.)

Such scruples should have been held sacred. Corporation gratitude should have been exhibited in some way which would not have excited a feeling of self-degradation; but, alas! a jail committee does not enter into questions of feeling. It was coarsely intimated to this high-souled woman, 'If we permit 'you to visit the prison you must submit to our terms,' (p. 36;) and these worshipful gentlemen, who were then making use of Sarah Martin as a substitute for the schoolmaster and the chaplain, whom it was by law their bounden duty to have appointed, converted her into their salaried servant by the munificent grant of L.12 *per annum!* If the domestic liberality of these gentlemen bears any proportion to their corporate generosity, one would be curious to know after what rate they remunerate their maids-of-all-work and their shop-boys.

Sarah Martin lived for two years in the receipt of this memorable evidence of corporation bounty. In the winter of 1842 her health began to fail, and it was with pain and difficulty that she continued, day by day, up to the 17th April 1843, to visit the jail, 'the home,' she says, 'of my first interest and pleasure.' From that day she was confined to her apartments by a painful

disease, accompanied by extreme bodily weakness. But nothing could restrain the energy of her mind. In the seclusion of a solitary chamber, 'apart from all that could disturb, and in a 'universe of calm repose and peace and love;' when, speaking of herself and her condition, she remarked, in words of singular beauty,

> ——— 'I seem to lie
> So near the heavenly portals bright,
> I catch the streaming rays that fly
> From eternity's own light;'—

at such a time—she resumed the exercise of a talent for the writing of sacred poetry, which had been early developed, and had even been occasionally exercised in the midst of the occupations of her busy life. A selection from her poems is the second of the books named at the head of this article. The publication is a kind, but, as we think, not altogether a wise one. The fact that Sarah Martin wrote such poetry is important in her biography. It is deeply interesting to know, that after some of the most exciting incidents of her life—the establishment of a fund for the relief of prisoners after liberation—the death of her grandmother, and that of the father of a lad whom she had reclaimed—an opposition or a success which she met with in the jail—she could retire to her chamber and pour out her heart in strains of Christian praise and gratitude. It is, above all things, interesting to be told that this brave woman could cheer the sacred loneliness of her entrance into the dark valley of the shadow of death, with songs of victory and triumph. The compositions here published not only prove all this, but they evidence the existence in the mind of their author of an unquestionable vein of real poetry. They exhibit some specimens of true poetic ore, and contain separate lines, and occasionally whole stanzas, which evidently came fresh from the mint of a strong mind and fervid heart. But her compositions have those defects which mark the imitative and unpractised artist. They are the poems of one whose time was devoted to the acting of poetry rather than to the writing of it; and it would have been better if the author of the clever memoir which is prefixed to the volume before us, had interwoven such facts and lines as are worthy of being remembered, with a complete biography, rather than have published the whole poems in a separate volume.

Sarah Martin struggled against disease for many months, suffering intense agony, which was partially relieved by opiates. A few minutes before her death, she begged for more of the opiate, to still the racking torture. The nurse told her that she believed the time of her departure had arrived. She,

clapping her hands together, exclaimed, 'Thank God! Thank 'God!' and never spake more. This was on the 15th October 1843. She was buried at Caister, by the side of her grandmother; and a tombstone in the churchyard bears a simple inscription, written by herself, which commemorates her death and age, but says not a word of her many virtues. The Yarmouth corporation ought to erect a tablet to her memory; either in the jail, or in the chancel of the church of St Nicholas, in which she taught her class of factory girls. Her services, and the debt of gratitude which the whole town owes to her, will not be forgotten, although no marble tell the tale: but such a monument, if erected by the corporation, would relieve them from the suspicion that they were as ignorant of the moral worth, as they were of the money value, of such labours as Sarah Martin's. Since her death, the corporation has been compelled to appoint both a jail-chaplain and a schoolmaster.

The length to which a detail of individual cases would necessarily run, alone deters us from quoting many instances in which there can be no doubt that Sarah Martin's labours were followed by most happy results. We will give a few cases:—

'B. B., age about twenty-three. Could neither read nor write. Offence, smuggling. After the lapse of twelve years from his imprisonment, Sarah Martin writes, "He entirely learned to read and write in prison, and immediately after his discharge left off smuggling. He wrote to me afterwards, and expressed the comfort he found in being able to write. . . . . I have heard from him many times. He sails in a small vessel from Dunkirk to London, to sell butter and eggs."

'R., E. C., and four others. Offence, smuggling. Had been in prison before for the same offence. Were supported in Yarmouth jail by a band or club of smugglers. After the lapse of four years, this is Sarah Martin's report:—"E. C. had a wife and six children in Harwich, where they now live. The profits of smuggling were tempting, but he afterwards told me he found it impossible, as he then viewed the thing, to engage in the traffic again, and abandoned it. Since his discharge, I have received four letters; two written by him, one by his wife, and another written partly by him and partly by his wife, Also, I have seen him twice, when the schooner to which he belongs sailed through Yarmouth Roads. By him I was informed, in August last, that the five who were in prison with him had all left off smuggling. He gave me a satisfactory account of each. These men, when I took leave of them, seemed reluctant in promising to give up a profession of fraud, involving habitual lying, &c. &c., yet allowed me to believe that, ceasing to reconcile them to its principles, they wished, and would not be unwilling, to do it" She writes subsequently:—"February 5, 1840.—This morning, R. the former master of the smuggling vessel . . . . called upon me, being the first time he has been in Yarmouth since his discharge. He is now master of the St Leonard, a respectable merchant-ship. His

gratitude for what he thought his obligation to me, led him to bring from France a present of a vase covered with shells, and a curious glass box. He was fourteen months without a vessel after his discharge, with a wife and family to support, and desiring to get free from the traffic of smuggling."

'R. M., aged seventeen; offence, felony; six months in jail. Former character, idle and profligate. After three and a half years, she writes: "Effectually reclaimed. After considerable perseverance, he obtained a gentleman's service, and has earned his living respectably and honestly ever since. He is now butler in a gentleman's family. I frequently saw him before he left Yarmouth. Have seen him twice since, when he came to see his mother and grandmother, and continue to hear of him twice or more every year."

'S. B., aged thirty-nine, charged with felony. Could neither read nor write. Accounted a disorderly person and a thief, and had been in prison before. After three and a half years. "Perfectly reclaimed. She has never been guilty of any immoral practice since, and seems to have been the means of reclaiming her husband, whose former character was bad. I see her every month or two. She has suffered much from poverty and illness, without complaint."

'A. B.; offence, felony. After two and a half years. "Since his discharge he has conducted himself well towards his family, and borne an honest character. He keeps cows, and carries about milk to sell. His wife told me last week, it was a good thing her husband learned to read in the jail, as he now takes up a book of an evening; and it was a good thing he learned to write too, because he can now keep his accounts, and write his milk bills."

'T. B., aged eighteen; offence, felony. Five months in Yarmouth jail, and afterwards in the Penitentiary at Milbank. After nine and a half years. "After his return from the Penitentiary, he immediately called upon me. His parents were poor, living in a row, and keeping a small vegetable shop. With no character, he seemed destitute. His next step was this: he went to his father's, and took a small box, which he had left locked up, containing L.102 and some shillings, and carried it to his master, from whom it had been stolen. Mr D. entreated him to take L.5 of the sum returned, but could not prevail; all he accepted was the odd L.2 and shillings, saying, 'Sir, I robbed you of more than that.' The circumstance became public. Mr B., tailor and salesman, took him for two years to learn his trade. He conducted himself better, Mr B. informed me, than any former apprentice. Since then, he has been married to a young woman who was taught by me in a Sunday school, and by honourable and successful industry supports himself, by keeping a respectable little shop as a tailor and salesman in the ——."'*

Such cases, which are as instructive as they are interesting, might be multiplied manyfold out of the papers of Sarah Martin.

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* Fifth Report of Inspectors of Prisons, p. 124.

If they exhibit the results of careful, kindly prison instruction, every one would wish that such instruction could be rendered universal. With such cases before us, who shall doubt that many of the ignorant and the weak, those who have failed in their duty to their neighbour, because they have been permitted to go forth into the world unarmed against its temptations, and uninstructed in their duties, are still within reach of the reclaiming efforts of active benevolence? But such cases give no encouragement to any cold philanthropy, if any such can be; nor to any kind but weak enthusiasm, which seeks for proofs of amendment of life in the mere raptures of excited feeling; nor to that proud and condescending bounty, which chills even whilst it overpowers with a multiplicity of obligations. Sarah Martin governed these people, and reformed them, as their cases testify, not merely by instructing them in useful arts, and inculcating in their minds right principles of duty and action, and informing their understandings as to their real interests; but more especially by opening her own heart to them, by entering with warm and genuine sympathy into their real feelings and condition, and by aiding them in devising and carrying out measures of true practical amelioration, suited to their circumstances, and their habits of thought and feeling. She did not shower down bounties as from a heaven above, but, placing herself upon a par with them in every thing but their guilt, was ever ready to drop a tear over their misery, and to join with them heart and soul to procure relief. They who would obtain Sarah Martin's success must feel her sympathy, and acquire her true practical wisdom.

> 'The high desire that others may be blest,
> Savours of heaven.'

The words are her own, and her life was a comment upon them. 'Her simple, unostentatious, yet energetic, devotion to 'the interests of the outcast and the destitute,' remarks Captain Williams, one of the inspectors of prisons, who had many opportunities of judging of her labours, and whose experience gives great value to his testimony—'her gentle disposition, her temper 'never irritated by disappointment, nor her charity straitened by 'ingratitude, present a combination of qualities which imagina-'tion sometimes portrays as the ideal of what is pure and 'beautiful, but which are rarely found embodied with huma-'nity.* . . . She was no titular Sister of Charity, but 'was silently felt and acknowledged to be one, by the many

* Letter of Captain Williams.—*Life*, p. 126.

'outcast and destitute persons who received encouragement 'from her lips, and relief from her hands, and by the few who 'were witnesses of her good works.' *

It is the business of Literature to make such a life stand out from the masses of ordinary existences, with something of the distinctness with which a lofty building uprears itself in the confusion of a distant view. It should be made to attract all eyes, to excite the hearts of all persons who think the welfare of their fellow-mortals an object of interest or duty; it should be included in collections of biography, and chronicled in the high places of history; men should be taught to estimate it as that of one whose philanthropy has entitled her to renown, and children to associate the name of Sarah Martin with those of Howard, Buxton, Fry—the most benevolent of mankind.

ART. IV.—*Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques chez les Arabes.* Par AUGUSTE SCHMÖLDERS. 8vo. Paris: 1842.

THE basis of modern culture has been, and must ever be, rested on the immortal writings bequeathed to us by Greece and Rome. They have the glorious privilege of being always young—the teachers of generation after generation. Other ancient states can offer us little but curiosities. We may penetrate into the chambers of the Pyramids; we may wonder at the relics of the swarthy, taciturn, monumental race of Egypt; we may accumulate fragments of the lore of Ind; we may collect antiquities from China, from Arabia, or from Yucatan; but our best endeavours in these directions accomplish little more than the gratification of a *dilettante* curiosity. Of them we never ask, 'Watchman, how goes the night?' To them we never recur for instruction on the topics which have vital and perpetual interest for mankind.

This has become so thorough a conviction amongst all but professed archæologists, that the recent historians of ancient philosophy have quietly eliminated all oriental speculations as having exercised no real influence on the development of European culture. And this is the cause of that neglect of Arabian Philosophy, complained of by M. Schmölders, in the admirable work which we have placed at the head of this article. While all Europe

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* Eighth Report of Inspectors of Prisons, p. 182.

resounds with the fame of the splendid achievements of Arabian arms, none but a few oriental scholars now bestow a thought upon Arabian Philosophy. In spite of the gratitude due to the Arabs as the great depositories of Grecian lore, during the dark ages; in spite of the romantic interest attached to the people and their history, not one lettered European in five thousand cares for their philosophy. And the explanation is simple: the Arabian philosophy lies *beside* the sphere of European development; has not influenced it, cannot influence it. What the Arabs have taken from the Greeks to blend with Islamism, we have taken from the Greeks to blend with Christianity; every thing, therefore, that is novel to us, in their speculations, is repugnant. Were it not so, abundant translations would long ere this have gratified our curiosity.

The reader will easily guess, from what we have been saying, that it is not our intention in the present article to oppress him with any thing so uninteresting as a dissertation on Arabian Philosophy would in all probability turn out. Our purpose is rather to present an outline of the history of an individual mind. Whatever may be the indifference felt towards a nation, all men feel attracted towards an individual. And upon this ground the work of M. Schmölders deserves attention, since it presents us with the entire translation of a very singular treatise, hitherto known only to a few Arabic scholars, which contains the history of a philosophic life. Considering the great risk such a work runs of never extending beyond the small circle of oriental scholars, we trust to earn the thanks of our readers for directing their attention to it.

M. Schmölders is a German, but has written his essay in French, thus placing it before all cultivated men. Its principal attraction is the translation of the treatise of Algazzāli—'ce qui 'sauve des égarements, et ce qui éclaircit les Ravissements,'—with the Arabic text. But it also contains an account of the various sects of philosophy among the Arabs; and an outline of the doctrines of Algazzāli himself. The reputation of M. Schmölders is a guarantee for the fidelity of his translation; and his book exhibits all the patient industry which Germans usually bring to their tasks, unencumbered by their ordinary defects of rash generalization, and idle subtleties. Indeed, we have rather a complaint to make against the deficiency of any thing like philosophical use of his materials. He has not* pointed out the

* A beginning has been made in this direction by Mr Thompson, of the Bengal Civil Service, in the introduction and notes annexed to his translation of the Akh-lāk-Jalāli, for which we have to thank the Ori-

mixture of the Oriental and Greek elements in the Arabian systems; though for this we should have been thankful; as also for a passing indication of the numberless anticipations of more modern speculations which are to be detected in the Arabian.

But to Algazzāli:—There are few persons who have not heard something about this pillar of the Mosque—this light of Islam, who, under the names of Gazzali, Ghazail, Algazel, and Algazzāli, is so often spoken of by writers on Arabia; and who was known long ago to the schoolmen, through the writings of his adversary, Abou Roshd (Averroës;) and through a bad translation of his 'Rules of Science:' *Logica et Philosophia Algazelis Arabis*, by Petrus Liechtenstein, Cologne, 1506. But these sources are altogether insufficient to furnish any idea of his philosophy. He is frequently cited both by Pococke and by Sale.

Aboû Hâmid Mohammed was born in the city of Tous, A. D. 1058. He was the son of a dealer in cotton thread, (*Gazzâl*,) whence his name. Losing his father in early life, he was confided to the care of a Soufi, (a Mystic,) whose influence extended through his subsequent career, as we shall see. On finishing his studies, he was appointed professor of theology at Bagdad. Here he achieved such splendid success, that all the Imaums became his zealous partisans. So great indeed was his renown, so ardent the admiration he inspired, that the Mussulmans sometimes said, 'If all Islam were to be destroyed, it would be 'but a slight loss, provided Algazzāli's work on the *Revivifica-* '*tion of the Sciences of Religion* were preserved.' Of this remarkable man, we have now before us a remarkable treatise, for the first time translated, wherein is given the history of his mind in the pursuit of truth; and for which we can find no better title than that affixed to the posthumous work of Coleridge: 'Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit.' It bears a very striking resemblance to the 'Discours sur la Méthode,' and 'Médita-

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ental Translation Fund. The original is a Persian treatise on Mahommedan Ethics: was composed towards the end of the fifteenth century: and is of great authority over Middle Asia. It is a great addition to our knowledge of Mahommedanism, and of the spirit of its philosophy. In the first volume of M. Libri's very remarkable work on the *History of the Mathematical Sciences in Italy*, he notices rapidly the great sources and channels of Arabic learning; and states that M. Pallia, a young Orientalist of Piedmont, was then preparing a treatise on the philosophy of the Arabs. If it has been since published, we have not had the good fortune to see it.

'tions' of Descartes, as the reader will perceive from the following analysis.

After describing how from his earliest youth his spirit had been vexed by the mysterious problems of existence; how, like Descartes, he had in vain interrogated each sect for a distinct and satisfactory reply; and how he had finally resolved to throw off all authority, and to free himself from all the opinions which had been instilled into him during the unsuspecting years of youth—how in short he had resolved to begin, like Descartes, with universal doubt, he says:—

'I said to myself: my aim is simply to know the truth of things; consequently, it is indispensable for me to ascertain what is *knowledge*. Now, it was evident to me that *certain knowledge* must be that which explains the object to be known, in such a manner that no doubt can remain, so that in future all error and conjecture respecting it must be impossible. Not only would the understanding then need no efforts to be convinced of certitude; but security against error is in such close connexion with knowledge, that even were an apparent proof of its falsehood brought forward, it would nevertheless cause no doubt, no suspicion of error being possible. Thus, when I have acknowledged ten to be more than three, if any one were to say, "On the contrary, "three is more than ten; and, to prove the truth of my assertion, I will "change this rod into a serpent;" and if he were to change it, my conviction of his error would remain unshaken. His manœuvre would only produce in me admiration for his ability; I should not doubt my own *knowledge*.

'Then was I convinced that all knowledge which I did not possess in this manner, and respecting which I had not this certainty, could inspire me with neither confidence nor assurance; and all knowledge without assurance is not knowledge.'

One seems to hear Descartes speaking. Yet there can be no suspicion of imitation on his part, this work of Algazzāli being in every shape unknown even to the schoolmen. The confession proceeds thus:—

'Having examined my knowledge, I found myself divested of all that could be said to have these qualities, unless perceptions of the senses and irrefragable principles were to be considered such. I then said to myself: now having fallen into this despair, the only hope remaining of acquiring incontestible convictions is, by the perception of the senses and by necessary truths. *Their* evidence seemed to me indubitable. I began, however, to examine the objects of sensation and speculation, to see if they could possibly admit of doubt. Then doubts crowded upon me, in such numbers that my incertitude became complete. Whence results the confidence I have in sensible things? The strongest of all our senses is sight; and yet looking at a shadow, and perceiving it to be fixed and immovable, we judge it to be deprived of movement; nevertheless experience teaches us that, when we return to the same

place an hour after, the shadow is displaced; for it does not vanish suddenly, but gradually, little by little, so as to be never at rest.* If we look at the stars, they seem as small as money-pieces; but mathematical proofs convince us that they are larger than the earth. These and other things are judged by the senses, but rejected as false by reason. I abandoned the senses, therefore; having seen all my confidence in their truth shaken.

'Perhaps, said I, there is no assurance but in the notions of reason—that is to say, first principles. Such as, ten is more than three; the same thing cannot have been created and yet have existed from all eternity; to exist, and not to exist, at the same time, is impossible.

'The senses replied: what assurance have you that your confidence in first principles is not of the same nature as your confidence in us? When you relied on us, reason stepped in and gave us the lie; had not reason been there, you would have continued to rely upon us. Well, may there not exist some other judge superior to reason, who, if he appeared, would refute the judgments of reason in the same way that reason refuted us? The non-appearance of this judge does not prove his non-existence.'

The student of ancient philosophy will recognise the arguments of the sceptics in these passages. Indeed, these two ideas may be regarded as the pith of the sceptical argument; and Sextus Empiricus is but a voluminous expansion of these two ideas.† The reader, however, suspects that Algazzāli, like Descartes, only exposes the sceptical arguments that he may triumph over them; and, like Descartes, he finds in sleep fresh arguments against belief:—

'I strove in vain to answer the objections. And my difficulties increased when I came to reflect upon sleep. I said to myself: during sleep you give to visions a reality and consistence, and you have no suspicion of their untruth. On awakening, you are made aware that they were nothing but visions. What assurance have you that all you feel and know when awake does actually exist? It is all true as respects your condition at that moment; but it is nevertheless possible that another condition should present itself, which should be to your awakened state, that which your awakened state now is to your sleep; so that, in respect to this higher condition, your waking is but sleep.'

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* How very oriental this illustration! Descartes, though his argument is the same, gives it his own peculiar form; as unlike that of Algazzāli, as an European is to an Arab.

† We do not thereby imply that the work of Sextus Empiricus is not of very great importance; as an arsenal of sceptical weapons, as a trustworthy collection of the opinions of ancient philosophers, it will always maintain a high rank.

How often has that thought presented itself to reflective minds! Sometimes in mere philosophical fantasy, as in Shakspeare; sometimes in gloomy splendour, as in the famous burst of Calderon, *Qué es la vida?* and sometimes in bitter despondency, as in the words attributed to Pythagoras, by Clemens Alexandrinus: θανατος ἐστιν, ὁκοσα ἐγερθεντες ὁρεομεν· ὁκοσα δὲ εὐδοντες, ὑπνος. But in Algazzāli this reflection reveals the outlet from scepticism. If there is such a superior condition, in which our waking state will be regarded as sleep, can we, he asks, ever attain to any participation in it? He suspects that the *ecstasy* described by the Soufis must be that condition. But he is unable to escape the consequences of scepticism. The sceptical arguments could only be refuted by demonstrations; and demonstrations must be grounded upon first truths. If, therefore, the first truths were uncertain, no demonstration can be irresistible. He adds:—

'I was thus forced to return to the admission of intellectual notions as the basis of all certitude. This, however, was not by systematic reasoning, and accumulation of proofs, but by a flash of light which God sent into my soul. For whoever imagines that truth can only be rendered evident by proofs, places narrow limits to the wide compassion of the Creator.'

In other words, he escaped the consequences of scepticism, not by refuting them, but, as the Alexandrian philosophers had escaped them, by taking refuge in the higher region of Faith. Here we have to note the wide divergence from the route taken by Descartes, which hitherto Algazzāli had so steadily pursued. Descartes proceeded from certain intellectual notions as the source of all truth; but he founded their credibility not on any revelation from above, but on the revelation from within—the clear, indisputable, indestructible evidence of consciousness.

Algazzāli having thus evaded scepticism, cast his eyes around him, and reviewed the various sects of the faithful, whom he ranged under four heads:—I. The *Dogmatists*, who ground their doctrines purely upon reason. II. The *Bastinis* (*allegorists*,) who receive their doctrine from an Imam, and believe themselves the sole possessors of the truth. III. The *Philosophers*, who call themselves masters of Logic and Demonstration. IV. The *Soufis*, who pretend to an *immediate intuition*, and who perceive the real manifestations of truth as common men perceive material phenomena. These various systems he undertook to thoroughly master.

The Dogmatists came first. In their writings he acknowledged that their aim was realized; but their aim was not his—

'Their aim is the preservation of the Faith from the alterations introduced by heretics. God, through the mouth of his prophet, has given a rule of faith, which contains the truth respecting all that has relation to man's temporal and spiritual happiness. The Koran promulgates the rule—Satan has suggested to the heretics doctrines contrary to tradition. By these, the heretics have almost succeeded in altering the true faith. Therefore, God has raised a sect of dogmatists, burning with desire to defend the old traditions by systematic reasonings, and to expose the artifices and disguises fabricated by the heretics.'

In short, the Dogmatists played the same part as was subsequently played in the middle ages by orthodox schoolmen. They could have but little influence, therefore, on Algazzāli, who was prepared to admit only primitive ideas as the premises of all reasoning. His object in fact was philosophical, theirs theological. So he turned to the philosophers, and studied their writings with intense ardour, convinced that he could not refute them until he had first thoroughly understood them. A considerable portion of the present treatise is occupied with a refutation of these writers, but we cannot stop to notice it. We believe it differs very little from the refutation contained in his celebrated treatise *Destructio Philosophorum*, which is printed together with the *Destructio Destructionis* in the ninth volume of Averroës' Works, where the curious reader may consult it, if he have sufficient patience to endure such an amount of quibbling subleties, wire-drawn distinctions, and idle syllogisms; a patience, we must own, that has not fallen to our share. A Latin translation of it was published at Venice, in 1560.

Finding all the philosophical schools incompetent to aid him, Algazzāli turned to the writings of the Soufis. He there found a doctrine which required the union of action with speculation—in which virtue was the guide to knowledge. Their aim was to free the mind from earthly considerations, to purify it from all passions, to leave it only God as a subject for meditation. There he learned the great principle of Soufism, viz., that the highest truths are not to be attained by *study*, but by *transport*—by a transformation of the soul during *ecstasy*. There is the same difference between this higher perception of truth and ordinary science, as between *being* healthy and *knowing* the definition of health. It is related by Avicenne, who was born in the preceding century, that, when he could not find his way out of a logical difficulty, he used to repair to the Mosque and pray for illumination. The knowledge which he thus acquired, he received as a communication from Heaven. Algazzāli reports his own proceedings as very unsatisfactory for a time.

'Then it became apparent to me that the Soufis were men of intui-

tion, and not men of words. I saw that I had learned all that could be learned of Soufism by study; and that the rest could only be attained by abandoning myself to ecstasy and living a pious life. The different branches of knowledge which I had cultivated, and the various methods I had pursued in religious and philosophical enquiries, had inspired me with a devout faith in God, in his prophet, and in the last day. These three fundamental dogmas were indelibly impressed upon my soul, not by means of any precise argument, but by circumstances and experiences impossible for me here to detail. I was convinced that we can only aspire to happiness in this world by subduing the soul, and turning it aside from concupiscence; and that the most important of all things was to extirpate from it the attachment to this world; and humbly to direct our thoughts to our eternal home. Reflecting then upon my situation, I found myself bound to this world by a thousand ties; temptations assailed me on all sides. I then examined my actions. The best were those relating to instruction and education; and even there I saw myself given up to unimportant sciences, all useless in another world. Reflecting on the aim of my teaching, I found it was not pure in the sight of the Lord. I saw that all my efforts were directed towards the acquisition of glory to myself.'

Long was he tormented with this idea. But he struggled against it in vain; the world enchained him, and the world's applause subdued his wavering repentance. The morning saw him clad in heavenly confidence, and resolute in his newly awakened ambition. The evening left him vanquished by his passions, a slave to the world's good will. In his heart alternately whispered the two voices, and one said:—

> 'Forerun thy peers, thy time, and let
> Thy feet, millenniums hence, be set
> In midst of knowledge dream'd not yet.
>
> Thou hast not gain'd a real height,
> Nor art thou nearer to the light,
> Because the scale is infinite.'

An accident terminated the struggle. As he was one day about to lecture to his accustomed auditors, his tongue refused utterance: he was dumb! He looked on this as a visitation of God, and was deeply afflicted at it. He lost all appetite. His frame sank slowly. The physicians declared his recovery hopeless unless he could shake off his deep-seated sadness:—

'Then, feeling my helplessness, I had recourse to God, as one who has no other resource in his distress. He compassionated me, as he compassionates the unhappy who invoke him. My heart no longer made any resistance, but willingly renounced the glories and the pleasures of this world. * * *

'Having distributed my wealth, I left Bagdad and retired into Syria; where I remained two years in solitary struggle with my soul, combating my passions, and exercising myself in the purification of my heart, and in preparation for the other world. I frequented the mosque at Damas, and there was wont to mount the tower and remain alone all day in prayer! I also visited Jerusalem, and made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Then the urgent requests of my children, and some affairs of my own, made me return to my country, in spite of the resolution I had formed never to revisit it. Solitude had augmented my desire of living in retreat, there to complete the purification of my heart, and rightly dispose it for meditation.'

This looks like a bit of sophistication; though he may perhaps have deceived himself. Solitude had evidently failed to realize his expectations. He was restless, could not remain in one spot, longed again to mingle in the busy haunts of men, longed again to hear their 'sweet voices' ringing praises in his ears; and consequently returned to Bagdad on the first good pretext. He says, indeed, that many vicissitudes, family affairs, and want of means of subsistence, frustrated his design of living a purely solitary life; but what would a genuine ascetic say to this? What could vicissitudes, family affairs, or even want, be to one who had really banished the world from his heart? The very excuse condemns him. It is clear he was never meant for an ascetic; his best endeavours failed to overcome the potent fascinations of the world. He confesses, perhaps in lieu of explanation, that he had not perfectly attained to the *ecstatic* state.

We have already more than once alluded to this strange doctrine of ecstasy, which the Arabs unquestionably borrowed from the Alexandrians; it may be necessary here in a few words to explain what that doctrine was. The soul was regarded as an emanation from the divine intelligence; and this soul, as finite, could only know finite things, because knowledge and being are identical, according to Plotinus. For the human intelligence to comprehend, to *know* the divine intelligence, it is absolutely necessary that it should *be* that divine intelligence; and this not simply as an emanation from it, but as an identification with it. In a word, the soul must lose its personality. The act in which the soul divests itself of its personality is called *ecstasy*. In this ecstasy the soul is loosened from its corporeal prison, is separated from individual consciousness, and becomes absorbed in the infinite intelligence from which it emanated. It is a flash of rapturous light, in which reminiscence is changed into intuition, in which the captive soul is given back to its parent, to its God.

Algazzāli had failed in his endeavours to exalt his soul to

such a rapturous condition. Occasional glimpses of its glory were all he could attain; isolated hours of exaltation passing quickly away—

'Nevertheless I did not despair of finally attaining this state. Every time that any accident turned me from it, I endeavoured quickly to re-enter it. In this condition I remained ten years. In my solitude there were revelations made to me, which it is impossible for me to describe, or even to indicate. Enough, if, for the reader's profit, I declare that the conviction was forced upon me that the Soufis indubitably walked in the true paths of salvation. Their way of life is the most beautiful, their morals are the purest, that can be conceived.'

Is there not something very curious in this picture of a semi-mystic, unable altogether to abandon himself to the splendid illusions of mysticism, and yet dazzled by their splendour, and earnestly exhorting all men to approach it? His description of the method pursued by the Soufis in their purification, is worth transcribing:—

'The first condition is, that the novice purge his heart of all that is not God. The means consist in humble prayers which escape from the fervent soul in its meditations upon God, wherein the heart must be entirely absorbed. The object of Soufism, at least as much of it as we may be permitted to reveal, is *absorption in the Deity*. But, in reality, this is but the beginning of the Soufic state.

'From the very first, the Soufis have such astonishing revelations, that they are enabled while waking to see visions of angels and the souls of the prophets; they hear their voices and receive their favours. Afterwards, a transport exalts them beyond the mere perception of forms, to a degree which exceeds all expression, and concerning which, we cannot speak without employing language that would seem blasphemous. In fact, some have gone so far as to imagine themselves to be *amalgamated with God*, others to be *identified with him*, and others to be *associated* with him. All these are sinful.'

It would thus appear that there was a wide distinction between the absorption in the Deity during ecstasy, and the amalgamation, or identification with the Deity, boasted of by some of the ardent Soufis. And we were sometime before we could understand this distinction; nor can we feel very positive that we apprehend it now. We would therefore simply suggest, that the distinction is between a transitory and a permanent state. Plotinus tells us that ecstasy is not a permanent faculty, like reason: it is essentially transitory; and consequently, the absorption in the infinite which takes place during ecstasy, must be transitory also. The bolder Soufis, however, seem to have gone beyond this, and to have declared that their absorption was permanent.

So far Algazzāli refused to accompany them; and it is interesting to see him shrinking from consequences which could not subsequently arrest Spinoza or Hegel. In the East, this doctrine of absorption,—a spiritual Pantheism,—has always been a favourite; yet we see an Eastern thinker afraid to accept its consequences, which some Northerns have resolutely proclaimed as the aim of all philosophy. Algazzāli's good sense and piety were stronger than his logic; and he shrunk back.

Algazzāli declines giving any more detailed account of the ecstasy. He says it is enough to assert, that whoso knows not this transport, knows prophetism only by name. But even those who have never experienced it, will acknowledge its existence if they have had any intercourse with the Soufis.

He explains the nature of *prophetism*, as the fourth stage of intellectual development. The first stage is that of simple sensation. About the age of seven, the second, that of understanding, developes itself. This is followed by a third reason, in which man perceives the necessary, the possible, the absolute, and all those higher objects which he knew not in the other stages. We need only allude to the similarity of this psychology to that of Kant, whose three elements, *Sinnlichkeit*—*Verstand*—and *Vernunft*, are here anticipated. And still more curious is it to observe Algazzāli not stopping where Kant stopped, but proceeding, in anticipation of Schelling and Hegel, to introduce a fourth stage, which is superior to reason and irrespective of logic, viz., that of intellectual intuition. He says:—

'After this comes a new period, when another eye is opened by which man perceives things hidden from others—perceives all that will be—perceives things which escape the perception of reason, as the objects of reason escape the understanding, and as the objects of understanding escape the sensitive faculty.'

There is this peculiarity in Algazzāli, that he regards the existence of this faculty as demonstrable; Plotinus and Schelling are content to assume it. Here is a singular passage:—

'Doubt respecting prophetism must refer either to its possibility or to its reality. To prove its possibility, it is only necessary to prove that it belongs to the category of objects of knowledge which cannot be regarded as the products of intelligence: such, for example, as astronomy and medicine. For whoso studies these sciences, is aware that they cannot be comprehended except by divine inspiration, with the assistance of God, and not by experience (!) Since there are astronomical indications (phenomena) which only appear once in a thousand years,—how could they be known by experience?* The properties of medicine are

* This passage is at the service of Dr Whewell, in support of his ar-

of the same nature. From this argument it is evident, that it is very possible to perceive things which the intelligence cannot conceive. And this is precisely one of the properties of prophetism, which has a myriad other properties; but the others are only perceptible during ecstasy, by those who lead the life of the Soufis.'

In this way he establishes, that there are more things betwixt heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy; and that as philosophy, from its very constitution, cannot embrace these things, some other aid must be sought. To this had his enquiries brought him! After running the round of philosophy—after having wasted the best years of his life in earnest study of the various solutions offered by his predecessors, and still finding the great problem unsolved, he was forced to pronounce philosophy incompetent, and to seek in some higher faculty than reason the solution of his doubts. The intellectual intuition, or ecstasy of the Soufis, was to him a sort of revelation. Nor is this doctrine of intellectual intuition incapable of consistent explanation, wild as it may seem. Once admit that the human mind, 'in the spacious circuit of its musing,' *can* extend its excursions into the supersensual and supernotional regions, (an assumption upon which all metaphysics repose;) and then admit that reason is no competent guide into these illimitable spheres, (an admission which the whole history of opinion, no less than the arguments of sceptics, forces upon the mind;) and what can be more natural than that, if you are unwilling to renounce the search, you should conclude the only method must be by an exaltation of the mind from *out* of its accustomed sphere? With ordinary faculties you have failed; you must therefore try the extraordinary. You conclude that you will rise above humanity by casting off your imperfections, by fasting, by subjugation of the passions, by purging your heart from all mundane desires, so as to leave unclouded all your intellectual faculties. Unhappily, when men endeavour to raise themselves above humanity, they always grovel below it.

In thus attempting to render these doctrines consistent, the reader will not suspect us of any wish to support them. Our exposition of the system has, we trust, absolved us from the idle task of criticism. We before hinted the object of this paper to be biographical and historical rather than philosophical; and as the biographical interest of Algazzāli's treatise ceases at this point, we may conclude with the examination of a few points of historical interest raised by M. Schmölders' publication.

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guments for that independence of all experience which he claims for certain truths.

Soufism was not a system of philosophy: Neither was it a religious sect. No Mussulman, according to M. Schmölders, ever regarded it as either one or the other. It was simply a rule of life carried out by a sort of monastic order. The aim, therefore, of Algazzāli's treatise, which has just been analysed, was not simply to inculcate Soufism; it aspired to no less than the reconciliation of philosophy with religion; and used Soufism as a powerful instrument. This was a magnificent, but almost impossible undertaking in his day. The Arabs were then deeply engrossed by the speculations of the Greek philosophers; and had borrowed from them scepticism, sophism, idealism, and materialism. The various sects whose idle disputations had vexed ancient Greece, were revived upon another and a kindred soil. Algazzāli had studied their writings; admitted the force of some of their reasonings; admitted the incompetence of philosophy, and saw that another course was necessary. Aristotle could not aid him. Plato was more congenial; but Plotinus, the Egyptian Plato, as he was called, either directly or indirectly, through the Soufis, pointed out to him an issue from his doubts.

Algazzāli had thus, in common with all the Arabian philosophers, formed a system which was partly Greek and partly Oriental; and we must regard it as a serious deficiency in M. Schmölders' work that he has given us no means of separating the Greek element from the Oriental. It would have formed a piquant subject for his sagacity and erudition. The question would be far easier of decision than at first appears, if it were rightly investigated. But it could only be settled by one learned in Arabic lore; for we believe that the oriental element was simply Arabian; no other oriental doctrines could have gained admission.

There are but two great epochs in the intellectual development of the Arabs: the appearance of Mahomet, and the conquest of Alexandria. The former gave them a religion; the latter gave them a philosophy. The doctrines of the Koran and those of the Alexandrian school were then blended in various ways, and the result was Arabian philosophy; precisely as the doctrines of Christianity, blended with the doctrines of the Greek philosophers, produced the Schoolmen.

'Alexandrie devenue arabe,' says the learned M. Ampère, in his 'Voyage et Recherches en Egypte,'* 'ne cessa pas tout 'd'abord d'être grecque; car la science grecque subsista en 'partie au sein des populations musulmanes, et fit presque

* Publishing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. September 1846.

'toute leur civilisation.' And M. Schmölders, at the very outset, stops to warn us that we can never speak of an Arabian philosophy, in the *strict* sense of the word, as we speak of a Greek or a German philosophy. 'Every time I use the expression,' he says, 'I must be only understood to speak of the 'Greek philosophy as the Arabs cultivated it.' It is necessary, we conceive, to limit the expression still more, and to understand by it simply the Greek philosophy 'as interpreted by the 'Alexandrians.' The Arabs knew very little of the original works. Even Aristotle, whom they styled *the* philosopher, and whose works they subsequently translated and commented on with such pious zeal, was for a long while only known to them through the Alexandrians. Plato and Pythagoras were at no period much known to them directly; and from their confusion of the Sophists with the Sceptics, we may gather that these thinkers were also only known through tradition.

This observation, by which we meant to simplify the question, may indeed only serve to obscure it, if the Alexandrian school be supposed to have an Egyptian element in it; because in that case Arabian philosophy would be a compound of Arabian, of Grecian, and of Egyptian doctrines. But we side with, we believe, the best modern authorities, in rejecting the notion of a proper Egyptian element in Alexandrian philosophy; and the present opportunity of briefly discussing that question is too tempting for us to resist.

For centuries it continued an undisputed assertion that Plotinus, Porphyry, and the rest, were deeply impregnated with Egyptian doctrines. Modern researches have led to a different conclusion; and although it becomes us not to pronounce dogmatically on so vexed a question, we do not hesitate in ranging ourselves on the side of the moderns. As Egypt becomes better known, many ancient prejudices vanish. It has been for ages the old wonder-land whence superstitious ingenuity has derived the invention of all arts and sciences. To the ancient Greeks it was the mother of all wonders. No philosopher could raise himself into prominent distinction, but he must at once be supposed to have learned his wisdom from the Egyptians. Even the imaginary race of Pigmies (in whose existence men firmly believed for several centuries) could have no birth-place or dwelling-place but somewhere near the source of the Nile.* The dark mysterious Egyptians, with their 'wonderful talent

* Aristotle, with the utmost gravity, assumes this.—*Hist. Animal.* lib. 8, c. 12.

'for silence,' were supposed to conceal inexhaustible wisdom beneath that gravity; but from all that has transpired, we suspect their gravity concealed nothing worth exhibiting. Knowledge, like murder, 'will out,'—cannot be restrained; so that when we see neither flame nor smoke, we are compelled to question the presence of fire.*

Whether the earlier thinkers, Pythagoras and Plato, owed much to the Egyptians, has long been a disputed point; and certainly all attempts to indicate any distinct obligations have been something more than questionable. Coincidences of doctrine doubtless exist; but coincidences by no means necessarily imply a transmission from one to the other. The history of philosophy is crowded with coincidences, where direct filiation is impossible. In this very article we have alluded to some which exist between Algazzāli and Descartes, and the Germans; and as the moderns knew no Arabic, and as the treatise in question was never till recently translated or even analysed, there can be no suspicion of transmission, direct or indirect. Of Pythagoras, we know little that is certain, and we have none of his writings. Of Plato, we may distinctly say that the evidence afforded by his works is decidedly against the notion of Egyptian influence. He visited Egypt; but seems to have brought nothing away from it except a profound veneration for the orderly symmetry of society, and perhaps also a certain inclination towards the symbolical, though the latter he might very well have learned from the Grecian mysteries, as M. Ampère suggests. And when he wishes to express philosophical ideas by means of mythological symbols, he employs the mythes of Greece, and not the legends of Egypt; which, according to M. Ampère, he did not know much of. At all events, it is very clear that he did not think highly of the Egyptians as philosophers, from his making the distinction between them and the Greeks to consist in their being φιλοχρήματων, and the Greeks φιλομαθεῖς.†

But when we come to the Alexandrian school, the influence, if influence there were, should be more distinctly discernible. We are then upon Egyptian ground. The Museum where these Greeks assembled, stands at no great distance from the Temple of Serapis. The Egyptian priests are no longer foreign curiosi-

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* 'That any recondite doctrine, religious or philosophical, was attached to the mysteries, or contained in the holy stories, has never been shown, and is in the last degree improbable; though the affirmative has been attested by many learned men.'—Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, i. p. 43.

† See the passage *Repub.* iv. p. 195; ed. Bekker.

ties; they and their rites are daily familiarities—at least as much as they ever could be to a strange population. The Greek philosophers then living there had ampler opportunities of learning all that could be imparted to them, than Pythagoras or Plato had in their brief sojourn; and many persons have jumped to the conclusion that they *must* have availed themselves of these opportunities—a conclusion which we believe at variance with facts. The Alexandrians no more thought of learning from the Egyptians, than of learning from the Christians; yet the Didascalia of the Christians was as familiar to them as the Temple of Serapis, and far more formidable. They were, in short, Greeks, and had the Grecian contempt for 'barbarians.' M. Ampère, in that remarkable work which we have already cited, has established that Alexandria was 'très grecque, assez juive, peu 'romaine, et presque point égyptienne.' The language of the tribunals was Greek; and, by the inscriptions, we also see that the official language was Greek. Philo, quoting a few Greek words used at Alexandria, says they belong to the indigenous language. The fetes and public rituals were Greek; the Museum was Greek, and its chiefs were Greeks.

'Its organization,' says M. Ampère, 'had never any trace of being either Egyptian or sacerdotal. But the Museum, it is objected, was placed under the direction of a priest, and that made it an institution analogous to the Egyptian schools. On a first glance, this circumstance appears decisive; on looking closer, however, we see that this priest was always a Greek under the Greek kings, and Roman under the Roman emperors. Moreover, of what divinity was he the minister? Was it Ammon, Thoth, or Osiris? No; M. Letronne has shown that he was always the minister of the gods of the Ptolemies. Can we, then, see in the priest of such a religion, any thing else but a mere official?'

It is certainly a very strong presumption against the Egyptian influence, that the Greeks knew absolutely nothing of the Egyptian language and hieroglyphic writing. And this fact is established by the following arguments:—Had they known any thing of it, they would not have failed to make us acquainted with their knowledge. Had they been entirely silent on the point, we might have given them the benefit of the doubt; but unfortunately for their credit, they did occasionally speak of it, and the ignorance they exhibit is said by those learned in such matters, to be truly astonishing. One example will enable the least erudite reader to estimate the amount of their ignorance: They never suspected that the hieroglyphs were *phonetic* as well as symbolical! The symbolical writing, though really much less frequent than the phonetic, was imagined by them to be the

only writing used by the Egyptians. This error is committed by Plotinus, Proclus, Porphyry, and even Jamblicus, who nevertheless wrote a work on the science of the Egyptians! *

It has, moreover, recently become a question whether the Egyptians had really any thing to teach. This is, of course, indignantly repelled by many who have devoted themselves to Egyptian antiquities; but it is supported by ample erudition, and some cogent reasoning. We have not the slightest pretension to decide so great a question; but the following remarks will show that the case for Egyptian science has not been clearly made out.

Astronomy is a science in which the Egyptians are supposed to have made very striking progress; and which, because Alexandria may be called its birth-place, has been attributed rather to Egyptian than to Grecian invention. One of the great evidences in this matter has been the fact of zodiacal representations having been found upon the different temples of Egypt, and particularly at Denderah; but since Champollion read the names of Nero and Tiberius, very distinctly written in hieroglyphs upon this monument, the antiquity of this zodiac is no longer maintainable, and its evidence falls to the ground. Nay more, it is now, we believe, understood as established by the erudition and sagacity of M. Letronne, that there is no evidence whatever of a zodiac in Egypt before the Greek era. † This is negative; but it also negatives the evidence which used to be thought conclusive. Moreover, neither telescope nor astrolabe have ever been found represented on the tombs, where so many things have been found illustrative of what the defunct had employed while living. Indeed, without altogether adopting the opinion of the historian of Astronomy, that 'les Egyptiens 'étaient astronomes, tout juste ce qu'il fallait pour être char-'latans,' we are entitled to assert positively that they had no *science* of astronomy; for the very sufficient reason that they had no science of mathematics, without which science astronomy is absolutely impossible, however copious the collection of observations.

But, had they no science of mathematics? Some persons deny this; they assert that the construction of the pyramids is a proof of profound mathematical science. We venture to suggest that there is a vast difference between a monument exhibiting

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* This work contains little that is Egyptian, except the names of some of the deities.

† *Mémoires de l'Institute*, XVI. p. 113.

mathematical proportions, and a mathematical intention having presided over its construction—all the difference, indeed, between an art and a science. Medicine was practised long before physiology was a science. The facts of mathematics are universal facts, and discoverable in every direction, but the science of mathematics is somewhat different from these. On this point we must again borrow from M. Ampère:—'Les connaissances 'mathématiques et astronomiques qui ont tant illustré Alexan-'drie ne sont point, quoi qu'on ait prétendu, un heritage qu'elle 'ait reçu des sanctuaires de l'Egypte. Les anciens ont proclamé 'les Egyptiens inventeurs de la géométrie, parceque les inonda-'tions du Nil rendaient nécessaire une mésure des propriétés 'exacte et souvent renouvelée; mais cette géométrie, bornée 'aux procédés pratiques de l'arpentage, n'a rien de commun 'avec la science cultivée dans les écoles de la Grèce et de l'Italie. 'On ne voit pas qu'elle ait conduit les Egyptiens à une décou-'verte comme celle du carré de l'hypoténuse. On n'a rien 'trouvé parmi les nombreuses représentations dont les monu-'ments sont couverts, qui ressemble à une figure de géométrie.'

In leaving the domain of physics for that nebulous region of metaphysics, wherein coincidences must necessarily occur, we find few traces of Egyptian influence. The philosophy of the Alexandrian school is a direct filiation from Plato and the New Academy; and the celebrated doctrine of ecstacy, so mystical and oriental in its aspect, is but an immoderate development of the Platonic philosophy. Between the philosophy of the Alexandrians and the doctrines of the Egyptians, we have all the contrast which results from an excess of abstraction on the one side, and an excess of personification on the other. We may well ask what relation can exist between Ammon, the generator, or Ammon-Sun and the divine Unity of Plotinus—an Unity in which, being is absolutely disengaged from all determinate attributes—raised so far above all finite conception, that it is non-being—the ineffable existence which is anterior to all reality. In fact, the doctrines of the Egyptians were as simple as those of the Alexandrians were metaphysical.

The mysteries of Isis and Osiris are indeed commonly supposed to have contained esoteric doctrines, which only the initiated were permitted to learn, and which were as abstract and metaphysical as the exoteric doctrines were simple and concrete. But, in answer to this, we may say with M. Ampère, it yet remains to be satisfactorily established that there was a system of mysteries and initiations proper to Egypt, and not imported from Greece:—'Je sais qu'on a fait grand bruit de ces mystères, 'à commencer par les Alexandrins eux-mêmes; mais on a tou-

'jours négligé d'en prouver rigoureusement l'existence, *et il n'y* 'est fait nulle allusion, que je sache, sur aucun monument Egyptien 'connu.' Further, suppose this doubt of M. Ampère's set at rest—suppose the existence of the mysteries proved—and we shall then ask, how doctrines reserved only for the initiated, were learned by the Greek philosophers, who certainly were not admitted into the caste of priesthood—a caste which was the most jealous and exclusive of all hereditary castes?

We cannot afford to dwell longer on this subject, tempting as it is. If the conclusions we have been endeavouring to establish were once made tolerably convincing—if it could be shown that the Alexandrians were Greek, and not Egyptian, in their science and philosophy—we should then have in the Arabian philosophy only one element to separate from the Koran, namely, the Greek element; as in the schoolmen of the middle ages there is only the Greek element to be separated from Christianity—an inquiry which has considerable interest in the history of philosophy, and which M. Schmölders, with his erudition, might have greatly facilitated. He has made no attempt of the kind; but he has nevertheless produced a curious and interesting work, which we recommend to the attention of all readers occupying themselves with such topics.

ART. V.—*The Emigrant.* By SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD, Bart. Third Edition. London: 1846.

THE author has not unhappily described his work in the first sentence of the very brief preface which he has prefixed to it. 'As the common crow,' he says, 'is made up of a small lump 'of carrion, and two or three handfuls of feathers, so is this volume 'composed of political history, buoyed up by a few light 'sketches, solely written to make a dull subject fly.' And no man of taste, we think, will read this book without admiring the beauty and lightness of the sketches, nor any man of judgment without being offended by the carrion of the politics.

Though the world has generally forgotten Sir Francis Head, or is reminded of him only when he writes about himself, there are vast numbers on whose fortunes his actions have exercised an influence not easily effaced; and the part which he once played in the history of our empire, is sufficiently remarkable to excite some curiosity as to the character of the man, and the circumstances which placed him in a prominent position. The most

minute and accurate autobiography could hardly have done more to explain Sir Francis Head's character and career, than the little work before us. In the two separate portions of his book, he presents us with the most perfect picture of his moral and intellectual being. The reader sees in a moment what manner of man he is—what he is fit, and what unfit for—why he is one of the most agreeable writers of light literature, and one of the most deplorable of the politicians of our day. And a very curious and instructive lesson may be drawn, from showing how, by the accident of an injudicious patron, and the fault of an ill-judging vanity, a man who, if kept in his proper place, might have done himself some honour, and contributed some little to the harmless amusement of this much-bored world of ours, has been so misplaced and misemployed in a function wholly unsuited to his character and rearing, that he has turned out an agent of much evil, and an object of very general and deserved ridicule.

Nature has endowed Sir Francis Head, not illiberally, with some of the qualifications for a writer of the lighter kinds of fiction. He has quickness, though certainly very little accuracy of observation, much humour, and considerable power of description. Nor is he at bottom altogether a bad, unamiable man; his sympathies are kindly, and his disposition altogether rather genial. So that on the whole, without lofty or generous feeling—any of the better qualities of the poet—any conception of great thoughts or deep emotions—any even of that philosophy in fun which has inspired the great masters of wit and humour, and with a habit of exaggeration which mars the truth of all that he writes—still he has a power of appreciating the marking features of any simple incident in everyday life, and the art of conveying to others, by a few strong touches, the impression produced on himself. More of such a task he never attempts; he never labours to complete the effect produced by the first bold dashes of his pencil; but straightway passes on to the next object that has struck his fancy, and disposes of that with the same ease. If the work which he performs be flimsy, and his style incorrect and vulgar, they possess the compensating merits of lightness, buoyancy, and variety. Without pretending to the minute completeness and accuracy of Flemish painting, he can always produce a few bold and easy outlines, which have often the merit of clever caricature, and sometimes that of rough likeness.

But the sort of mind that we have been describing is almost necessarily deficient in the attributes of large and continuous reasoning. When our author comes to deal with the great facts of human nature—when, as in the serious part of the work before

us, he pretends to discharge the functions of the historian or political philosopher—we find no trace of the knowledge, the thought, the patience, or the candour, which are requisite for the task. His presumption leads him to imagine, that to him it is given, with his childish weapons of fun and fiction, to master the world of fact. In truth, he seems never to understand the distinction between history and fiction; and to deal with the facts which he has to tell, with just the same freedom which he would exercise in colouring or disposing the images of a tale. From premises thus absolutely independent of all reality, by the aid of a logic which is certainly the loosest by which ever mortal man bewildered himself, he evolves two or three of the old commonplaces of ultra-Toryism into a political and historical system, by which he firmly believes that he has actually succeeded in governing a small portion of the human race, and by which he tries to persuade us that the world should be governed. His agreeable style is instantly corrupted by the uncongenial subject on which it is employed. His efforts at passion, and sublimity, and reasoning, are marred by his utter inability to apply with accuracy the fine words which come in his way; he attempts to supply the feeble resources of his grandiloquence by occasional bits of slang and slipslop; and produces, on the whole, some such effect as would result from Mrs Malaprop's enriching her own peculiar diction with a few scraps from the phraseology of Sam Weller.

Such a man as this, had he been strictly kept to the province of light literature, and had his vanity been controlled by judicious criticism, might have attained no little excellence in that agreeable and humble walk. Humorous tales were the work really set out for him by nature; and it is not too much to say that he might have achieved an amusing novel. His physical strength and spirits qualified him admirably for a traveller; and, though we could not have counted on a profound or accurate observation of men or things, we should have had vivid descriptions of passing scenes and incidents, and humorous stories of personal adventure. He should have been left to scamper over other Pampas, or blow fresh bubbles from other baths than those of Nassau. But he was sadly wronged by those who, in an evil hour, took him from such congenial operations, and placed him in positions where the practical interests of men were entrusted to his indiscretion and presumption. He owes this to the poor-law commissioners, who employed him as assistant commissioner in Kent, and before they had had time to discover the evil consequences of his proceedings, passed him on with much commendation to Lord Glenelg, who appointed him to the vacant govern-

ment of Upper Canada. He went out to that province with positive instructions and some vague intentions to reform the abuses which had brought it into a state of disorder and discontent. A fruitless attempt to conciliate parties ended in his quarrelling with the popular leaders, and becoming the tool of the illiberal party, into whose arms he threw himself. At the head of that party he entered into a contest with the Assembly, dissolved it, and by the aid of very favourable circumstances, and of considerable activity, ability, and, it must be added, unscrupulousness in the use of electioneering arts, obtained a majority in a new parliament. The process by which he had obtained success identified him, and with him the crown, of which he was the representative, with the dominant party; and the abuse of power by that party alienated a large portion of the colony from its previously undisturbed attachment to the mother country. To the feelings thus excited the unhappy events of Lower Canada gave a great impulse; and the rebellious designs at first entertained by a few contemptible demagogues, acquired strength from the provocations offered to a large mass of the population, were encouraged by the apathy of the governor, and finally manifested themselves in a rebellious outbreak, to which his inconceivable want of energy and prudence very nearly gave a fearful chance of momentary success. Rescued from this peril by the vigour of others, and the gallant loyalty of the colonists, he plunged the interests of the colony and the empire into the yet more formidable hazards of a needless quarrel with the neighbouring republic. Fortunately an unseemly squabble with his official superiors had by this time produced his recall; and the publication of his despatches, by exposing the extraordinary absurdity of his career, indisposed every party in this country from encouraging the attempts which he unceasingly made to obstruct the plans by which the government effected the pacification of Canada. Since that time, rejected by all parties, he has failed in every attempt to obtain a fresh field for the practical trial of his perilous theories of colonial policy; and has remained in a harmless obscurity, from which he ever and anon attempts to emerge by means of publications, in which he vaunts the unappreciated merits of his official career, declaims against the equal ingratitude of successive ministries, and mourns over the happy consequences that have followed from the utter and universal disregard of his counsels.

It would have been far more agreeable to our own taste, and probably to that of our readers, had we felt justified in taking no notice of the work now before us, or been able to confine our criticism, and their attention to those lighter parts of it, which

exhibit the literary merits for which we have given the author credit. But the great experiment of colonial policy which commenced with Lord Durham's Report, and is now in progress of trial in our great colony of Canada, is of far too vast importance to permit us to allow any misconception of the circumstances in which it originated, or any misrepresentation of its actual results. And though the statements and opinions of Sir Francis Head are not likely to exercise any influence on the mind of any public man conversant with his character and the real truth of the matter, or likely to be entrusted with the fortunes of our colonies, the public in general, are probably not sufficiently mindful of events which have long since ceased to interest them, to be equally on their guard. This book has been read by many whose knowledge of its author's career is limited to a vague impression of his having been governor of Canada during a wanton, and, as is generally imagined, a formidable rebellion, which was suppressed under his command; and of his measures having been approved by the ministry of the day, and himself rewarded with the title which he now bears. Such readers will attribute some authority to the statements of one who is apparently stamped with authentic marks of public confidence. And when such a man gravely demands the attention of his countrymen, while he 'discloses facts which not only threaten the safety 'of our institutions, but in which the honour of the British 'Crown is deeply involved,'—when he goes on to develope his own story of events in which he was a principal actor, and, from sources accessible only to himself, to reveal certain strange mysteries in past transactions, it would be too much to expect that whatever may be the obvious extravagance of his theories, and looseness of his reasoning, the great mass of his readers will detect the inaccuracy of his statements, and appreciate the absolute worthlessness of his whole narrative. Some portion of a large mass of error may obtain currency: and we owe it to the right understanding of a not uninteresting portion of our history, and a very important political change, to destroy the effect of every one of Sir Francis Head's most mischievous mistatements.

We shall therefore pass rapidly over the better part of the present work, simply informing our readers that in the first hundred and fifty pages of the *Emigrant*, they will find much to amuse them. They must not attach too implicit credence to Sir Francis's theories of natural history. The difficult problem of the intense variations of the climate of North America is far from being explained by his very simple solution. He contrives somewhat to exaggerate the effects even of Canadian frost on the human face and fingers. But the reader, who may chance to find this book in

his way during a leisure hour, will derive great amusement from the graphic accounts of the singular phenomena of the Canadian seasons: may spend a few minutes in contemplation of the wild scenes that present themselves on the breaking up of the ice: may read with great interest some few stories of real incidents in the life of the backwoods: and may with unceasing pleasure follow the ex-governor in his adventurous voyage over the wide waters and amid the countless islands of Lake Huron. In p. 110 will be found a humorous description of an Indian village, which, in addition to the general merits of our author's descriptive style, has what is in him the rare one of slyly inculcating a most important fact and pregnant observation.

Beyond the 153d page, all is what the author has described as 'carrion.' The reader may probably be tempted to go on with it: and, in order that he may do it safely, we shall now proceed to show that there is not a single material statement in it to which he should attach the slightest credit. If, in the performance of this task, we should treat the author with some severity, our justification will be found in the scurrility with which he has treated every person whom he finds it convenient to depreciate.

It is not very easy at once to see what is the exact purport and object of the political portion of the *Emigrant;* nor why Sir Francis has thought it necessary, at the close of 1846, to recall public attention to the stale story of his own exploits in 1837, and of Sir Charles Bagot's policy in 1842. The first impression is, that it is written solely for the pleasure of abusing Sir Robert Peel. No doubt, Sir Robert Peel has done much, both of a private and public nature, to exasperate the ex-governor. He repelled all his attempts at intimacy, and, when Sir Francis, on the strength of, as he confesses, a recent and 'very slight' acquaintance, wrote to him with characteristic familiarity as 'My dear Sir Robert,' taught him to keep his distance by a cold answer in the third person. He refused most peremptorily, when at the head of a powerful opposition, to lend himself in any way to Sir Francis's attempts to obstruct the union of the Canadas. While he was minister, he absolutely declined either to avail himself of Sir Francis's services, or in any way to heed his advice: nor would he take any step in the way of giving Sir Francis that reward for his services, which the latter most urgently pressed on him. Publicly and emphatically he declared his adoption of the principles which Sir Francis denounced; and, by acting on a system precisely the reverse of the ex-governor's, restored perfect tranquillity to British North America, and prevented the fearful evils that must have ensued had he wanted the wisdom or energy to take the right course at the precise

moment that he chose. All this has brought down on him Sir Francis's wrath: and, accordingly, the whole of the latter part of the book is worked up to the point of charging on the ex-minister every disaster which a heated fancy depicts as in store for Canada. While Lord Durham's views are excused on the score of temporary insanity, while to Lord John Russell is conceded the merit of at least a manly and an open hostility to monarchical institutions, the Conservative leader is represented as having for years persevered in the treacherous policy of preparing the way for the loss of Canada, by weakening the institutions which connect it with the mother country, by discouraging the loyal, and by entrusting power to rebels. The advice by which he has abused the 'unsuspecting confidence' of her Majesty, is such, that 'the hand of her subject trembles to record it.' And in deprecation of the fearful chance of his ever returning to power, this strange farrago of nonsense is closed with the mock sublimity of the following prayer:—'*From the statesman, whoever he may be, that for any earthly object he may desire to attain, will not hesitate to sully the honour of the British crown*—GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!'

The only other practical object which is announced in the book, is that of procuring a repeal of the union of the Canadas, and a final abolition of Responsible Government. We doubt whether even Sir Francis Head's imagination can seriously contemplate these results as possible. Nor do we believe that these three hundred pages would have been written solely for the purpose of blackening Sir Robert Peel. We rather think that advantage is taken of Sir Robert's present disgrace with his party, in order to recall public attention to the forgotten merits of one who, at least in our author's fancy, was the most distinguished victim of his treachery. Sir Francis is not without some dexterity in seizing a favourable opportunity of turning other men's violence and follies to his own account. It happens that at the present moment the predominant feeling in the breasts of a large party is resentment against Sir Robert Peel, on account of the part he has recently taken in English politics; and Sir Francis thinks that if he can now come forward and give the assailants of the late premier a fresh stick to beat him, by furnishing them with a fresh instance of his disregard of party ties, his tale will be greedily swallowed, and he himself become the hero of a party which sadly wants one. If this be his speculation, we think he has dealt rather clumsily with the leader of the 'great country party,' who will not be apt to forget that he himself was the Colonial Secretary, under whose instructions and approval the measures denounced by Sir Francis Head were carried into effect; and whose vanity will not be peculiarly gratified by Sir Francis

excusing him from all responsibility, by (as we imagine, quite truly) treating him as having in all these matters merely acted under Sir Robert Peel's directions.

With this end in view, Sir Francis does not omit to direct our attention to what he regards as the great deeds of his colonial administration. The first part of this heroic poem tells the defence of Toronto against Mackenzie: an episode is the driving Mr Bidwell out of the province. The second part contains the war of Navy Island, and the destruction of the 'Caroline.' The third is the Odyssey of Head—his return home through countless perils in the United States. In the fourth he describes his vain endeavours to prevent the union of the Canadas. In the fifth part we may comprise what he calls the 'explosion,' and the 'moral,' which consist of his arguments against the union, his practical suggestions as to its repeal, and his denunciation of the late prime minister. The reader must not be alarmed at our now proposing to follow Sir Francis through these points. With the arguments we do not propose to grapple: they are beyond the grasp of any logic. It is to the statements of fact that we shall confine ourselves. And we intend simply to give an outline, first, of Sir Francis Head's account of each matter, and, secondly, of the facts as they really happened.

The point on which Sir Francis's whole career in Canada turned, was his taking three Reformers into his council, and then quarrelling with them and their party on the question of Responsible Government. Mr Baldwin and his friends were men, as their subsequent conduct has shown, of very little practical sense and temper; and there is no denying that even when mainly in the right, they contrived on this, as on other occasions, to put themselves somewhat in the wrong. Nevertheless, on the great principle for which they contended they were completely in the right, and Sir Francis as completely in the wrong. We need not now discuss the question of Responsible Government. Every man who has reflected on the subject sees, that the responsibility of the executive is a necessary part of representative government;—that if we trust the representatives of the people with the power of making laws, and the absolute control of the public purse, it is absurd to expect that the laws made by them can be administered, and the executive business of the country carried on, by any persons except those who possess their confidence. This is a point which Lord Durham's Report settled at once and for ever; and the only point connected with the subject which at all perplexes any one is, how it should have been necessary to send so eminent a man across the Atlantic, to

discover that the colonies could not be well governed under any other system.

Unfortunately when Sir Francis Head's quarrel with the Assembly occasioned an appeal to the people of Upper Canada, he was enabled, by the indiscretion of his opponents, to put the contest on a very different ground from that of Responsible Government; and when he points to the result as indicative of the public feeling, he must be reminded that he himself contrived to represent the question at issue as that of 'Connexion with the 'Mother Country,' or 'Separation.' To the question thus artfully put, the answer of the great majority of the people of Canada, especially of the British settlers who had only just left the mother country, was decisive. In truth, the dissatisfaction which had long been growing against the Assembly, rendered the issue very little doubtful. Sir Francis Head's arrival in the province, in January 1836, arrested Sir John Colborne's hand whilst in the act of issuing the proclamation for a dissolution of the provincial parliament; and there is very little doubt, that without the new governor's exertions, the general election that followed in the summer would have exhibited nearly the same result as had been witnessed in the four preceding general elections—that of converting the majority of each parliament into a minority in that which immediately succeeded it. Still, Sir Francis must not be denied the merit of most able electioneering. In fact, he was now in his element. He rode all over the province, harangued the farmers, waved the British flag, appealed to those whom he could not visit by brief pithy answers to addresses, and raised up a perfect fervour of devotion to British connexion and its champion. Unfortunately he never recovered this excitement. The part he now played exactly suited the play-actor turn of his character. He imagined himself the representative of the monarchical principle on the American continent; and passed the remainder of his career in a perpetual conflict with the giants of democracy and republicanism.

The election of a Tory parliament established the official party known as the 'Family Compact' in firm possession of power. Their abuse of that power produced general dissatisfaction; and in 1837, when the disorders of Lower Canada were beginning to assume the aspect of rebellion, the more violent of the agitators of the sister province imagined, that they should find some support in a simultaneous attempt to sever the connexion with the British empire. We have always been of opinion, that there was not any real chance of success for such an attempt; and that there never was a wiser resolve than that which was adopted, of leaving Upper Canada to protect itself, and removing the regular force

in it to defend the lower province. We have always ascribed the merit of this step to Sir Francis Head, and regarded it as the one act of his government which showed decision, wisdom, and a just estimate of his position. He has claimed credit for having, in reply to Sir John Colborne's inquiries, declared that he did not want a single soldier in the province; and that such trust did he repose in the general loyalty of the colonists, that he was ready to spare a large portion even of their militia for the service of Lower Canada. That he himself 'sent away the troops,' was his perpetual boast. And a just matter of pride it was; because experience amply proved that the colonists of Upper Canada were fully equal to guarding their country against any enemy that assailed it, from within or without. But now all this turns out to have been mere empty, groundless boasting. Some Tory friends whose good opinion Sir Francis seems to value more than his own character, have never been able to appreciate a course so opposed to their own notions of the right method of dealing with the people; and the desire of averting their criticisms has extracted from Sir Francis this confession, in p. 159 of the present work,—'Many people have blamed, and I believe 'still blame me, for having, as they say,'—it was Sir Francis who first said it—'sent the troops out of the province. *I, however,* '*did no such thing.* Sir John Colborne, the commander of the 'forces in Canada, felt that he required the whole of them to 'defend the lower province; and deeming the moral power which 'he saw I possessed sufficient, he offered me a couple of com-'panies only, and then, *without consulting me,* recalled the whole 'of the remainder of the troops.' So that it was not Sir Francis Head, but his predecessor in the government of the province, that formed this just estimate of the feelings of its inhabitants, and took upon himself the responsibility of this wise and bold resolution. Sir Francis's only merit is, that he had sense enough to see that the two companies left him could not guard the province; and that, if the defence of it were in reality to be left to the colonists, they might as well feel the entire responsibility, and enjoy the entire credit. But he has reduced his own claim to our praise simply to that of having sent this useless handful of regulars after the main body.

But whether this diminution of the force at his command was or was not the act of Sir Francis Head, the strength which he possessed in the loyalty of a gallant population was amply sufficient to have guarded against every risk. Had he used his means properly, no outbreak would have occurred; and that he did not do so, is proved by the fact that Mackenzie, at the head of two or three hundred hastily collected country people, ven-

tured to attack the capital of the province, and was very near obtaining a considerable degree of success.

When Sir F. Head, in his despatch written a few days after the discomfiture of Mackenzie, had to give his first account of the outbreak, the force of recent facts exercised such a constraint even on his imagination, that he was compelled to confess that he had been 'completely surprised.' It would indeed have been difficult for him, on the 19th of December, to refuse such an admission to the minister, to whom he had written on the 3d of the preceding month the following positive assurances that no outbreak was to be apprehended:—'I know well that there exists no 'body of men in this province, who would dare to attack govern-'ment property under the protection of the civil authorities of 'Toronto.' And a little further on—'I have not the slightest 'apprehension that any disturbance of importance will be made 'in this loyal province during the approaching winter.' But as time has rolled on, and as Sir Francis has been removed from the spot in which he was confronted with a population who had been eye-witnesses of those occurrences, he has forgotten the weakness of being surprised, and claims the merit of having foreseen the crisis which came on him. Indeed, in the 'Narrative' which he published in 1839, he went so far as to declare that he had all along not only foreseen but desired the insurrection, and had 'waited with folded arms' in order to tempt an outbreak. Sir Francis has found that this is a profession of political immorality rather too revolting for the present day. Had nothing been at stake but Mackenzie's single worthless head, the governor might fairly have hazarded his own against it. But, considering that every step that Mackenzie was allowed to take, involved a large number of unreflecting and violent, but by no means worthless, men in the guilt and penalties of treason—that even the slightest outbreak could not be quelled without the loss of some life and property on the part of the loyal—and that, after all, the most signal suppression of insurrection is a very poor compensation for the terrible mischief of even a momentary interruption of the traditional obedience to law, Sir Francis found he had vindicated himself against the weakness of having been surprised, by assuming enormous guilt and extraordinary folly. With that readiness with which he deems himself justified in altering the equally imaginary incidents of all his narratives, he now leaves these pretensions, and declares that, though fully aware of all Mackenzie's plots, he could not arrest him in his career until he had committed some act of treason: and that, when Mackenzie went thus far, he instantly escaped from Toronto, and commenced his rebellion. Forgetting the testimony of his own despatch, Sir

Francis now states that he himself had all along made his preparations for the rebellion, which he 'was quite aware would 'sooner or later take place in the upper province:' that with this view he had strengthened the fort near the town: and that he had made all his arrangements for making his chief stand in the City Hall, which to his military eye appeared the best stronghold for his purpose.

If this were all correct, it would be a pitiable exposure of a very foolish scheme. What was the use of waiting till such a contemptible person as Mackenzie committed himself by some overt act of treason, when any one of the seditious libels which he published in any number of his paper, would have justified the arresting him, and checking his plots in their very infancy? Why all these arrangements of defence against assailants, who never should have been allowed to come in an offensive attitude within several miles of Sir Francis Head's infinitely superior force? But there is no foundation for any part of this new version of his story. He was, as he originally confessed, completely surprised: and he was surprised by an occurrence for which every man in Toronto, except himself and his counsellors, was perfectly prepared. Up to the moment that he was startled from his sleep by the vision of one who had actually been attacked by Mackenzie close to the town, he and his advisers lived in a fool's paradise, from which no warning could draw them. He would believe in no danger, deceived his superior in England with reports that there could be no disturbance, made no arrangements, and offered every obstruction to the few determined and prudent men who took the precautions which the government should have taken. The fort which he pretends to have strengthened, he left in charge of eight men to defend its walls and a powder magazine inside of it—his stronghold, the City Hall, he left with 4000 stand of arms in charge of two constables. In short, whatever the most utter want of forethought could do to invite and facilitate the outbreak, Sir Francis Head did: and when the outbreak took place, his want of energy and prudence contributed yet further to its originally slender chance of success.

In Canada no one would require us to give any details or authority in support of what is there the received version of the affair; but, for the information of readers at home, it may be as well that we should give a succinct narrative of the circumstances that attended Mackenzie's attack on Toronto. Our knowledge of such facts as are not taken from the official accounts, has been derived from written statements given to us by Colonel Fitzgibbon, an old officer of the army, who, during the period of which we speak, held the office of Clerk of the Parliament, and

who acted as Adjutant-General of the militia, and, in fact, commanded the force that defended Toronto during the outbreak. In Canada there is no difference of opinion as to the merits and services of Colonel Fitzgibbon; and the belief, that mainly to his energy and courage the safety of the city is to be ascribed, has been attested by the general testimony of the press, the resolutions of public meetings, and the votes of the Provincial Parliament. And though, of course, he will be suspected of a tendency to exaggerate his own claims, and to resent the ungenerous feeling which prompted Sir Francis Head on every occasion to keep his name out of sight, the character of Colonel Fitzgibbon is such, that no one of his countrymen will refuse entire credit to his statement of the occurrences in which he bore so prominent a part.

Mackenzie's attack on Toronto occurred on the 4th of December 1837. As early, however, as October, his preparations had become so menacing, that, the troops being removed from the province, some anxiety began to be felt as to the efficiency of the means by which order was to be maintained. The governor was pressed to take some precautions, not, as he would have it believed, of a nature to betray apprehension and harass the loyal population, but simply such as should not have been neglected even in the ordinary conduct of business. The militia regiments throughout the province were in a state of great disorganization; that of Toronto itself had as many as twenty vacancies among the officers. Colonel Fitzgibbon, who had the command of the regiment, proposed to the governor to fill up these vacancies; but the answer of the latter was, that there was no occasion to do any thing till the following summer.

The symptoms of danger continued to become more and more alarming; and the people of Toronto, finding that nothing could arouse the government from its apathy, began, under Colonel Fitzgibbon's direction, to take measures for defending themselves. A corps of volunteer riflemen, that had been formed in Sir John Colborne's time, offered to guard the stand of arms for 4000 men, which was lying perfectly unprotected in the City Hall. Their offer was publicly declined. Little more than a week before the outbreak, some volunteers who had actually mounted guard for a few evenings, were dismissed; and the care of the City Hall, and the arms in it, was entrusted to a couple of constables. On doing this, Sir Francis said that he had a great mind to have the arms brought to his own house, and left in charge of his servants.

About ten days before the outbreak, Colonel Fitzgibbon, finding the government (for it is but fair to the Governor to

state, that all his official advisers were as infatuated as himself) deaf to all his remonstrances, after a fruitless attempt to induce them to put the fort in a state of security, declared that he would not sit still to have his throat cut, and proceeded to arrange a plan for enrolling a certain number of householders, who were to be prepared with arms, and on the ringing of the bells to repair to the City Hall and Parliament House. Having waited on the Governor, and got his sanction to his scheme, after informing him that, with or without that sanction, he was determined to carry it into effect, he organized the volunteer corps, by which the city was saved. In all this he received no aid or directions from the Governor, and much discouragement from the principal members of the council. Indeed, so little apparent sanction did this step receive from the government, that Gibson, one of the principal of Mackenzie's adherents, made it a pretext for arming his followers, saying, that as the Tories were arming without authority, the Reformers were obliged to do the same.

About a week had passed in these preparations, evidences of an intended outbreak multiplying on every side, when, on Saturday the 2d of December, Colonel Fitzgibbon received such information from an actual eye-witness as left no doubt of a design of immediate hostilities on the part of the rebels. On going to Government House to communicate this intelligence, he found the governor surrounded by his principal advisers, and remained more than five hours with them, getting little else than ridicule and disbelief for his pains to induce them to take steps to meet the coming danger.

Some orders were, however, given with respect to the militia, which had an important result. Mackenzie had in the mean time been concerting a regular plan of rebellion, and the 7th of December had been fixed upon for a general rising, the plan of which was, that the rebels from all parts should assemble and march on Toronto. From Mackenzie's published statements, it appears that the orders given to the militia misled him into the supposition that the Governor was on his guard, and he determined to precipitate the attack before the completion of any plan of defence. Accordingly, on Sunday the 3d, he collected a body of armed men at Montgomery's tavern, about four miles from Toronto, under himself, Lount, Gibson, and Anderson. This force was constantly fluctuating, some going away as others came in; and it does not appear that the entire amount of this collection of undisciplined country people ever, at any one time, amounted to as many as two hundred men.

The proximity of the force was not, however, known in To-

ronto on the morning of Monday the 4th, when Sir Francis at last appointed Colonel Fitzgibbon Adjutant-General of Militia. Indeed, the first rumour of it seems only to have reached Toronto on the evening of that day. Colonel Fitzgibbon thereon assembled about twenty gentlemen in the City Hall; and having considered the measures necessary to be taken, repaired about ten o'clock to Government House, to acquaint the Governor with the state of affairs. Sir Francis had gone to bed, saw Colonel Fitzgibbon in his nightgown, left the defence of the town to him, and went to bed again. Colonel Fitzgibbon then rode about the town, set the alarm bells ringing, and collected the volunteers in the City Hall. Mr Powell the mayor, with a friend, who (such was the general ignorance of the real danger) did not even take his arms with him, rode out towards Montgomery's to ascertain whether the report of its being occupied by a rebel force were true or not. At the distance of about a couple of miles, they came suddenly on the main body of the rebels marching, under cover of the darkness, on the city, and were ordered to surrender. Mr Powell, being armed, shot the man who stopped him dead on the spot; galloped back to the town, and went straight to Government House, where he forced his way into the Governor's bed-room and told his tale. It is said, that even then Sir Francis was incredulous, and inclined to resent the intrusion on his slumbers. Colonel Fitzgibbon, however, came soon after, and persuaded Sir Francis to follow him to the City Hall, taking the precaution to conduct him through back streets, to avoid any risk of being intercepted by the rebels, who had had time to reach the heart of the city. And so, for aught Sir Francis had done, they might have been, have surprised him in his bed, and, without the slightest organised resistance, captured the capital of the province, its fort, its City Hall with arms for 4000 men, and its banks with all the specie in them. There is no estimating the extent of mischief which would have followed from the signal success which the incalculable folly of the government would have given to the rebels; and though we do not believe that even such a triumph would have enabled Mackenzie ultimately to realise his insane project in defiance of the general loyalty of the province, it would, in all probability, have swelled his force by no inconsiderable number of those who, when they found how things were going, arrayed themselves on the side of the government.

The precautions of Colonel Fitzgibbon had, however, provided the city with an ample security against any such result, and, combined with a most fortunate accident, prevented even momentary mischief. The man whom Mr Powell had shot, turned

out to be no less a person than Anderson, to whose skill and courage the rebels had trusted the direction of their military operations. The death of their leader disheartened them; and, when they heard the bells ringing, they concluded that the city was well prepared to resist them, and accordingly abandoned their attack till the next day.

During the two following days the Governor remained in the City Hall in entire inaction. He now accounts for this by telling us, that it was the result of one of those marvellously profound combinations which he always discovers as excuses for not having followed the simple path of common-sense and firmness. His object was to test the loyalty of the province by the reinforcements which it should send to his aid; and he accordingly 'awaited tranquilly' the solution of this 'problem, of 'serious importance to the civilised world.' He comes a little nearer to the fact when he gives us to understand, that he shrunk from risking the issue until he had an overwhelming force to back him. We do not mean to accuse him of any want of personal courage; but the truth is, that when the rebellion was no longer matter of doubt, he showed as little energy and conduct in using the means placed at his disposal, as he had previously shown of foresight. Those means, and the determintion of those who surrounded him, were fortunately such that he could not absolutely compromise the interests entrusted to him; and he could only contrive to make himself ridiculous for a couple of days, by allowing a body of undisciplined rebels to keep the Governor and double their own number of men barricaded in the City Hall.

For on the Tuesday morning, Colonel Fitzgibbon, finding himself at the head of five hundred stout, somewhat disciplined, and all well-armed men, and having reconnoitred the rebels, proposed to take three hundred of his men and drive Mackenzie away. Sir Francis refused to allow this, saying that 'he would not fight the 'rebels on their ground, but they must come and fight him on his.' The day was spent in barricading the fort, City Hall, Government House, and banks. Sir Francis now took a step which subjected him, and we think justly, to the loudest censure from the citizens of Toronto. He sent his own family on board a steamer in the Lake. Now, though no one will be very hard on him for showing such affection for his family, it must be recollected that the other families in Toronto had no such means of refuge; and that such an admission of his apprehensions might have produced the most disastrous effects on the minds of those who saw all that were most dear to them exposed to a danger which their leader regarded as so formidable.

About nine in the evening, Colonel Fitzgibbon was seen by the Governor parading a picket that he intended to send out to guard the entrance of the town. Sir Francis peremptorily forbad this, declaring 'that they had no men to spare—that they had 'not men enough to defend the city—but must defend their 'posts;' and ordered that no man should leave the City Hall. Colonel Fitzgibbon formed the picket out of sight of the Governor, and sent it out under the command of the sheriff. Soon after a report came that this picket had been cut off by the rebels; and thereupon Sir Francis angrily reprimanded the colonel. In a little while more correct intelligence arrived. In fact, this picket repelled the second attack of the rebels, and drove them back with some loss. This repulse in reality checked the outbreak; and thus a second time was Toronto saved, in spite of Sir Francis Head. Nevertheless, in his despatch of the 19th December, he took credit for having sent out this picket.

On Wednesday the rebels, disheartened by Mackenzie's pusillanimity, began to disperse. But Sir Francis did not even yet venture to attack them. In the middle of the day he opened negotiations with Mackenzie; and so accurate was his knowledge of the movement on which his eye had been all along fixed so keenly, that one of the two persons to whom he entrusted the negotiation was Dr John Rolph, one of the chief instigators of the whole outbreak! Fortunately Mackenzie's demands were too unreasonable to be admitted; and he had not the courage to follow Dr Rolph's advice, that he should at once attack the city. While his strength was diminishing, reinforcements continued pouring in to the aid of the Governor. Volunteers kept coming in during that evening and night; and on Thursday morning Sir Francis found himself at the head of a force so 'overwhelming,' as even to embolden him to risk the chances of an encounter. No encounter can well be said to have taken place; for the force under Colonel Fitzgibbon's command occupied Montgomery's tavern, and dispersed the rebels almost without firing a shot.

Of the history which we have now given we have every reason to believe in the entire accuracy. We cannot imagine that any one, after reading it, will conclude that there is much to praise, or not conclude that there is very much to blame, in Sir Francis Head's dealing with the insurrection. He talks much of his loyalty; but he can hardly expect that we can spare much of our admiration to a governor for the simple virtue of not betraying his trust, and for resisting instead of actually joining rebels. Had he showed prudence in allaying discontent, and diminishing the disposition to rebel—vigilance in detecting the plots of the disaffected—foresight in making preparations against an outbreak

—and skill and promptitude in suppressing it when it occurred, he might claim our respect for these useful and admirable qualities; but Sir Francis Head was found eminently wanting in all these respects. He provoked disaffection by his abuse of power, and incited it to manifest itself in rebellion, by an apathy which seemed to promise it success. The utter imbecility of his actual defence of Toronto is as signal as the blindness which induced him to neglect all previous precautions for defending it at all. Others have the entire merit of saving the city; we have to thank him for nothing but that the rebels were emboldened to attack it at all, and that they were not routed and dispersed as soon as day dawned after their first demonstration.

We must now notice one or two minor incidents, as illustrative of Sir Francis Head's policy in the hour of victory, and of the accuracy of his various statements of the same transaction. The anxieties of the surprise and conflict being happily over, he had now to play the part of a conqueror, dispensing pardon and punishment. He called up the two first prisoners that his men took, and, with a grand exordium, pardoned them in the Queen's name. 'It was, however, necessary,' he goes on to say, 'that 'we should mark and record, by some act of stern vengeance, the 'important victory that had been achieved; and I therefore de- 'termined that, in the presence of the assembled militia, I would 'burn to the ground Montgomery's tavern, and also the house of 'Mr Gibson, a member of the Provincial Assembly, who had 'commanded Mr Mackenzie's advanced guard, and who, with 'him, had just absconded to the United States.'

We have no doubt that this is a true account of the motives which impelled Sir Francis to this extraordinary act. It was just such a stage-trick as would suit his melodramatic taste; and it is true in its details except in one important particular. Mr Gibson's house was not burnt 'in the presence of the assembled 'militia;' for it was three miles distant from the scene of action, and from the furthest spot reached by the great body of the militia; and was destroyed by a small body under Fitzgibbon, whom Sir Francis, in spite of his remonstrances, sent on for the express purpose. But this was not the account he gave of the transaction in his despatch to Lord Glenelg. His own reflection, or more probably the advice of some cooler head, may have suggested to him the possibility, that this act of deliberately burning a private house, at a distance from the scene of action, might not be regarded by his superiors, or the public in England, as having been exactly the 'necessary' record of an important victory, which it had appeared to himself; and that they might probably be inclined to censure a governor for setting the rebels, at the

commencement of possibly lengthened disturbances, an example of lawless vengeance, which any two or three desperate fugitives might imitate at the expense of any isolated dwelling of any of the loyal population. So the account which he gave of it was, 'that the militia advanced in pursuit of the rebels about four 'miles, till they reached the house of one of the principal ring-'leaders, Mr Gibson, whose residence *it would have been impos-'sible to have saved*, and *it was consequently* burned to the ground.' When this despatch got back to Canada, the indignation of the militia was loudly expressed against this attempt to charge their undisciplined violence with the scandal of Sir F. Head's deliberate outrage on law and justice; and Colonel Fitzgibbon wrote Lord Glenelg a letter, detailing the whole circumstances of the case. Sir Francis does not now persevere in his first statement, but favours us with a more correct account of the matter.

Another more flagrant abuse of power, which occurred at this time, is commented on in the volume before us; and the account which we there find furnishes a not less remarkable instance of the looseness of the author's mode of dealing with history. Mr Bidwell, the Speaker of the preceding House of Assembly, had led the opposition to Sir F. Head, and had by his ability and pertinacity made himself particularly obnoxious. At the general election he lost his seat; and, retiring from all active part in politics, devoted himself to his professional duties as a lawyer. So high was his character that Lord Glenelg, who was constantly impressing on Sir Francis Head the policy of conciliating instead of proscribing the reformers of Upper Canada, had at length written him positive instructions to promote Mr Bidwell to the bench on the first vacancy; and Sir Francis's refusal to obey this order was one of the causes of that quarrel with the Colonial Office which was at its height in December 1837, and which soon after ended in his recall. Mr Bidwell was, therefore, at this moment an especial object of Sir Francis Head's resentment. The circumstance that the words 'Bidwell and the glorious minority' had been found worked on one of the flags taken from Mackenzie, appeared to afford a pretext for implicating him with the rebels. Some letters addressed to him had been stopped at the Toronto post-office. Even Sir F. Head's mind could not regard the unauthorised inscription of a man's name on a flag which he had never seen, and the contents, whatever they might be, of letters written *to* him, as sufficient to warrant a charge of high treason. But he thought that, by a certain use of these materials, he might frighten a man of notoriously feeble organization and timid character.

Accordingly, in the first moment of his victory, when the passions of the Tory party were excited to the utmost—when, as he himself tells us, Mr Bidwell 'had reason to fear that any 'militiaman he met might become his executioner,'—he held up to him the bundle of intercepted letters to his address, told him that if he opened them his life would probably be at his mercy, and offered to restore them unopened if he would give a written promise to leave the Queen's territory for ever. In the terror and surprise of the moment Mr Bidwell was induced to sign such a document; and the promise thus extracted he has faithfully kept to this day, in a self-imposed exile. What were the contents of the letters which were returned to him, no one knows; but Mr Bidwell, had he possessed ordinary presence of mind, was too good a lawyer to have apprehended any real danger to himself from letters written by other persons. Yet before we blame too severely the want of moral courage that induced submission to this gross intimidation, or infer any possibility of guilt as an explanation of his fears, the real dangers of the position in which he was placed must be borne in mind. Not only might a timid man have some reason for dreading that he might be shot down by some excited militiaman, but he might be justified in not considering innocence itself as a safeguard against the terrors of the law. The legislature, the bench, the sheriff, and the juries, were all equally on the side of a most violent and unscrupulous party in uncontrolled possession of power, and in a state of furious excitement; and at such a moment we can well excuse a man of weak nerve, who knew himself to be the object of the especial resentment of the Governor and dominant party, for shrinking from perilling his life in the unequal contest, and accepting any terms from an enemy whom he might fairly regard as able to sacrifice him to his anger.

That Sir Francis Head should still venture to boast of this most outrageous violation of all law and justice, is surprising. If Mr Bidwell was guilty of treason, and was really the secret instigator of the outbreak of ignorant men, he was a far worse criminal than Mackenzie and his companions; an ignominious death would have been his merited portion; and the pardon of such a man was a wrong to the community. If he was innocent, the taking advantage of his fears to drive him from his country was an act of the grossest illegality and tyranny. But we think we see, in the present work, one clear indication of some misgiving in Sir Francis's mind as to the light in which this feat may be regarded. This is his great anxiety to represent Mr Bidwell as coming to seek him. The beginning of the matter he describes as the being informed by a servant, 'that Mr Bidwell was in his

'waiting-room, and that he appeared extremely desirous to see 'me.' He then represents Mr Bidwell as having been alarmed at finding his letters stopped at the post-office.

'In this agony of mind his acquaintance with the magnanimity of British institutions, his knowledge of British law, British justice, and British mercy, admonished him to seek protection from the sovereign authority he had betrayed—from the executive power he had endeavoured to depose; and accordingly with faltering steps he walked towards Government House; and entering the waiting-room, he there took refuge under the very BRITISH FLAG which it had been the object of the whole of his political life to desecrate.'

Sir Francis then describes Mr Bidwell as frightened to death at the sight of the bundle of letters, addressed to himself, which Sir Francis held in his hand; and goes on to say, '*As I had* '*not sent for him*, I of course waited to hear what he desired to 'say,' &c. The object of all this is to make the world believe that Mr Bidwell, in his consciousness of guilt, sought the Governor, and threw himself on his mercy. That Sir Francis must have completely forgotten the real facts, is clear from the following extract from the *Commercial Advertiser*, a most respectable paper published in New York, where Mr Bidwell now resides.—'We have always had the assurance from Mr Bidwell, 'that when he entered the presence of Sir Francis he did not 'know that his letters had been intercepted, and that his first 'intimation of the fact was obtained by seeing the package on 'the table before the Governor. And we have corroboration 'of this fact in the truth that Mr Bidwell did not seek Sir 'Francis, but was urgently sent for by him, as is shown by the 'following note from the Governor's secretary, the original of 'which is lying before us as we write:—

'GOVERNMENT HOUSE, Friday Morning.

'SIR,—His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor desires me to say 'that he wishes you to call at Government House immediately. 'I have the honour to be, &c. &c. J. JOSEPH.

'Marshal S. Bidwell, Esq.

'"Immediate" endorsed on the envelope, so pressing was the 'Governor's haste to see the gentleman whom he represents as 'coming abjectly to him in penitence and for protection.'

We now come to the second great event of Sir Francis's warlike career in Canada, the affair of Navy Island; and on this point the work before us adheres to the version which Sir Francis has all along given. It has, in some cases, been most unfortunate for a right understanding of colonial events, that so many of our first impressions respecting them are derived from the official accounts, transmitted to our govern-

ment. Sir Francis Head has consequently had the advantage of having been our chief historiographer of the events for which he is in a great measure responsible. It was from his despatches that we derived those formidable accounts of the war of Navy Island, that we well recollect to have produced excitement and alarm throughout this country. The tale ran, that scarcely had the vigour of Head, and the loyalty of the Canadian people, suppressed the formidable civil war with which Mackenzie threatened Toronto, than a series of attacks along the frontier of the United States, proclaimed to the world the fact, that the designs of the rebels had been encouraged by that ambitious republic. The most formidable of these inroads, was that which Mackenzie ventured to make, at the head of a band of exiles and 'sympathisers,' on her Majesty's possession of Navy Island, in the river of Niagara. The lawless disposition of the people of the state of New York, prompted by the insidious connivance of its government, had enabled the outlaw to collect a numerous force, which was supplied with arms and artillery from the arsenals of the State. At the head of this body, which, in one of his earlier accounts, Sir Francis reckons at seven hundred men, Mackenzie crossed the narrow arm of the river that intervenes between the American shore and Navy Island; and, having planted the standard of rebellion on that strong position, for three weeks, by the aid of a battery of no less than twenty-six cannon, poured out death and destruction on our villages, and defied and disturbed our loyal fellow-subjects in Canada. The efforts of the gallant forces, at the head of which our Governor lay before the rebel intrenchments, were thwarted by the unprincipled opposition of the American people and authorities; who, hardly preserving the mask of neutrality, continued to pour men and supplies into the rebel lines. At length, an act of singular daring on the part of our Governor brought the Americans to their senses, and put an end to this dangerous state of things. Justified by necessity in a temporary violation of the territory of our neighbour, he ordered the gallant expedition which in the dead of night cut the Caroline out of the lonely dock in which it lay, overpowered the resistance of its single sentry, and sent it drifting over the cataract below. The fearful spectacle of the flaming vessel plunging into that terrible abyss, is represented as having produced a salutary awe throughout the lawless frontier of New York, repressed 'sympathy,' awed insurrection, and occasioned the evacuation of the rebel stronghold. Such is the tale which Sir Francis and his coadjutors told to the credulous public of this country, and by which they stimulated our indignation against the people of the United States, and our gratitude to the bold and wise men

who dared to assert the honour and protect the territory of her Majesty. Such is the tale which he repeats in the *Emigrant*, pointing it, in conformity with the plan of his work, with a long jeremiad about the degradation inflicted on the British name by Lord Ashburton's admitting that an apology should have been made for the violation of the American territory, and with a solemn denunciation of the Conservative premier who sanctioned this consummation of his country's shame.

A stranger fable never excited national antipathies, or excused the blunders of an inefficient functionary. It cannot be denied that, among the inhabitants of the American frontier, some sympathy was felt for the cause of the insurgents, whose efforts appeared to be directed to the same object as had been attained by the people of the United States in their War of Independence. In the scattered villages of the frontier, meetings were undoubtedly held, at which a few noisy orators purported, after the fashion of such meetings, to speak the sentiments of a community. Two or three cannon were stolen out of the frail buildings in which the arms of the militia of that wild and thinly-peopled country are deposited; and a few of the outcasts of an adventurous population were induced to join a handful of exiles in an enterprise which offered them hopes of activity and plunder. But there never was danger, save that which was created by the weakness of our own Governor; never mischief, except that which his unaccountable absurdity tolerated. And the only event that ever gave the invaders a chance of success, and ever menaced us with a real peril, was that notable expedient of attacking the Caroline, to which our safety is attibuted by its unwise author.

The American, Sutherland, who was one of the leaders of the expedition to Navy Island, when subsequently a prisoner at Quebec, gave the writer of this article the following account of the affair at Navy Island; of which, as misrepresentation could not in any way serve him, there is no reason to doubt the correctness. In all its main points it was exactly corroborated by a statement which an informant of ours received from Van Rensellaer, who was styled the general of the invading force. According to this account, the force that originally crossed over to Navy Island consisted of Mackenzie, Van Rensellaer, Sutherland, and about twenty-three other persons. During the ensuing fortnight they were joined by from ten to twenty men a-day: and until the affair of the Caroline their whole numbers never amounted to more than between two and three hundred.

Official and other public sources of information enable us to

estimate the force which Sir Francis Head brought against them. Within less than a week from the occupation of Navy Island, he had under his orders, on the opposite bank of the river, a force which has never been estimated at less than four thousand militia and volunteers, and which, according to the more general notion, amounted to double that number. The militia and volunteers of Upper Canada had by that time served a considerable apprenticeship in arms: they consisted of the very flower of a hardy and energetic population: the life of the backwoods had given them a skill in the use of the rifle equal to that of the marksmen of Kentucky: they had the daring spirit of their race, roused for the defence of their homes and properties, and encouraged by the consciousness of right as well as power: and it must not be forgotten, that from the peculiar character of the emigration that had been filling Canada, their ranks contained a large number of half-pay officers and old soldiers. It is hardly too much to say, that for the service required of them, this force was little inferior to any regular army. For them to have effected a landing in Navy Island, mastered the barricades that had been thrown up, and swept away the intruders, would have been a matter of the most perfect ease and certainty. Sir Francis knew his own strength; and no excuse can be offered for any ignorance as to the opposing force, when, considering that Navy Island was visited all day by pleasure parties from Buffalo, who came down by the railroad to see a bit of 'real war,' he could for a few dollars have got the enemy counted and inspected as accurately as he could wish. And yet, with this overwhelming superiority of force, he remained, to use his favourite phrase, 'with folded arms,' looking on while this handful of vagabonds occupied the British territory, fired on our villages, and picked off our men by chance shots. He kept on invoking the interference of the American government against insurgents whom he chose to leave unmolested, on a spot where he alone was justified in assailing them. He created the imaginary 'necessity' for attacking the Caroline, by tolerating the existence of the nuisance which that vessel aided. In fact, by converting into a campaign of three weeks what should have been an affair of three-quarters of an hour, he prolonged the perilous excitement and disorder of Canada, and created all that serious hostility on the other side of the frontier, which was, in truth, the only real peril to which British North America was exposed.

The destruction of the Caroline, in fact, gave the intruders of Navy Island the only chance of success that ever visited them. Instead of terrifying the people of the American border, it exasperated them to the utmost pitch, and rendered their

'sympathy' something of a dangerous reality. Sutherland stated, that within the week that followed that event, the force in Navy Island swelled from between two and three hundred to twelve hundred men. Very fortunately this accession of strength came too late; for all hopes of any co-operation in Canada having been proved to be groundless, the invaders had begun to quarrel among themselves, and having already determined to abandon their enterprise, could not avail themselves of the chance which the affair of the Caroline threw in their way.

Our readers will, perhaps, be somewhat unwilling to give us entire credit for our account of this business, because it imputes to Sir Francis Head, and his advisers, an amount of mismanagement which, we admit, is almost incredible. Much of it may be explained by the utter want of conduct and energy which Sir Francis always exhibited in his military operations. But, probably, the main clue to his course is to be found in his insatiable vanity. To fill a large space in the world's eye was the one end and aim of his Canadian being. A summary suppression of some three or four score of insurgents would have received no notice, beyond the approving despatch that would have acknowledged his account of the beginning and ending of the danger. But an invading force, of undefined magnitude, fixing its quarters in a portion of her Majesty's dominions, and beleaguered by an army of militia, together with the insolent practices by which a perfidious and ambitious neighbour menaced the integrity of the British empire, were objects sure of arresting the eager gaze of the world. By exaggerating the danger, and prolonging its existence, Sir Francis lengthened the notoriety which appeared to him to be fame.

But, after all, the principal cause of the voluntary prolongation of this invasion must be sought in the influences which acted on those who made an instrument of the Governor. For, in truth, he was always in the hands of others:—and now, having quarrelled with Colonel Fitzgibbon and every independent person who had once acted under him, having disgusted the old officers of the army and navy by ordering them to serve as privates under the lawyers' and merchants' clerks of Toronto, he was entirely in the hands of the Family Compact. Of their disposition to prolong the contest, the sordid motives may be easily seen. It was a '*multis utile bellum.*' Its duration swelled the importance of the leading men, and depressed their adversaries. A large and profuse expenditure scattered the gold of England among their adherents. A vast body of militia and volunteers expended their pay in the principal towns and villages. Commissions in the militia were given to every relation and hanger-

on of the principal members of the government. One regiment is said to have been entirely officered by persons of the same family name. Profitable contracts enriched others of the favoured connexion. The privates, consisting of the gallant yeomanry who had flown to arms in defence of the empire, were, it is true, in want of common necessaries; but the officers drank champagne, and even got their boots at the expense of the government. The insurgents who made these *otia* were not to be roughly put out of the way. Nay, if by chance the flame should cross the frontier, and we should be involved in hostilities with the United States, there were many who recollected the last war with that country as a golden harvest for the favourites of government, and who would have incurred some risk for the chance of an easy way of making a large fortune.

Such are the sober realities of the affair of Navy Island. Before them, the peril that menaced us, and the merits of those to whom we entrusted our defence, sink into very humble proportions. But, what is more important, we trust that, in consequence, we may now succeed in relieving the public mind from that deep humiliation to which, according to Sir Francis's view, we are subjected by the explanation which Lord Ashburton gave respecting the destruction of the Caroline. The merits of that controversy between the two countries, depend entirely on the absolute necessity of the violent measure to which we resorted. The supplying rebels on British soil from the territory of the United States, was undoubtedly a wrong done by that country to us. The gravity of that wrong must be judged of by the circumstances of the two countries. Among the defects which result from the very freedom of American institutions, and especially from the practical independence of the governments of the different States of the Union, perhaps the greatest of all is the weakness of their Executive. That weakness is immeasurably aggravated by the vast extent of their frontier, and the thinness of its population. It is a defect of which a prudent neighbour would appreciate the causes; and knowing the impossibility of forcing a remedy, by altering either the institutions or the physical character of the country, he would limit his exertions to the means of preventing it from causing inconvenience to himself. But though the injury done us by the citizens of the United States was indisputable, if the Caroline was really employed in the service attributed to her, the proper remedy was as undoubtedly an application for redress to the government of the United States. The taking the law into our own hands, was in itself an obvious violation of the first principles of the law of nations. It could only be justified by the palpable and urgent necessity of

the case: the peril to ourselves must have been imminent, and no remedy but the one adopted open to us. How can we say that such was the case, when the whole insurrection, which was the foundation of the quarrel, was kept up by our own Colonial Government in the manner we have described? The government of the United States could not interfere to put down an insurrection in our territory. We alone had the right to do it; and can we say that there was any shadow of necessity for burning our neighbour's ship, when we could in an hour have freed ourselves from all the danger and all the mischief that could be done us from the United States, by clearing our own territory of a contemptible handful of insurgents?

The case cannot be stated more strongly in his own condemnation than it is by Sir Francis Head. He tells us that he could have carried Navy Island whenever he chose; and that every one was calling on him to do so. He then gives us this account of his own reason for leaving the rebels unmolested:—

'Ever since my arrival in Canada I had been occupied in a chemical analysis of the comparative advantages between monarchical and republican institutions, in the result of which the civilized world was not only deeply interested, but was already more or less involved. Many great and good men in all countries were, I knew, looking to the continent of America for the solution of THE problem upon which the continuance of the governments of Europe and the destiny of millions, born as well as unborn, must eventually depend; and now what was the evidence that the two opposite shores of the Niagara river offered to these political inquirers? Why, on the one side the citizens of the republic, destitute of respect either for their own laws or for the laws of nations, had invaded and were preparing to massacre and plunder a neighbouring people with whom they were at peace, and who had offered them not the slightest cause for offence; and secondly, a government, if such it can be called, was openly declaring that it had not power to protect its own arsenals from plunder, and that it was utterly incompetent to restrain its people. On the other side of the river were to be seen assembled men of various races and colours, Scotch, Irish, and English, native Canadians, the red children of the forest, and lastly, the black population of the province. Ever since the retirement of the Queen's troops, the whole of these men had virtually been invested with absolute independence, either to continue under their monarchy or to become republicans. They had not only been invited to revolt, but had been told that, if they would but remain passive, others would revolt for them. The promise was fulfilled; yet, instead of hailing their "liberators," they had attacked them, had defeated them, and had driven them from the face of the land they wished to liberate; and now, although they had rushed to the frontier of their country to repel foreigners, whose avowed object was to force them, against their wills, to become republicans—although they had power to overwhelm them, and were burning to do so—in calm obedi-

ence to their laws, and to the administration of their government, they submitted with patience to insults they were competent to punish, and to aggressions they had power to revenge. And did this obedience exist only on the Niagara frontier? and was it merely created by the presence of the administrator of their government? No! It pervaded the whole province; it was indigenous to British soil. The supremacy of the law was the will of the Canadian people: it was what they were fighting for; it was what they themselves were upholding, not because it was a gaudy transatlantic European theory, but because it was a practical substantial blessing—because it formed the title-deeds of their lands, the guardian of their liberty, the protector of their lives—because it was the suppressor of vice and immorality, and because it implanted, fostered, and encouraged, in the minds of their wives and of their little children, gratitude and submission to the Great Author of their existence.'

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'Now, when on the British bank of the Niagara, I gazed at, and reflected on, the two pictures before me, it was evident to me that, even divesting the one of the chivalrous and enthusiastic feelings which characterised it, and the other of the base passions which disgraced it, the problem was clearly demonstrated, that, under equal excitement, life and property were insecure in the republican country, while under monarchical institutions both were protected. The contrast was so clear, the facts so strong, the evidence so convincing, and the conclusion so inevitable, that I felt convinced that the longer I could keep open the exhibition of these two pictures, the longer should I afford to the inhabitants of our North American Colonies, as well as to our politicians at home, of all descriptions, an opportunity of forming their own opinions, and of arriving at their own conclusions, on the important question in dispute; in short, that with the case before them, they would act as jurymen and as judges in a cause in which the whole family of mankind were interested.'

We raise an outcry against the government of the United States, abuse their people and institutions, and finally violate their territory under a plea of necessity, which arises from our tolerating the continuance of insurrection in our own territory;—not because we could not suppress it, but because our Governor chose to let it go on while he was making 'a chemical an-'alysis of the comparative advantages between monarchical and 'republican institutions!' Certainly, such a caprice was never yet held by rational men to be a necessity: and when we find that such is the plea on which our case is rested by the representative of our government, we cannot but admire the wisdom of both Lord Ashburton and Mr Webster in settling the matter, by the expression of a wish that an apology had been made when it was certainly so amply due.

The time was now come for Sir Francis to quit his government. His mode of leaving it was a fitting scene in the melodrama which he had been playing. Dark rumours of assassina-

tion were conveyed to him from various quarters: and the ex-Governor determined to make the terror of his friends a pretext for traversing the United States in disguise. In a chapter called the *Hunted Hare*, he gives a moving tale of the perils amid which he and his faithful Judge Jones accomplished this strange adventure. We should sympathize with them much more heartily had we ever found any human being that believed that any such perils had any real existence. We have always heard that the ex-Governor, having reached the town of Waterton in the character of servant to Judge Jones, chose to overact his humble part so grossly as to excite suspicion, and consequently provoke recognition; that having reached the next post, he quitted his carriage, and compelled his venerable companion to ride with him furiously on horseback over rough roads during a winter's night. Of no violence offered to them have we ever heard, nor does Sir Francis even now inform us. The only danger known to have existed was that incurred by the aged judge from a hard and cold exercise, to which his judicial frame was unused. That it would have been quite safe for Sir Francis to adventure himself, as Macleod afterwards did, in the very part of the United States which had been thrown into excitement by the business of the Caroline, we will not affirm: but we cannot believe that any manifestation of inhospitable violence was contemplated in a populous and civilized part, removed from all direct contact with the scenes of recent collision; and in which, from that time to the present, none of the many English travellers that have crossed it ever experienced outrage or insult. In his previous accounts, Sir Francis highly extolled the hospitality with which he was received in the United States, and never mentioned this disagreeable exception. His present belief, that he narrowly escaped from a band of sixty bloodthirsty pursuers by the speed of his horse, is supported in the story he now tells us by no single fact, except his having been accosted in the yard of an inn by a 'huge 'overgrown man' with 'an overheated countenance,' who asked him to satisfy an account for cheese which had been left unsettled by some previous governor of Canada: nor are we informed by what strange arts of physiognomy the spectator inferred from the aspect of this overgrown individual, the place from which he had come, the number of his companions, or the nefarious purpose of their pursuit. Admitting the truth of what Sir Francis assures us he actually saw, we must be excused for withholding our belief in what he imagines until the world is supplied with some proof more consonant with the received notions of evidence. Till then we shall charitably attribute the terrors which he avows to the influence of previous excitement and heated fancy: and

class his nightly ride from Waterton to Utica with the flight of Tam o' Shanter from the goblin creations of his own intoxication.

The ex-Governor reached home without further perils by land or sea. After a long absence, his mind was refreshed by the sight of an English landscape, in which every thing looked 'new:' and the yet stranger novelties of the railroad from Liverpool to London. In the 'Old Country' he found nothing to shock his love of newness save the Colonial Office, where he 'found every thing 'old;—old men, old women, old notions, old prejudices, old 'stuff, and old nonsense, and, what was infinitely worse, old 'principles.' He found Lord Durham going out to Canada to try to settle the things which he flattered himself he had satisfactorily settled. With his usual accuracy as to facts and dates, he infers that, as he found on his return from Canada (in the spring of 1838) Wales disturbed by an insurrection, and Birmingham by riots—which did not, as it happens, take place till a great deal more than twelve months afterwards—it would have been more reasonable to direct Lord Durham's inquiries to the mother country. From this time he waited in dignified silence until the close of Lord Durham's mission, and the publication of his Lordship's Report. The arch-leader of Lord Melbourne's government, as Lord John Russell is designated, seized with avidity on the recommendations of the Report as a means of carrying into effect his 'real designs,' which he could only venture at that time to 'unmask' in the Colonies. His 'clever project' was to 'paralyse the Queen's 'Secretary of State for the Colonies,' 'separate her Majesty's 'North American Colonies from the British Crown,' 'establish 'democracy in our Colonies of the most luxurious growth,' 'and then hurrah! hurrah! my lads, for a republic at home!!' His 'sinewy, muscular' efforts to accomplish these, which every body is aware have always been the palpable objects of Lord John Russell's public conduct, would have been thwarted by Head, had Head found any body to assist, or even mind him. But Lord Melbourne was the only person who was decently civil to him. He tells us how Peel repulsed him, as we described before: that he could not get the Archbishop of Canterbury even to present a petition from him praying the House of Lords to hear him make a speech against the Union at its bar: and that so the bill passed. Its fatal consequences under the traitorous administration of Sir Robert Peel, are detailed in the chapter that follows. These consequences were the systematic discouragement of the loyal, and promotion of the treasonable leaders of the different rebellions in the two provinces, about which the ex-Governor retails all the personal calumnies

and frantic complaints with which a few of the old jobbers of Canada have for the last four or five years been lamenting the great Imperial calamity of their losing their own offices and patronage.

After a ludicrous detail of the calamities thus brought on Canada and the empire, and a grotesque picture of the certain ruin prepared for Queen and people by the wickedness of Peel, the author suddenly turns upon that great criminal in a chapter which he has entitled 'The Explosion;' and informs his startled reader that he is now going 'to explode the mine over which 'the reader has unconsciously been sitting during his perusal of 'the last fourteen chapters;' and which is to 'scatter to the 'winds the whole political fabric he has been rearing.' But as the explosion involves a nice process of reasoning, Sir Francis is obliged to prepare for it by ten pages of explanation. The substance of his argument is, that though Lord John Russell had long 'courageously determined to convert that splendid 'portion of the Queen's empire (Canada) into a republic,' he could not have done so if Sir Robert Peel had chosen to prevent him: that Sir Robert Peel did not do so, but, on the contrary, supported the Union bill; that he has since acted on a liberal policy in Canada, of which he privately recognises the utter failure; and that he excuses the whole of his errors by acknowledging in confidence—(Sir Francis says 'confidently,' meaning 'confidentially,')—that he and his friends knew nothing personally of Canada; 'and as a nobleman of high rank 'had been sent out by her Majesty's government to acquire 'information of which we were all ignorant, and as the Report 'of this impartial and distinguished statesman recommended 'that Upper and Lower Canada should be joined into one pro-'vince, I deemed it advisable to support to the utmost of my 'power his Lordship's deliberate recommendation, based upon 'the experience which he had gained in his mission.'

'*The moment for the explosion has arrived.*'

The explosive matter consists of three reports of private conversations, and one private letter, which all show most clearly that, up to a month before he left Canada, Lord Durham expressed himself strongly against an union of the two provinces. Hence Sir Francis infers that the Report contained conclusions directly contrary to those really entertained by Lord Durham; that consequently he signed it without reading or understanding it, when 'his mind had been temporarily affected,' or, 'to speak 'plainly, he was for a moment out of his senses;' and that consequently the whole foundation of Sir Robert Peel's argument for the union is knocked from under him by this clear proof, that

he really was not supported by the sober judgment of Lord Durham, which he relied upon as the one ground of the conclusion to which he came.

Admitting all this argument against the soundness of Sir Robert Peel's conclusion, we doubt whether the explosion will have so shattered the reader's logic, as to make him admit the propriety of the course which Sir Francis, in the subsequent chapter headed 'Moral,' thereupon recommends this country to follow. That is, as Lord Durham's Report occasioned all the evil, to seek safety in simply reversing all that has been done in conformity with its recommendations—repealing the Union, and abolishing Responsible Government—and, in the event of any dissatisfaction being occasioned by such a policy, ordering our Governor, 'with British colours waving over his head, with the 'ancient axiom, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*" inscribed on 'the banner at his side—with his Bible undesecrated—with 'British laws unaltered—with the honour of the British name 'unsullied,' to 'bid farewell to the Canadian shore,' under a proper salute, and 'her Majesty's most earnest prayer,' &c. &c. We think that the logical reader will probably argue, that it would be the part of practical wisdom to try the expediency of maintaining or abrogating the Union and Responsible Government, rather by the actual results of the working of the new system, during the six or seven years of its operation, than by the validity of the arguments which led to its adoption. To whatever extent Lord Durham and Sir Robert Peel may have erred, before we incur the undoubted risks incident to such an abrogation of our policy, it will be deemed advisable, we conceive, to have such proofs of its failure as experience would readily furnish, if they existed. With these, however, Sir Francis does not favour us.

But the premises on which our author rests this bold conclusion are as disputable as his logic. In the first place, supposing the Report to have been as erroneous an index to Lord Durham's real opinion as Sir Francis would have us believe, we do not think that Sir Robert's support of the Union would have been entirely deprived of the ground on which he actually rested it. What he may say in confidence to his intimate friends we know not; and as Sir Francis, from his statements in this very book, is clearly not honoured by that confidence, we cannot take his authority for Sir Robert's private opinion. It is quite clear that the ground on which Sir Francis Head makes him rest that support is not only one on which it never was rested by Sir Robert, but one which he expressly repudiated. On the second and third reading of the Union bill, Sir Robert Peel elaborately stated

his reasons for supporting it. On the last of these occasions he amplified what he had said on the first. He said:—'He preferred the attempt to govern the Canadas by an union of the two provinces to any other which had been proposed. *What decided his mind* in favour of the Union, was *the preponderance of the local authorities* in the provinces in support of it.' After referring to the opinions of different governors, and the votes of the Assembly of Upper Canada, he added that,—'*He was not inclined to lay any great stress on the opinion of Lord Durham*, or Mr Thomson, who had been but a short time in the colony; but he certainly did attach the greatest weight to that of Lord Seaton.' It is clear, therefore, that it was not Lord Durham who influenced Sir Robert; and unless Sir Francis has an explosion in store for Lord Seaton, we do not see how he can blow up the authority on which Sir Robert Peel relied.

But we must not leave the 'explosion' to waste its destructive powers on Lord Durham's Report. Even had his lordship been entirely a stranger to that document, had his intellects been as disordered as his assailant would charitably suppose them to have been, the value of the Report, by whomever written, would have rested on the soundness of its views and the wisdom of its recommendations. The discrepancy, however, of its conclusions, from the previous opinions of Lord Durham, can hardly be taken as proof of the groundless assertion that he was not its author; for the facts which Sir Francis has 'discovered' and 'disclosed' throw no new light on the matter. That Lord Durham changed his opinions there is no denying; it is matter of notoriety. There is no denying that while he was in Canada his dislike to the union of the two Canadas was as well known as his presence in the Province. If Sir Francis had done any of Lord Durham's friends the honour of consulting them on this strange revelation, they might have spared him the trouble of proving his case by resorting to disreputable violations of private conversation and correspondence. They might have given him, not four, but fifty proofs of what Lord Durham said and wrote to almost every human being with whom he conversed, and which, in fact, no one took any trouble to conceal. In fact, they might have simplified the whole matter by referring him to the Report, in which the change of opinion is declared and accounted for.

It is well known that when Lord Durham went to Canada, his desire was to give effect to a plan for uniting all the provinces of British North America into one Federal Union. This purpose he announced in June, or July, to the principal persons of the British party in Montreal; and to secure the adoption and arrange the details of his plan, he called together, first, the

Governors of the Lower Provinces, and secondly, that deputation of delegates from them which was assembled at Quebec at the very moment in which he received the intelligence that led to his return home. At this scheme he laboured most zealously, and he succeeded in making many converts to his views. He found himself opposed by the adherents of the long cherished plan for a simple Legislative Union of the two Canadas. To this plan Lord Durham was then averse, because, as he frequently states in his despatches, he was apprehensive of its leading to injustice towards the French of Lower Canada. He expressed those objections, as was his fashion, in plain and strong terms; and he did not scruple to point out the selfish motives, which undoubtedly did influence many of the people of Montreal to prefer the lesser plan, that would most certainly benefit their own town, to the larger scheme, which he deemed most conducive to the well-being of the North American provinces, and the greatness of the empire.

The discussions with the delegates of the Lower Provinces had, however, pointed out various difficulties in the details of a general union. What was more important, they had raised great doubts as to the ripeness of the public mind in the Lower Provinces for an union with the Canadas. Nevertheless, we believe that Lord Durham, when he left Canada, was still so much inclined to his original plan, that he was disposed rather to wait for the period at which it might be accomplished, than to propose, in the first instance, any less extensive union. The second insurrection, which broke out during his voyage home, convinced him that the disorders of Lower Canada would admit of no delay; and compelled him, much against his inclination, to admit that the present peril must be guarded against by an immediate adoption of an union of the Canadas.

These are no gratuitous suppositions of ours. The process of conviction, which we have described, is written in the Report. In fact, as will appear from the extracts which follow, the true character of that Report may best be given by describing it as arguing for a general union of the provinces, with a recommendation that until that purpose can be accomplished, we must be content with an union of the Canadas alone. Let us hear Lord Durham himself:—'On my first arrival in Canada,' he says in p. 110 of the Report, 'I was strongly inclined to the pro-'ject of a federal union, and it was with such a plan in view, 'that I discussed a general measure for the government of 'the colonies, with the deputations from the Lower Provinces, 'and with various leading individuals and public bodies in 'both the Canadas. I was fully aware that it might be objected

'that a federal union would, in many cases, produce a weak 'and rather a cumbrous government; that a Colonial federa- 'tion must have, in fact, little legitimate authority or busi- 'ness, the greater part of the ordinary functions of a federa- 'tion falling within the scope of the imperial legislature and 'executive; and that the main inducement to federation, which 'is the necessity of conciliating the pretensions of independent 'states to the maintenance of their own sovereignty, could 'not exist in the case of Colonial dependencies, liable to be 'moulded according to the pleasure of the supreme authority 'at home. In the course of the discussions which I have 'mentioned, I became aware also of great practical difficulties in 'any plan of federal government, particularly those that must 'arise in the management of the general revenues, which would 'in such a plan have to be again distributed among the provinces. 'But I had still more strongly impressed on me the great advan- 'tages of an united government; and I was gratified by finding 'the leading minds of the various colonies strongly and generally 'inclined to a scheme that would elevate their countries into 'something like a national existence. I thought that it would 'be the tendency of a federation sanctioned and consolidated by a monarchical government, gradually to become a complete 'legislative union; and that thus, while conciliating the French 'of Lower Canada, by leaving them the government of their 'own province, and their own internal legislation, I might 'provide for the protection of British interests by the general 'government, and for the gradual transition of the provinces 'into an united and homogeneous community.

'But the period of gradual transition is past in Lower Canada. 'In the present state of feeling among the French population, I 'cannot doubt that any power which they might possess would be 'used against the policy and the very existence of any form of 'British government. I cannot doubt that any French Assembly 'that shall again meet in Lower Canada will use whatever 'power, be it more or less limited, it may have, to obstruct 'the government, and undo whatever has been done by it. 'Time, and the honest co-operation of the various parties, 'would be required to aid the action of a federal constitution; 'and time is not allowed, in the present state of Lower Canada, 'nor co-operation to be expected from a legislature, of which 'the majority shall represent its French inhabitants. I believe 'that tranquillity can only be restored by subjecting the province 'to the vigorous rule of an English majority; and that the only 'efficacious government would be that formed by a legislative 'union.'

After entering into certain details of the actual proportion of the two races, he argues that an union of the two provinces would effect his purpose. At the end of this, however, he adds, in the next page:—'But while I convince myself that such 'desirable ends would be secured by the legislative union of the 'two provinces, I am inclined to go further, and inquire whether 'all these objects would not more surely be attained, by extend-'ing this legislative union over all the British provinces in 'North America; and whether the advantages which I anticipate 'for two of them, might not, and should not in justice be extended 'over all. Such an union would at once decisively settle the 'question of races; it would enable all the provinces to co-operate 'for all common purposes; and, above all, it would form a great 'and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good and 'responsible government for itself, and which, under the protec-'tion of the British Empire, might in some measure counter-'balance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United 'States on the American continent.'

He then goes on for about four pages to reason on the advantages of this extended union of British North America: and finally in p. 115, thus sums up his practical conclusions:—'With such 'views, I should without hesitation recommend the immediate 'adoption of a general legislative union of all the British pro-'vinces in North America, if the regular course of government 'were suspended or perilled in the Lower provinces, and the 'necessity of the immediate adoption of a plan for their govern-'ment, without reference to them, a matter of urgency; or if it 'were possible to delay the adoption of a measure with respect 'to the Canadas until the project of an union could have been 'referred to the legislatures of the Lower provinces. But the 'state of the Lower provinces, though it justifies the proposal of 'an union, would not, I think, render it gracious, or even just, 'on the part of Parliament to carry it into effect without 'referring it for the ample deliberation and consent of the people 'of those colonies. Moreover, the state of the two Canadas 'is such, that neither the feelings of the parties concerned, nor 'the interests of the crown or the colonies themselves, will admit 'of a single session, or even of a large portion of a session of 'Parliament being allowed to pass without a definite decision by 'the imperial legislature, as to the basis on which it purposes to 'found the future government of those colonies.

'In existing circumstances, the conclusion to which the fore-'going considerations lead me, is, that no time should be lost 'in proposing to parliament a bill for repealing the 31st Geo. III.;

'restoring the union of the Canadas under one legislature; and 'reconstituting them as one province.

'The bill should contain provisions by which any or all of the 'other North American colonies may, on the application of the 'legislature, be, with the consent of the two Canadas, or their 'united legislature, admitted into the union on such terms as 'may be agreed on between them.'

Such being Lord Durham's account of his change of mind on this subject, we think the public will find an explanation of the fact, that after having, while in Canada, been averse to the union of the two provinces, when proposed as a final measure, he did, without being at all mad, or unconscious of what he was doing, conclude by proposing that union as the first step in a scheme for that larger union which he had always preferred; and if Sir Francis had read and understood the Report, he might have spared himself the ridicule of this explosive revelation of a mystery already explained in a public document.

We need not enter into any detailed vindication of the working of the Union and Responsible Government against the complaints which Sir Francis, echoing the lamentations of a few displaced officials, makes against what they are pleased to call that systematic elevation of the rebel, and depression of the loyal, which they charge on Sir Robert Peel. It is no doubt true, that after the execution of several of the principal leaders in various outbreaks, when a vast number of those persons who had been convicted, or had fled the province, had expiated their offences in a transportation or banishment of some four or five years, Lord Metcalfe did gradually obtain pardons for every person except Mackenzie and Dr Robert Nelson, the principal culprits in each province. Such amnesty needs no defence. But it is not true that any person undoubtedly guilty of taking arms against her Majesty has been promoted to any office of dignity and importance. And, indeed, Sir Francis only pretends to make out his case, by classing in the category of traitors every person who has at any time happened to be in opposition to the government, or to have been the object of a precipitate charge of treason or sedition. Thus Mr Baldwin, against whom no accusation of treason, sedition, or even indiscreet language, was ever hazarded by his most heated opponent in the province, even in the most heated times, is placed foremost in the group of rebels, because he spoke and voted against Sir Francis Head in the Provincial Parliament. The late M. Valliere de St. Real, made chief justice of Montreal because he was indisputably the ablest lawyer in the province, is represented as a traitor, because, in the course of the rebellion,

he was suspended by Sir John Colborne from his judgeship at Three Rivers, for scrutinizing the special ordinances with too legal an eye. And the old charge of treasonable correspondence with rebels is renewed against M. Lafontaine, on the ground of a garbled extract from two sentences in a long letter, containing a foolish joke, addressed to a friend who, ten months afterwards, was supposed to be compromised in an outbreak.

By the same loose reasoning all those who sided with the Governor and the official party, not merely in the rebellion, but in the various conflicts of provincial politics, are extolled as loyal men, whom the Imperial Government is for ever bound to uphold in the possession of political power. Such a pretension has never been admitted in any free government. Lord Sidmouth's services in suppressing Thistlewood's conspiracy, or Lord Normanby's in putting down Frost's insurrection, were never deemed to entitle them, and the whole party to which they respectively belonged, to a perpetual tenure of office. Public services even more distinguished than that of simply taking the right side in a rebellion, have never been held to give a claim to hold power in spite of the public voice. The Duke of Wellington may, we think, fairly be said to have done his country better service than Sir Allan Macnab, or even Sir Francis Head; and yet we never heard it contended that the honour of the British crown was tarnished by his Grace's remaining for ten years out of office. In free governments, the people must be left to form their own estimate of the claims created by such services: and if the Tories of the two Canadas have not had uninterrupted possession of office, that result must be ascribed to the free choice of the loyal majority of the province, who cannot be said to have been signally discouraged by being enabled to exercise such influence in the selection of their rulers. And it would be an entire mistake to imagine, on Sir Francis's authority, that the effect of the Union has been, by means of a combination of Upper Canada republicans with the disaffected French of the Lower province, to place those whom he describes as the loyal always at the feet of those whom he denounces as rebels. The truth is, that, in spite of this much-dreaded junction, the leaders of the Reform and French parties have held power for a very short time, and are now in a decided minority; and the government, since the Union, has been in the hands of a party comprising all the better portion of the Tories of former times. Nay, we do not see that the very heroes of the Family Compact have been so very hardly used as Sir Francis would make out. Chief-Justice Robinson has been removed from his political post of President of the

Legislative Council, which he never ought to have held; but he still is Chief-Justice. Sir Allan Macnab would be Speaker now if he had not resigned his office in June last for one which he thought better, and has since thrown up, no one exactly knows why. Faithful Judge Jones and heroic Judge Maclean have never been displaced. Sir Francis's Attorney-General, Hagerman, ceased to be Attorney-General only on being elevated to the Bench. And Mr Draper, Sir Francis's Solicitor-General, has ceased to be Solicitor-General only because he is Attorney-General, and actually the leader of the existing provincial ministry. We know of no one who has a right to complain except one person, whose merits and claims Sir Francis carefully abstains from ever mentioning,—we mean Colonel Fitzgibbon; and we must say that the treatment experienced by this distinguished officer, to whose foresight and courage we owe, under God, the safety of Toronto, has not been creditable to the generosity or justice of the mother country. The Assembly, soon after the insurrection, recognised his services by a vote of five thousand acres of wild land. The Colonial Office stopped this as violating what is, no doubt, the sound rule of allowing these lands to pass from the crown only by sale. The Assembly thereupon declared that Colonel Fitzgibbon's services ought to be rewarded by a grant of L.2000. One thousand of this they voted; the other they declared ought to be contributed by the imperial treasury. And this up to this hour has been refused. Our Government, forgetting all its magnificent promises to those who should defend the mother country assailed in one of her colonies, now regards the saving of that colony as a purely provincial service, which no one out of the province is concerned in rewarding.

We have now pretty well picked our crow, and we may safely dismiss the political history and theories of Sir Francis Head into the region of chimeras and confusion. We have said enough, we hope, to prevent his statements from weakening any man's confidence in the wisdom or success of the great experiment adopted first by Lord John Russell, and secondly with even greater completeness by Sir Robert Peel, in pursuance of Lord Durham's Report. Hitherto the result of that experiment has exceeded our expectations. It has not, indeed, produced the marvellous effect of suddenly amalgamating parties and races, separated by the animosities originating in long misgovernment. It has not in six years completely consolidated a variety of conflicting interests and sections into well-established parties, or raised up any body of men competent to mould the fractional elements of the United Assembly into

a decided and steady majority. The position of the present provincial ministry, acquired and maintained amid excitement and strife, is probably precarious; nor do we yet see any very certain prospect of the speedy formation of a strong government. But we are not dismayed at finding exhibited in a community, newly formed out of two provinces distracted by anarchy and civil war, the weakness which any sudden change of ancient institutions, and any violent disruption of parties, has often exhibited in older countries—even in England itself. The Union has wrought this great change—that the quarrels before decided by arms are now settled in debates and elections; that the arm of government is no longer paralysed by that permanent collision between the executive and legislative authorities which used to keep British North America in what Lord Durham called a state of 'constituted anarchy;' that the resentments springing out of past misgovernment and dissension, if not wholly removed, have been materially softened; that if the most perfect harmony has not suddenly been created, we have at least been free from the dread of rebellion and adhesion to a foreign country. And those who reproach Sir Robert Peel with his Canadian policy as a dereliction of his principles, and his duty to the Crown, blame him for what was the true Conservative policy,—the only policy that could, or can preserve British North America to the Crown, or render its preservation desirable.

The questions that disturbed the past are settled. Whatever dangers now threaten these provinces, or their connexion with the empire, are the offspring of new contingencies in the progress of affairs. Such dangers, we believe, will be averted by a policy which, while it steadfastly upholds the changes already wrought, shall direct itself to the accomplishment of the larger views embodied in Lord Durham's Report. When, by such a policy, we shall have succeeded in forming these vast and important possessions into a compact and powerful community, and in exhibiting on that wide theatre the useful working of the fundamental institutions of the British monarchy, we may hope to have provided for the tranquillity and security of British North America a long, honourable, and advantageous continuance of its connexion with the mother country. And the realization of such hopes we may fairly expect at the hands of those distinguished connexions of Lord Durham who now preside over the Colonial Department, and the Government of Canada.

ART. VI.—*A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the year* 1554, *about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies.* 1575. Reprinted, London: 1846. 8vo.

No revolution ever effected greater changes than ensued in England upon the death of Edward VI. The triumph of the constitutional rule of the descent of the throne, in opposition to the favourers of Lady Jane Grey, and the accession of Mary, not merely altered the political relations between England and every other state in Europe—they carried change into every parish, and almost into every family in the kingdom. Without waiting for parliamentary sanctions, the great body of the English people, and especially of the clergy, outran even the expression of a wish on the part of the new sovereign that they should return to Rome. They were as eager in proclaiming their reconciliation with the discarded Pontiff, as if they had been solely bent on proving the accuracy of the estimate of their religious character formed by Michele the Venetian ambassador; who, writing in 1557, declares, that 'with the English, the example and 'authority of the sovereign is every thing. They live as he lives '—they believe as he believes—and they obey his commands, 'not from any inward moral impulse, but because they fear to 'incur displeasure; and they would be full as zealous followers 'of the Mahometan or Jewish religions, did the king profess 'either of them, or command his subjects to do so.'* The services of the ancient faith were at once restored. Compliant pastors led back obedient flocks to old customs and observances which still retained prescriptive hold upon their hearts. Vestments, chalices, roods, relics, images, and breviaries were, as it were, disinterred. The novel *sumpsimus* was discarded ignominiously; the old *mumpsimus* resumed his ancient sway. It was, indeed, one of the most vigorous attempts at retrogression ever made by any people; and it was maintained for several years with the most scrupulous perseverance. But the volume before us directs our attention to one only of the results of Mary's establishment,—the voluntary exile of no fewer than eight hundred English people, who had been favourers of the ecclesiastical changes introduced under Edward VI.: And it is to the character and conduct of those sufferers for conscience-sake, that we shall principally confine our attention in the present article.

* Ellis's Letters, Second Ser. ii. 239.

The fate of the Protestant party in England at Mary's accession, may, in general terms, be stated to have been threefold. A very numerous body—the most forward, or most accessible—became the subjects of active persecution. The astounding number of two hundred and eighty-eight persons suffered death by fire! The sad details of the deaths of many of them are familiar to every one; but there is a concentration of horror in a simple passage of one of Sir William Cecil's *Diaries*, which brings home to one's mind the astounding wickedness of such a state of things more forcibly than the most laboured description. The entry is under the date of June 1558, and the words are, 'NOW BURNING IN 'SMITHFIELD SEVEN IN ONE FIRE!' It seems as if the cautious statesman had, by some chance, caught a passing glimpse of the hideous sacrifice, and, terror-stricken at the sight, had rushed to his house in Cannon Row, where, while his mind was excited by the act of desperate wickedness which he had beheld, he at once registered the awful fact in his table-book. 'They were the 'heretics,' to adopt the language of Shakspeare, who has been sometimes thought to have been a Romanist, 'who made the fire; 'not they who burnt in it.'

A vast number died in prison; where their sufferings were rendered as galling as possible, by the mean contrivances of a paltry bigotry. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was accustomed to send his alms-basket to the Marshalsea; but, though he gave his goods to feed the poor, he had no charity; for he directed his almoner (Brooks, who succeeded Hooper in the see of Gloucester) to charge the gatekeeper, that none of the heretics should have any portion of his alms.* This was at a time when the prisons were filled, and many of the prisoners, who had been dragged from their homes and their means of livelihood, were dying of sickness, if not of starvation. Their sufferings are detailed with painful minuteness by one of their number, old Father Coverdale, in his preface to the *Letters of the Martyrs*. † 'Some,' he says, 'being 'thrown into dungeons, ugsome holes—dark, loathsome, and 'stinking corners; other some lying in fetters and chains, and 'loaded with so many irons that they could scarcely stir; some in 'the stocks with their heels upwards; some having their legs in 'the stocks, and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of 'iron; some, both hands and legs in the stocks at once, sometimes 'both hands in and both legs out, sometimes the right hand with 'the left leg, or the left hand with the right leg, fastened in the 'stocks with manacles and fetters, having neither stool nor stone to

* Strype's Cranmer, p. 310. † P. 26. Edit. 1837.

'sit on, to ease their woeful bodies withal; some standing in most 'painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled; some whipped 'and scourged, beat with rods, and buffeted with fists; some hav-'ing their hands burned with a candle to try their patience, or force 'them to relent; some hunger-pined and most miserably famish-'ed.' 'Again,' he says, that 'they were so narrowly watched, 'and straitly kept from all necessary helps, as paper, ink, books, 'and suchlike, that great marvel it is how they could be able 'to write any one of these, or other so excellent and worthy let-'ters. For so hardly were they used, as I said afore, for the 'most part, that they could not end their letters begun, some-'time for lack of ease, being so fettered with chains and other-'wise handled as you have heard; sometime for lack of light, 'when they could neither see to write well, nor to read their 'letters again; and sometimes through the hasty coming-in of 'the keepers or officers, who left no corner nor bed-straw un-'searched; yea, sometimes they were put to so hard shifts, that 'like as for lack of pens they were fain to write with the lead 'of the windows, so for want of ink they took their own blood, 'as yet it remaineth to be seen.' *

A second portion of the Protestant party consisted of persons who wholly or in part conformed to the new order of things, or whose nonconformity escaped, or was allowed to pass, unnoticed. Seven of the dioceses of England are infamously conspicuous in the history of this persecution,—Chichester, Canterbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Norwich, Rochester, Salisbury, and, above all, London; the bishops being Christopherson, Pole, (who allowed Harpsfield, his archdeacon, to shed blood like water,) Baynes, Hopton, Griffin, Capon, and, *facile princeps*, Bonner. In most of the other bishoprics there was little persecution; and the three northern dioceses, York, Carlisle, and Durham, were entirely free. This was partly owing to their distance from the seat of government, and partly to the comparatively few Protestants in the northern districts of England; but principally to the humanity of the bishops, Heath, Oglethorp, and Cuthbert Tonstall. In these dioceses Protestants lived unmolested, if they were peaceable; and even men, who were obnoxious to the higher powers, occasionally found shelter and security. Bernard Gilpin was protected by Tonstall; Harley, bishop of Hereford, wandered up and down the country instructing a little flock in woods and secret places.† Bullingham and Gheast, both afterwards bishops, hid themselves in holes and lurking-places, which they often changed. Parker,

* Letters of the Martyrs, p. 27. † Strype's Mem, ii. p. 465.

who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was 'driven into 'a corner, spoiled, and impoverished;'—on one occasion, when sought to be apprehended, he fled by night, and, falling off his horse, was hurt so dangerously that he says, 'I shall never re-'cover it;'* but he escaped from his pursuers, and passed the rest of Mary's reign in concealment, in the house of one of his friends; versifying the Book of Psalms, and writing his treatise in defence of priests' marriages.† Ascham was protected by Gardiner's love for good scholarship; Gresham, by his importance as a mercantile and political agent; and Cecil, by the friendship of Cardinal Pole.

A third section of the Protestant party consisted of those who sought safety in other countries. It had been the policy of Cranmer (strangely deviated from afterwards by James the First and Charles) to keep up a connexion between England and the chief continental Protestant divines, as a kind of substitute for the broken ties which had formerly bound the English Church to Rome. This friendliness had led many eminent theologians to visit England; and others were invited thither, in order that Oxford and Cambridge might have the benefit of their learning. Cranmer received these strangers with most liberal and cordial hospitality, and procured them such preferments and appointments as were suitable to their talents and inclinations. Peter Martyr was appointed divinity professor at Oxford; Bucer and Fagius were sent to Cambridge; Bernardine Ochin preached in London; and Regelius, Peter Alexander, Justus Jonas, Dryander, Rodolph Gualter, and several other foreigners of eminence, were, from time to time, partakers of the princely hospitalities of Lambeth. England was also visited by multitudes of exiles, who sought shelter from the intolerance of foreign potentates. It redounds greatly to the credit of the government of Edward VI., that they were kindly received and protected. They were encouraged in the exercise of the mechanical arts they

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* Burnet, Ref. Vol. ii. Part 2. App. viii.

† Strype had not 'come to the sight of' Parker's translation of the Psalms when he wrote his life; but there are copies in the British Museum, at the Bodleian, at Lambeth, and at Canterbury Cathedral. It was printed by Daye anonymously, and without date, but probably in 1561, or the year following. The copy at Lambeth is a presentation copy from 'Margaret Parker,' the archbishop's wife, to the Countess of Shrewsbury.—See Dibdin's Ames, iv. 175; Warton's Eng. Poetry, iv. 5; and *Gent. Mag.* for 1781, p. 566. The Archbishop's Defence of Priests' Marriages, was printed by Richard Jugge, without date, but probably in 1562. See Dibdin's Ames, iv. 263. Strype's Parker, 504.

brought with them; and in matters of religion they were permitted to follow the dictates of their conscience with a freedom beyond what was at that time granted to the king's natural born subjects. In London, the church of the Austin Friars was granted to a body of German refugees, who were incorporated by royal charter, under the superintendence of John à Lasco, a distinguished Pole, a friend of Erasmus, and the purchaser of his library. There was also in the metropolis a congregation of Italians under Michael Angelo Florio, and another of Frenchmen. Foreign churches were settled at Canterbury, Norwich, and other large towns; and a body of Flemish weavers of kersies, who were specially patronised by Protector Somerset, established themselves at Glastonbury, under the superintendency of Valerandus Pollanus, who had been a minister at Strasburgh.

One of the earliest acts of Mary's council was to withdraw the privileges which had been granted to these foreign exiles. This was to be expected. They were principally contumacious subjects of the Queen's relative and intimate ally, the Emperor; and they exhibited before the eyes of her own people, the consummation of that Protestant system, which, in all its details, was to her as wormwood. They were accordingly commanded to depart the realm; and the officers of the principal outports were directed to facilitate their embarkation. After long uncertainty whither to direct their course, the German exiles determined in favour of Denmark, partly on account of the reputation of its sovereign, Christian III., who had established the Reformation throughout his territories; and partly by the favourable circumstance that two Danish ships were then lying in the Thames, ready to receive them on board, and anxious to depart homewards with the first favourable wind. In these ships à Lasco with three hundred and fifty companions, many of them having families, embarked on the 17th September 1553. The voyage was a most disastrous one. Opposed by unfavourable winds and stormy weather, it was six weeks before they passed through the Sound and reached the coast of Denmark. There unanticipated troubles awaited them. Before they were permitted to set foot on shore, certain ecclesiastical authorities examined them as to their faith. It was found that in the matter of the Eucharist they were Suvermerians, Sacramentiperdians, or, in some way or other, not quite orthodox, according to the notions of rigid Lutheranism. The objection was fatal;—they were forbidden to land. The shelter of Denmark was denied to them, and, in the commencing winter of a northern climate, they were compelled again to loose their sails, and seek some spot where Christian charity ranked higher than the dogmas of theology. They applied successively to Rostock, Weimar, and Lu-

beck, in vain. They left the inhospitable Baltic, and sailed round to Hamburgh, but still without success. The Lutheran formula of the Eucharist not merely withheld from them the rights of hospitality, but exposed them to insult and reproach. Joachim Westphalus, a celebrated Lutheran theologian of Hamburgh, a man *acerbissimi ingenii*, not only opposed them strenuously, and printed books against their doctrines, but was accustomed to term their brethren who afterwards suffered for Protestantism in England, the 'devil's martyrs.' At length, in March 1554, they touched in East Friesland. The countess Anna took compassion upon them; the people of Emden followed her example, and, after six months' wandering, and passing a winter at sea, they found a protectress and a home.* The inhabitants of the wild and barren country which was then termed East Friesland, and is now Aurich, a province of Hanover, were long celebrated for a jealous love of freedom. Would that we could always see, as in the instance now before us, the natural connexion between the love of freedom and the practice of the first and greatest of all Christian virtues steadily maintained!

Within a few months after the departure of à Lasco, many other foreigners quitted England; Rye and Dover being the principal places of embarkation. Pollanus and the weavers of kersies at Glastonbury submitted to the general fate, and removed to Frankfort, where they were kindly received. The church of the White Ladies was granted to them for their worship, and they took possession of it on the 20th April 1554: Pollanus celebrating the occasion by a sermon, and by the baptism 'of his young son in the Rhine.' †

Peter Martyr soon found that his occupation at Oxford was gone. The members of that loyal university were overwhelmed with grief on the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey; and were proportionably elated when the brief usurpation came to an end. The accession of Mary produced the most uproarious rejoicing. Subscriptions were entered into to maintain her cause; shouts and feasting prevailed throughout the city, and the fagot, the scaffold, and all other varieties of death, were denounced against the Gospellers. Peter Martyr was forbidden to leave his house; and Sydall, one of his willow friends, ever ready to conform, was made responsible for his appearance. After six weeks' submission to this restraint, Julio Terentiano, Martyr's companion and friend, who had accompanied him from Switzerland,

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* Gerdes, Hist. Evang., iii. p. 237.

† Original Letters relative to Eng. Reform. (Parker Soc.) i. 3

repaired to London to make exertions on his behalf. But every one who had the will to aid him was overwhelmed in the common trouble. At last he met with Whittingham, who was afterwards Dean of Durham. He had just returned from a long absence in France, and, being but little involved in the proceedings of the past reign, had leisure to attend to the troubles of others. He took up the cause of these distressed foreigners; and prepared a memorial to the Council in Martyr's name; setting out in it the invitation of Edward VI., upon which he had come to England, and praying that, as the Queen had no longer any occasion for his services, he might be permitted to return home. Whittingham and Terentiano went together to Richmond, and the petition was presented. After several days' fruitless attendance, they, with much difficulty, prevailed upon Sir John Mason to interfere, and permission was given that Martyr might come himself to London, and prosecute his suit. Removal from Oxford was a great point gained. Martyr instantly took advantage of the permission, and hurried to Lambeth, where his friend Cranmer was still at liberty, and as friendly and hospitable as ever. It was in the month of September 1553, and on a Thursday. Martyr dined with the Archbishop; and after dinner he came into Martyr's chamber, and conferred privately with him respecting their common difficulties. Cranmer told his guest, 'that he 'himself must of necessity abide a trial, and that it was certain 'that he should never see him again; he recommended Martyr to 'be urgent for his passports, on obtaining which he should depart; 'but, should he fail in obtaining them, he must consult his safety 'by flight, for that no justice was to be expected from his adver-'saries. Oh God!' exclaims Julio Terentiano, from whose narrative these particulars are derived, 'who can explore the 'depth of thy counsels? About five days after the Arch-'bishop of Canterbury had been committed to the Tower, a safe 'conduct, and a most honourable one, was given by the Queen to 'Master Peter.*' Martyr lost no time in acting upon Cranmer's advice. Accompanied by Bernardine Ochin, he crossed to Antwerp, and proceeded thence to Strasburg, where he occupied himself as a teacher of divinity.

Many English people who felt themselves to be obnoxious to the new government, took advantage of these departures of foreigners to leave the realm without passports, in the character of their servants. But that subterfuge was soon discovered: And, so strict a watch was kept in consequence at the outports, that

* Ibid. p. 371.

persons who afterwards left the realm were generally obliged to have recourse to stratagems of a more subtle kind. Many Protestants doubted how far it was right to forsake their cause, and Cranmer was consulted upon the point. His advice, which is published in the *Letters of the Martyrs*,* was clear and decided. 'I exhort you,' he said, being himself in prison, 'as 'well by Christ's commandment as by the example of him and 'his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of your and 'God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely 'served; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving 'of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort 'of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, 'lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutors' hands.' Many persons acted upon this advice. The greater number escaped unobserved in the trading vessels which were sailing continually between England and the Low Countries; others in the boats of fishermen, and those of the usual conveyers of letters and intelligence. Many crossed from ports whence there was no ordinary communication with the Continent; and, in a few instances of distinguished persons, they were helped by their friends on the other side, who sent ships to wait for them at the mouth of the Thames. A lively picture of the ingenuity with which they sometimes evaded the slighter kind of difficulties which stood in their way, is given in a MS. life of Whittingham, in the Ashmolean Library. The facts related took place in May or June 1554.

'Queen Mary being proclaimed, and a taste given of the 'alteration of religion, he forthwith resolved to go again beyond 'the seas; and riding over London Bridge, in his way to 'Dover, and thence to take shipping, he met Mr Harding, 'who wrote against Jewell, on the bridge; who, after saluta-'tions, asked him whither he was a-going. Mr Whittingham 'answered, that he was going beyond the seas. Mr Harding 'demanded of him the cause. He answered, "Did you not hear 'the proclamation, and how the whore of Rome is again erected 'among us?" To which Mr Harding replied, "Happy are you 'that go for so good a cause." Mr Whittingham and his com-'pany coming to Dover, at night, whilst they were at supper,

* P. 18. edit. 1837. Cranmer's letter was addressed to Mrs Wilkinson, a resident in London, who was a zealous and liberal supporter of the persecuted Protestants. She continued in England until after Bradford was burnt, and then made her way to Frankfort, where she died.

'the host of the house told his guests, that, after supper, he 'must carry them before the magistrate or mayor of the town, 'to be questioned concerning the cause or errand of their going 'beyond the sea; for the magistrate had received strict command 'from the Council for the examination of every passenger, and 'Mr Mayor had as strictly enjoined them (the innkeepers) to 'bring their guests to be examined as aforesaid; wherein the 'host seeming to be more peremptory and precise, it made his 'news the more distasteful, and, in part, to vex his guests. 'Whilst they were in this anxiety, there being a fair greyhound 'waiting on the table for relief, Mr Whittingham chanced to say, '"Mine host, you have here a very fair greyhound." "Aye," said 'the host, "this greyhound is a fair greyhound indeed, and is 'of the Queen's kind." "Queen's kind!" said Whittingham, '"what mean you by that? This is a strange speech! 'What good subject can endure to hear such words of his 'sovereign, to have her Majesty to be compared in kind with the 'kind of a dog?" And said, that the words were very treason-'able, and that he could not see how they could be excused if 'they should not go and acquaint the magistrate with it; and 'did further so aggravate the matter, even of purpose, as they 'did drive the host into such a fear as he durst not once 'mention the carrying of them before the magistrate any more, 'but was glad to be so freed from their incumbrance.' *

Foxe, the future martyrologist, was sheltered by his pupil the Duke of Norfolk; the same who was beheaded in 1571, but who was then a young man, and had not come to the dukedom. Upon one occasion Foxe suddenly entered an apartment in his pupil's house, where he and Bishop Gardiner were in discourse. Surprised at finding himself in the presence of the leader of the persecution, who had already been seeking his arrest, Foxe hastily withdrew in some confusion. 'Who was that?' inquired the bishop. Relying upon his ignorance of Foxe's person, or upon the imperfection of a momentary glance, the duke replied that it was his physician—adding, that he was somewhat uncourtly, being newly come from the university. The bishop answered calmly, 'I like his countenance and

* Wood's MSS. Ashmol. Lib. No. 8560. art. 4. The Queen's kind of hound is represented in the celebrated picture of herself and her husband, painted by Sir Antonio More, which is in the possession of the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn. Mary is there seated under a cloth of estate, and at her feet are two little dogs, which have collars of small bells. The picture was engraved some years ago by the Granger Society.

'aspect well, and, upon occasion, will make use of him.' But there was an expression in his look which contradicted the expression of his tongue, and convinced the duke that, in spite of what he said, the attempt to blind him had not succeeded. Foxe's only safety was in flight. The duke supplied him with means, and, in all haste, the poor tutor and his wife set sail from Ipswich. The weather was stormy, and the ship put back; but Foxe learning, when he came ashore, that Gardiner had issued a warrant for his apprehension, entreated the master of the ship to put to sea again, and in two days they landed at Newport, in Flanders. From thence Foxe proceeded to Antwerp, and afterwards to Frankfort.

Bale made his escape from Ireland. His intention was to proceed to Scotland, in order that he might watch the course of events, and return to his bishopric of Ossory, as soon as he could do so with any chance of safety or usefulness. He embarked from Dublin in a small ship, 'there called a pyckarde,' which he hired in conjunction with a young man of Essex, of the name of Thomas, who was engaged in some mercantile pursuit. But whilst 'tarrying upon the tide for passage,' their ship was boarded by a Flemish ship of war, or rather pirate, and Bale and Thomas were removed, with all that they possessed, into the pirate's vessel. They were searched 'to the very skin,' and every thing belonging to them, money, books, and apparel, was taken from them; even the captain of the 'pyckarde' was robbed of five pounds, which had been paid him on account of their passage money. After touching at Waterford, where neither Bale nor Thomas was allowed to land, the pirates steered for the English channel. Stress of weather drove them into St Ives, where one of the crew, the same who had before procured Bale and his companion to be made prisoners, accused Bale of treason, in the hope of getting a portion of his money, which was in the captain's hands. Upon Bale's solicitation one of the bailiffs of the town, who appeared to be 'a very sober man,' cross-examined the accuser, and having skilfully drawn from him that he had never seen or heard of Bale before he came aboard the Flemish vessel, followed up the admission by enquiring, what treason he could possibly have known of him since. 'Marry,' said he, 'he would have fled into 'Scotland.' 'Why,' said the bailiff, 'and knowest thou any impe-'diment wherefore he ought not to have gone into Scotland?' 'No,' said the fellow, 'but he was going towards Scotland.' 'If 'it be a treason,' saith the bailiff, 'to go towards Scotland, a 'man having business to do there, it is more than I knew 'afore.' Bale thus escaped; his money, L.21, was given up to him, and the Flemings pursued their voyage. After two pira-

tical encounters with English ships, in both which they were successful, they arrived off Dover; and here a fresh accusation was got up against poor Bale. Amongst his effects they had found the seal of his bishopric, two very suspicious-looking Latin letters, which he had received from certain foreign divines, and a letter from King Edward VI.'s Council, announcing to him his episcopal call. These were deemed pregnant proofs of heresy and of counterfeiting the great seal; and with these accusations upon his head, the captain was anxious to sell his prisoner, if any man would offer him a good sum of money. But the speculation was not popular at Dover; and it was finally agreed that Bale should be set ashore in Zealand, upon his giving back all his own money which had been returned to him, except six crowns—which magnificent sum was allowed him for his maintenance until he could communicate with his friends, when he was to pay a further sum of L.50. Upon reaching land, the latter sum was reduced by the owners to L.30; time was given for its payment; and Bale was permitted to depart to Frankfort, whence he afterwards removed to Basle.*

Jewell, after having signed a recantation at Oxford, became miserable. Urged by his smitten conscience, he fled as for his life. He set his face towards London; but wandered along by unfrequented roads, until weary, foot-sore, and despairing, he sank down, almost dead with fatigue and trouble. In this state one of those circumstances happened to him which we are accustomed to term strange chances, or singular accidents; but through which we often seem to catch, as it were, a glimpse of the care and determined purpose which distinguish the providential government of the world. Whilst Jewell was lying stretched upon the earth, and almost, as it appeared, at his last gasp,† a man rode past. His attention was attracted to the prostrate figure. He paused to look at him. He turned back and came near. It was Augustine Bernher, Latimer's Swiss servant, the friend of Ridley, Bradford, Hooper, and all the suffering Protestants, the good Samaritan of his day. He alighted, placed Jewell upon his horse; guided him to the country-house of a Mrs Ann Warcop, where he was refreshed and entertained; took him to London, where he was kept concealed in the houses of several trustworthy citizens; and finally,

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* These particulars are derived from Bale's narrative, entitled *The Vocacyon of John Bale*, 12mo, 1553; it is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vi. 437.

† Humi jacentem et quodammodo expirantem.

by the means and at the expense of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, procured him a passage across the sea.* Jewell went first to Frankfort, but finally took up his abode with Peter Martyr at Strasburgh, and afterwards at Zurich.

Knox was persuaded by his friends, after his letters had been intercepted, and his messengers seized, that he ought to quit England, where he had been ministering during the reign of Edward VI. 'Partly by admonition, partly by tears,' they compelled him to acquiesce. A vessel was procured, and he was landed at Dieppe, whence he passed through France to Geneva.

Alexander Nowell was at that time one of the under-masters of Westminster School. Bonner marked him for a victim; but Francis Bowyer, a citizen of London, and sheriff in 1577, sheltered him, and sent him safe beyond the seas. He, like Jewell, was one of those who found an asylum in the house of Peter Martyr, at Strasburgh, where a congregation of learned men lived as in a college, at a common table.

Sir Francis Knollys, with his wife and eldest son, slipped away unobserved; an interesting memorial of their departure has recently been published in Miss Wood's *Letters of Illustrious Ladies*, (iii. 279.) It is a letter from the future Queen Elizabeth, written to her cousin, Lady Knollys, upon her leaving England. It is signed *Cor rotto*, 'The broken-hearted;' and is couched in that hard, rough, enigmatical style, which indicates that the writer had plenty of meaning, with but few words; and which constitutes a curious point of resemblance between the letters of Elizabeth and those of Cromwell. In both, the hand seems continually to be struggling, and often in vain, to express what is in the mind; and in both there come, every now and then, in some happy moment, not only the breathing thought, but also the burning word.

'An old saying,' remarks Elizabeth, 'when bale is lowest, 'boot is nearest: when your need shall be most, you shall find my 'friendship greatest. Let others promise, and I will do; in 'words not more, in deeds as much. My power but small, my 'love as great as them whose gifts may tell their friendship's tale. 'Let will supply all other want; and oft-sending take the lieu of 'often-sights. Your messengers shall not return empty, nor 'yet your desires unaccomplished. Lethe's flood hath here no 'course; good memory hath greatest stream. And, to conclude, 'a word that hardly I can say I am driven by need to write;

* Juelli, Vita et Mors. Laurent. Humfredo, Lond. 1573. P. 82.

'farewell it is, which, in the sense one way, I wish—the other 'way, I grieve.'

Foxe has commemorated two memorable escapes, upon the infomation, and probably in the very words of the persons themselves—that of the Duchess of Suffolk, widow of Charles Brandon, and mother of the brave Lord Willoughby; and that of Doctor Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York. These narratives of the martyrologist are two of the most interesting histories in our language, distinguished for homely truthful simplicity, and minuteness of detail; But as they have been copied into Holinshed, and noticed by many of our general historians, they may be presumed to be well known; especially the one relating to the Duchess of Suffolk, whose adventures were made the subject of a popular old ballad—'The most rare and excellent history of the Duchess of 'Suffolk, and her husband Richard Bertie's calamity—to the 'tune of Queen Dido.' After many adventures, the duchess and her husband bent their way towards Wesel, in Cleves. A refuge had been found there by a part of one of à Lasco's congregations, under the guidance of Francis Rivers, a minister who, whilst in England, had received great kindness from Bertie and his wife. Hot pursuit was made after them by the emissaries of Philip and Mary; and, to avoid suspicion, the duchess travelled the last portion of their journey on foot, Bertie carrying their child, and the duchess his cloak and rapier. 'At last, betwixt six and seven of the 'clock in the dark night (it was in January 1555) they came to 'Wesel, and repairing to their inns for lodging and some repose 'after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment: for going 'from inn to inn, offering large money for small lodging, they were 'refused of all the inn-holders, suspecting Master Bertie to be a 'lance-knight and the duchess to be his woman. The child, for 'cold and sustenance, cried pitifully; the mother wept as fast; 'and the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour.' Bertie understood but little Dutch; 'and, by reason of evil weather and 'late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could 'speak English, French, Italian, or Latin.' In this extremity he determined to place his wife under the shelter of the porch of the great church, and was proceeding thither when he overheard two boys talking in Latin. He accosted them, and offered a couple of stivers to be conducted to the house of any of the Walloons. The very first house to which the boys led them, chanced to be that in which their friend Rivers was at supper! Hearing some one inquire for him, he 'came to the door, and 'beholding Master Bertie, the duchess and their child, their 'faces, apparels, and bodies, so far from their old form, deformed 'with dirt, weather, and heaviness, could not speak to them, nor

'they to him, for tears. At length, recovering themselves, 'they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, 'God knoweth full joyfully: Master Bertie changing of his 'apparel with the goodman, the duchess with the goodwife, 'and their child with the child of the house.' They resided at Wesel until the Lutheran formula broke up their congregation: when the main body of the Wesel exiles removed to Arau, in Switzerland, under the guidance of Thomas Lever, afterwards Master of Sherburn. The duchess and her husband did not accompany them. They removed to Weinheim, and finally, in 1557, through the friendship of à Lasco, were received with great honour by the King of Poland, and appointed a residence in Samogitia, now part of the Russian province of Vilna. There they remained until after the death of Mary.

Sandys' escape was a remarkable one, and is admirably related by Foxe. He remained for some time at Strasburgh with the other exiles who assembled round Peter Martyr.

The teaching of that eminent man attracted to the same place Grindal, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Cole, afterwards president of Corpus, and Ponet, the deprived Bishop of Winchester. At Strasburgh were also Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, (father of Lady Cecil, Lady Bacon, and the rest of the five learned sisters,) Sir Richard Morison, Sir Peter Carew, and many others.

Bullinger drew many to Zurich. Among them were Laurence Humfrey, afterwards professor of divinity at Oxford, Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and Bentham, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Twelve of these English exiles dwelt in the house of Froschover, the celebrated printer, 'like brothers and with great glee,' says Humfrey, who was one of them; not merely protected, but treated with infinite respect, by the magistrates and all the citizens. Bullinger had indeed old claims upon the regard of the English: for in Henry VIII.'s time, when there were many exiles under the law of the Six Articles, he had received them with singular kindness; and, by enlightening their minds upon theological questions, had greatly conduced to the progress of the Reformation, by the part they were able to take in it on their return home under Edward VI. Hooper, the martyr, is a striking instance in proof of this. Nothing can be more friendly, or more affectionately respectful than some letters addressed by him to Bullinger, recently found at Zurich.* They bring Hooper

* We judge only from the translations published in the Original Letters edited by Dr Robinson, (pp. 33-106.) We shall be happy to find that it is intended to publish the originals.

before us more effectively than any of his writings ever before published.

On the decease of Conrad Pellicanus, the venerable professor of Hebrew at Zurich, Peter Martyr was invited to fill the vacant chair; when he removed thither, which was on the 13th July 1556, Jewell, Sandys, Grindal, and other of the English exiles, accompanied him. From that time Zurich may be regarded as the chief seat of these banished men. Bullinger, Martyr, and their friends, lived together in the greatest harmony; and many a sigh did the English exiles often heave, after their return to England, and their exaltation to be dwellers in palaces, when they remembered the quiet days and simple pleasures which they enjoyed at Zurich.

Before this union of the followers of Martyr and Bullinger, the most numerous congregation of the English had been attracted to Frankfort: partly by its greater nearness to England than either Zurich or Strasburgh — partly also by the kindness of their reception, and by the privileges granted to them by the magistrates.* At Frankfort, besides Sir Francis Knollys, and Henry, his son, were Crowley, afterwards Archdeacon of Hereford, Horn, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and for a time, Sampson, Dean of Chichester, together with Traheron, who had been King Edward's librarian.

Coverdale was released from prison on the interference of the King of Denmark, and was afterwards for some time at Wesel; Scory, Bishop of Chichester, joined the flock at Emden, as also did Willock, the future coadjutor of Knox. None of the exiles seem at first to have attached themselves to Calvin, except perhaps Lever. Even he went to Geneva upon the recommendation of Bullinger, and remained there only until he received a call to Wesel. Bale, Foxe, and some others, connected themselves with printers more decidedly than with divines; and were attracted to Strasburgh, Basle, and Zurich, by Rihelius, Oporinus, and Froschover, rather than by Martyr or Bullinger.

The support of so large a company must have been a subject of great anxiety; and it appears to have been managed with systematic and judicious care. Many of the exiles brought away with them money or jewels sufficient for their maintenance for a considerable period; others received occasional remittances from friends who were intrusted with the management of their property; others, again, earned a small pittance by the exercise of mechanical employments, or by teaching, translating, or cor-

* Grindal's Remains, p. 239.

recting the press; and it was an established regulation amongst them, that every one should exert himself to procure from his relatives and friends such assistance as they could afford to give. Still there were many who were altogether without support. For their benefit there was formed a fund, which was principally derived from contributions remitted from England, and especially from the metropolis. Throughout this crisis, the citizens of London are most honourably distinguished by their support of Protestantism in the persons of these exiles, as well as by their contributions in behalf of those who suffered at home. The fund thus raised was administered with true mercantile care and prudence, principally by two citizens who were among the exiles —Richard Hilles and Richard Chambers. Both these men deserve to be had in perpetual remembrance. The former had been established as a draper, or dealer in English cloth, at Strasburgh, as well as in London, long before Mary's time, and was of great service to the exiles in many ways. His princely heart may be estimated from one fact. After Elizabeth's accession, when his brethren of the Merchant Tailors' Company determined to institute their now celebrated school, Richard Hilles gave in one sum L.500 towards accomplishing their object. Chambers had been distinguished in Edward VI.'s reign by his liberality to young men of promise who were studying at the universities; and, during the exile, his fellow-sufferers emptied his purse rather than shared its contents. Thomas Eton, another London merchant, who is commemorated by Humfrey as 'the common host' of all the exiles at Strasburgh, was literally ruined by his unsparing bounty. In 1578, when Eton was a very aged man, he was so reduced in circumstances, that Lord Burghley was requested, by one who had been himself among the objects of his noble charity, to allow him to export some thousands of pieces of cloth without paying custom. Such a fact clearly testifies to Eton's generosity, but does little credit to the gratitude of the ecclesiastical dignitaries who had been partakers of it in the day of their distress.

Whilst the home literature of Mary was strictly defensive and retrogressive, that of the exiles, on the contrary, was aggressive in all directions. In England, there was only one object: which was, to lead back the people into the old paths, as fast as possible. This was to be done by means of the Use of Sarum, the Hours of Our Lady, primers and manuals, breviaries, missals, and processionals, (many of them printed abroad,) by sermons of Ambrose and Augustine, and Bonner's Homilies, and Gardiner on Obedience, and the works of Sir Thomas More, (one of the most beautiful books of English typography,) by the song of the Child

Bishop, sung before the Queen on St Nicholas's day, and by the Ballads of Joy for her Majesty's being with child. These, with fire and fagot, were to be the great instruments of reconversion. All the real literature of the country was put into the *Index Expurgatorius* of a proclamation, which forbade the reading of the works of the foreign divines, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Martyr, à Lasco, Ochin, &c., together with those of Latimer, Barnes, Bale, Hooper, Coverdale, Tyndall, Cranmer, Becon, Frith, &c. Whilst law was called upon to terrify by its most savage butcheries, literature was regarded as though it had been its especial province to lull the public mind into a state of blessed dormancy and rest. Not such was the estimate of its power or its purposes, which the exiles formed. Romanism, like the strong man armed, had gotten possession of the house; but he was not to be allowed to keep his goods in peace. The exiles considered themselves to be as voices crying in the wilderness, whose very end it was to arouse from torpor and security. 'Flattery dwelling at home,' says old Bale, 'and 'sucking there still his mother's breasts, may never tell out 'the truth, he seeth so many dangers on every side; as dis-'pleasure of friends, decay of name, loss of goods, offence 'of great men, punishment of body, and jeopardy of life, with 'such other like. The forsaken, wretched sort, hath the Lord 'provided always to rebuke the world of sin, for want of true 'faith; of hypocrisy, for want of perfect righteousness; and of 'blindness, for lack of godly judgment. For nought is it not, 'therefore, that He hath exiled a certain number of believing 'brethren the realms of England; of the which afflicted family 'my faih is that I am one. Whereupon I have considered it no 'less than my bound duty, under pain of damnation, to admonish 'Christ's flock, by this present revelation, of their perils past, and 'the dangers to come.' *

These solemn words, although not written at this particular time, exhibit the faith of these exiles in the hidden meaning of all their trials; and most daringly did they act upon it. In their publications the peculiar practices of Romanism were turned inside out, and exposed to popular contempt and ridicule; the fundamental articles of its creed were met by rough but solid argumentation; the events which were taking place at home, were commented upon in a tone of the most insulting disparagement and condemnation; the Spanish alliance was reprobated with an intensity of hatred; and even the

* Bale's *Image of both Churches*, sig. A. v.

foundation of Mary's throne was assailed by a trumpet blast, which summoned all men to a crusade against the 'monstrous regiment of women.' In all this there was a great deal that ought to be gravely censured, but not without a due allowance for the situation in which these men were placed. We can feel no sympathy for those who gloss over the bad actions of Mary's advisers, but dilate with horror upon the hard speeches of the exiles. The gentlemen who are most scandalized by these coarse and intemperate publications, are delighted, instead of being disgusted, with the scurrility and insult which, in the succeeding age, were levelled at the Puritans and their religious leaders. But on the want of manners, or other wants, in the writings of our first Reformers, we cannot enter now. All competent judges must admit, that among the exiles there were determined students and clever writers. Knox, Bale, Goodman, Ponet, Scory, Sampson, Turner, Becon, Traheron, Pilkington, Humfrey, and Foxe, all come within the latter description: And manfully they strove, by every means in the power of their pens, to arouse the public feeling against the tyranny which had driven them from their homes, and against the persecution which was making England a reproach and a scorn amongst all Christian nations.

Of all the writers we have named, the last has ultimately exercised by far the greatest influence, through the medium of his *Book of Martyrs.* The history of that celebrated book seems to be strangely misunderstood. Even the editors of the last 'new and complete edition' * exhibit an ignorance upon the subject, less excusable in them, but not more singular, than that of other people. Some peculiar facilities enable us at the present time to give a few particulars, which will not be unacceptable to our bibliographical readers; and which will, we hope, be tolerated by other persons, on account of the importance of the work to which they relate.

When Foxe escaped from England, after the manner we have before mentioned, he bore away with him, what is, generally, the chief possession of a poor scholar, the manuscript of an un-

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* London. 8 vols. 8vo, 1837—41. We term it 'complete,' because it so terms itself; but the 9th volume, promised in 1841, has not yet made its appearance. The blemishes so severely commented upon by Mr Maitland, render it imperative upon the editors, publishers, and every body connected with this edition, to do something more than they have yet done, towards setting themselves right with their subscribers and th public.

finished work. It related to the history of the church. Its object was to prove, by a chain of examples, that from ages long past, persons had from time to time arisen who had professed, and had been persecuted for professing, those very opinions which the Church of Rome, in its war against the Reformers of the sixteenth century, was accustomed to stigmatise as new. Besides the historical and theological uses of such a work, Foxe looked forward to it as displaying admirable examples of constancy and calm fortitude in the victims, and hateful exhibitions of cruelty and wickedness in the persecutors. He designed to gather his proofs from all parts of Europe; but as far as he had proceeded in his collections—and his work was as yet little more than a mass of collections—they related principally to Wickliffe and his followers. In September 1554, about two months after Foxe's arrival on the Continent, there was to be held at Frankfort one of those fairs which were then celebrated literary marts. Foxe, probably on the suggestion of his printer, who in those days was the publisher also, determined to divide his contemplated book into two parts; the former was to comprise the period before, and the latter that after, the year 1500, and he set his heart on having the former part ready for sale at the coming fair. In spite of ill health, of the difficulty of procuring information, of the necessity for prosecuting—at the same time with this literary work—the daily labour of correcting the press by which he earned his bread; and notwithstanding the many inconveniences to which an exile newly arrived in a foreign country is exposed, the zealous writer accomplished his design. But it was by confining himself to the history of Wickliffe and the Wickliffeites, with the addition of the kindred case of John Huss. The book, thus limited in subject, is a small 8vo volume, 6 inches by 3½, and contains 212 numbered leaves, with seven leaves of titlepage and dedication, which are not numbered. It was printed at Strasburgh, by Wendelin Rihelius, and was dedicated, on the 31st August 1554, to Christopher Duke of Wirtemburg;* a prince who added to many other good deeds that of being a liberal

* The titlepage runs thus: 'Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum, maximarumque, per totam Europam, persecutionum a Vuicleui temporibus ad hanc usque ætatem Descriptio. Liber primus Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Hiis in calce accesserunt Aphorismi Joannis Vuicleui, cum collectaneis quibusdam, Reginaldi Pecoki Episcopi Cicestrensis. Item,' οπισογραφία quædam ad Oxonienses. Argentorati. Excudebat Vuendelinus Rihelius. Anno M.D.LIIII.'

benefactor to the English exiles. Such was his friendship for them, that on one occasion he gave the princely donation of 'three or four hundred dollars'* to those who were at Strasburgh, besides a further sum bestowed at Frankfort. Foxe could not have selected a better patron. In his dedication, which, like all the rest of the work, is written in Latin, Foxe laments the divisions that prevailed throughout the Christian world, and especially in his native country, 'our England,' as he terms it, which used to be the asylum of persecuted churches, and of all good men. He sets before the duke the nature of his work, and its twofold division; and he solicits pardon for a dedication which proceeded from a person who was neither known to his highness, nor had ever seen him. He could only plead for his excuse, that he was simply prompted by the praises of his character, as a student of Christian truth, and as a protector of the English, which, on his arriving in that country, had met his ear on every side.

Such is the history of the first design, and of the first published portion of Foxe's ultimately ponderous work. The particulars we have stated are not to be found in the works of our bibliographers, which may be accounted for by the extreme rarity of the little book to which they relate. There are copies of it, however, in the British Museum, and at the Bodleian, and a copy was recently secured for the library of her Majesty; but few books of that particular period are, on the whole, more difficult to be met with.†

Foxe states at the conclusion of his *Liber primus*, that he should proceed immediately with his intended continuation; but the circumstances which ensued in England produced a considerable change in his design. Within a few months after his book had been issued, his unhappy country became the scene of a

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* Strype's Cranmer, p. 361.

† The copy we have referred to has been most obligingly lent for our use by Mr Stewart, an eminent theological bookseller in London. At the close of the book, Foxe subjoined, as is indicated in the titlepage, an address to the University of Oxford. Its subject is the return of the University to what he terms the obsolete and long-exploded doctrine of transubstantiation. He appeals to them principally upon the score of their ancient support of the contrary doctrine, in the time of Wickliffe, when Oxford, as he alleges, was the great patron of Christian truth. One fact, which he here states respecting the sister university, deserves to be remembered. It is, that in Mary's time twenty-six scholars of one college left Cambridge rather than subscribe to transubstantiation. Were these Pembroke Hall men?

persecution, which threw into the shade all modern examples of religious rage. The Marian persecutors shed the blood of—'take 'them for all in all'—the noblest body of victims that were ever offered upon an unrighteous altar. These horrible atrocities called aloud for an historian. Grindal, who had been one of Ridley's chaplains, and had considerable influence both at home and among the exiles, kept up a correspondence with England, for the purpose of procuring authentic details of the examinations and sufferings of the most distinguished martyrs. At first it was intended that Foxe should translate these narratives into Latin, and publish each one separately, with liberty to introduce his translations afterwards into the contemplated continuation of his *Ecclesiastical History;* and that somebody else, probably some person of higher station and more influence than Foxe—who was at that time a very poor man, and but little known—should, in the mean time, publish the same narratives in English. This was really done in the instance of the narrative of Philpot's examinations, which were published separately, both in Latin and English. Foxe received also from Grindal, with the same view, Bradford's examinations, and those of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; all which he translated into Latin. But there was a failure in the English portion of the intended publications, and also in the scheme of separate publication in Latin. Queen Mary died: the more prominent among the exiles hurried home to possess themselves of mitres and benefices; whilst Foxe was left to correct the press at Basle—whither he had now removed—and to do what he could with his Latin translations of examinations and his *Ecclesiastical History.* In the mean time he had had some dispute with Rihelius, the printer of his first book. Rihelius was a morose man, and was attached to the Lutheran formula of the Eucharist. The instances which Foxe would have to allege in the continuation of his *Ecclesiastical History*, were, many of them, those of suffering Calvinists; and either the temper or the principles of Rihelius revolted against being made the setter-forth of the stout constancy of misbelievers. The disagreement was, in the end, a fortunate event for Foxe. It led to an arrangement with Nicholas Brylinger and John Oporinus, printers of a higher order than Rihelius; and, under their auspices, Foxe proceeded to publish a further portion of his *Ecclesiastical History.* Still he clung to his notion that it was to be an European history; and, in forming his collections, inserted many things that related to foreign countries. But the recent miserable notoriety of England, the greater interest of English affairs in his estimation, and the important materials communicated to him by Grindal, gave to English transactions,

and to English martyrs, so great a preponderance in his collections, that he was obliged again to subdivide his work. Accordingly, he put forth his new publication as *Pars prima*, or the English part, of the great European history which he still contemplated. His second book is a small folio, containing 732 numbered pages, and 12 unnumbered pages of title and dedication. It was printed at Basle, by Brylinger and Oporinus, and was published in the year 1559. The date does not appear upon the titlepage; but it is stated at the end, and it may be gathered also from the dedication, which is dated on the 1st September 1559.

The accession of Elizabeth having opened to him a communication with his native country, Foxe looked among his ancient friends for a second patron; and in a dedication, which was cut short by want of time and by the near approach of another fair, he laid his book at the feet of his friend and pupil the Duke of Norfolk. The dedication is followed by a treatise, *De Historiæ hujus utilitate et fructu*, which was afterwards translated and altered into the preface on 'The Vtilitie of this Story,' which appears in the subsequent English editions. A few words follow *Ad Lectorem*: In these, Foxe explains the history of the book, and states that two editions of it were printing at the same time, one at Basle in Latin, and the other at Geneva in French. The latter book was either never issued, or, if issued, has, from some cause or other, become most extraordinarily rare. We have been unable to discover any trace of the existence of a single copy of it; yet there can be no doubt, from Foxe's language, that at all events some part of it passed through the press. The first book of the edition of 1559 is a reprint, with alterations, of the little Strasburgh octavo of 1554. The second book carries down the history to the end of Edward VI. The four following books relate to the reign of Mary. They contain the Latin translation by Valerandus Pollanus of Philpot's account of the disputations in the Convocation House in 1553; the history of Lady Jane Grey; Foxe's supplication to the nobles of England to stay the persecution under Mary; and narratives of the sufferings of the principal martyrs, from Rogers to Cranmer—such narratives being, for the most part, merely Foxe's Latin translations of the papers forwarded to him by Grindal. The book was evidently got up in the greatest haste, and is not without some singular blunders; but it has considerable bibliographical interest as illustrating the history of a work of great celebrity; it exhibits, moreover, the employment of one of the most meritorious of the exiles; and even at the present day is not without

its literary use, of which we will give a proof, which, in its way, is rather curious.

Hooper bishop of Gloucester was kept in prison for about a year and a half before he suffered at the stake. During that time he sent to Bullinger, 'An Hyperaspismus [Hyperaspistes?] 'touching the true doctrine and use of the Lord's Supper,' dedicated to the English parliament, together with some other papers, all of which he requested Bullinger to procure to be printed. The letter which accompanied these manuscripts is in existence among Bullinger's papers at Zurich, but the manuscripts themselves have disappeared. Diligent search has been made for them by many persons and in many places, and especially at Zurich by the Parker Society. In 1843, we were told by the editor of Hooper's works, that researches were still in progress, and that it was possible these missing papers might yet be found. In 1846, the tidings were, that they did not appear to have been printed, and that the search for the manuscript copies had been without success. It must be interesting, therefore, to these enquirers, and to theological students in general, to be informed, that Hooper's missing Treatise upon the Sacrament, which contained, as he declared, the sentiments of 'all the godly and 'learned' men in England—the sentiments in defence of which they suffered—together with two letters of Hooper's, being another part of the lost manuscripts sent by him to Bullinger, stand printed in Foxe's publication of 1559, occupying from p. 299 to p. 403. Hooper wrote these papers in Latin, not dreaming that a time would shortly come when they might be safely printed in England. He wished that they should be printed by Froschover, or, if he was too much engaged, by Oporinus. Oporinus, as we have already stated, was one of Foxe's printers; and here, in Foxe's book, these papers will be found as Hooper wrote them, with a few needful allowances for the errors of hasty printing. The Treatise on the Sacrament is not merely interesting from the circumstances under which it was written. It vies in importance with any thing upon that subject that was produced in England at the time, and will, we hope, be withdrawn from its lurking-place, and made generally known.*

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* We have again to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr Stewart in permitting us to use a copy of the edition of 1559. The title is as follows: —'Rerum in ecclesia gestarum, quæ postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum, cæterarumque rerum si quæ insignioris exempli sint, digesta per Regna et nationes, Commentarii. Pars prima. In qua

Having watched his History safely through the press, Foxe returned to England almost immediately after its publication; and, under the patronage of Daye the printer, was soon busy upon his English work. Fully occupied at home, he yielded the histories of the foreign martyrs to writers who could more easily procure information respecting them—Crispin, and Pantaleon, the latter of whom was recommended to the task by Foxe and Bale. His book (*Hist. Martyrum.* Basle, 1563, fol.) is occasionally found bound up as a continuation of the Foxe of 1559. Crispin is memorable as having led the way by his *Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum*, (Genev. 1560, fol.) to the adoption of 'Acts and Monuments' as the ultimate title of Foxe's English work, which was first published in 1563.

Unfortunately, the distinction which the English exiles acquired by their virtues and their literary labours, was not all. There attaches to them another, and a less enviable, cause of celebrity. We refer to the outbreak which occurred among them respecting church vestments and ceremonies. Such a dispute would seem to be too trifling to deserve mentioning; but the troubles at Frankfort were the direct progenitors of the Puritanical disturbances which afterwards arose in England; and, in that view, they acquire an importance which otherwise would not belong to them. The book mentioned at the head of this article relates to these disputes. It is, indeed, the only history of them; and must always, therefore, have a certain value, as being a portion of the materials for English history.* The leading facts are soon told. When Whittingham and his companions had escaped the Dover magistrates, and arrived on the coast of Flanders, they proceeded to Frankfort, where Valerandus Pollanus and his Glastonbury weavers willingly allowed them to participate in all the privileges which they had obtained. They joined the English-

primum de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis, atque in primis de horrenda sub Maria nuper Regina, persecutione, narratio continetur. Autore Joanne Foxo Anglo. Basiliæ, per Nicholaum Brylingerum et Joannem Oporinum.' The colophon is, 'Basiliæ, per Nicholaum Brylingerum, et Joannem Oporinum, anno M.D.LIX. Mense Augusto.'

* This importance fully justifies the present reprint, and it is convenient to have it page for page like the original; but we wish Mr Petheram had either followed the *editio princeps*, without any alteration whatever, or else had given a list of his alterations.

men in a petition to the magistrates, that they might hold their assemblies for public worship in the same building which had been already granted to themselves, and promoted the success of the application by kind and hearty co-operation. The petition was granted, upon condition that the Englishmen should not dissent from the French church in doctrine or ceremonies; and should subscribe a profession of faith, which the Frenchmen had presented to the magistrates, and were about to print. This subscription was given; and the Liturgy of the Strangers' Church at Frankfort, which was a short Genevan form originally devised by Calvin, was published in 1554,* with the signatures of John Macbray, John Staunton, William Hamon, John Bendall, and William Whittingham, on behalf of the English strangers. Having thus fraternized with the French congregation, and proved their allowance of its forms and articles of faith, the English refugees proceeded to consider in what manner their own worship should be conducted.

Under the guidance of Whittingham, who had been at Geneva and was intimate with Calvin, it was agreed that the English Service-Book contained many things which were objectionable, and that it should not be adhered to. A new form, very similar to that used by the French congregation, was adopted with universal concurrence; and Knox and Lever, who were then at Geneva, together with Haddon, who was at Strasburg, were invited to become their ministers. After they had proceeded thus far, they wrote a circular letter to the churches of the exiles in other places, apprising them of what they had done, and inviting them, if we understand rightly the obscure terms of the letter, to follow their example. This unnecessary step was succeeded by instant discord. The laying aside the English Prayer-Book, and the election of their own ministers, were departures from the English ecclesiastical system, of which the exiles at Strasburg, Zurich, and other places, did not approve. Haddon declined to accept the offered ministry: Lever hesitated: Knox alone obeyed the call, and entered on the charge. Among his supporters were Ball, Foxe, Whittingham, Keith, Macbray, Gilby, Goodman, and others of respectable name: Although unquestionably, in point of authority, they were outweighed by those who were on the opposite side. Finding little chance of a settlement without appealing to some authority,

* Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in ecclesia perigrinorum Francfordiæ; addita est summa doctrinæ, seu fidei professio ejusdem ecclesiæ. Francf. 1554. 8vo.

Knox and Whittingham 'drew forth a plot' of the English Service-Book, and sent it to Calvin for his opinion; adding, that 'some of their countrymen went about to force them to the same, 'and would admit of no other, saying, that it was an order most 'absolute, and that, if ever they came into their country, they 'would do their best to establish it again.' Calvin's answer contained words which have done more to render him unpopular with mere Church of England men than the burning of Servetus. He treated the English Liturgy as one step only in the progress towards a perfect Reformation; pronouncing it to contain many *tolerabiles ineptias*, sillinesses that might be endured, dregs of Popery, things trifling and childish.

This opinion brought over many of the opponents; but many it only rendered more obstinate. The men of Strasburg and Zurich infected some of the Frankfort congregation with their scruples; and in the end, it was thought advisable, for the sake of peace, to re-mould the order of service. A new form was accordingly compiled, which was partly taken from the English book: it was approved by a committee, and was directed to be publicly used in the congregation for a certain time; with the understanding, that if any further contention should arise, it should be referred for settlement to Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret. Peace seemed now restored; when lo! the congregation was joined by King Edward's almoner, Dr Cox, and some others newly come out of England. They insisted upon the restoration of the English Liturgy; they interrupted the peace of the congregation by occupying the pulpit surreptitiously; read the Litany, and made the responses, which had been laid aside; and, finally, when Knox opposed them, they accused him to the magistrates of having published treasonable words against the Emperor in reference to the match between Mary and Philip, and procured him to be banished from Frankfort. The striking of the shepherd dispersed the flock. Basle and Geneva opened their gates to the party opposed to the English form. Foxe went to the former with Bale; Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, Goodman, Keith, and others, went to Geneva, where, after a time, they were joined by Coverdale. Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the Bodleian, who was then a boy of twelve years of age, was there with his father, and says, 'As far as I remember, the 'English church consisted of some hundred persons.'* Calvin received these strangers in the place of their second exile with

* Reliq. Bodleianæ, p. 2.

the most liberal hospitality. Sir Richard Morison describes him as having admitted many of them into his own house, and having himself become a mere tenant in his home for their accommodation.* Whittingham was one of those to whom this intimacy was extended; and it led to his marriage with Calvin's sister, Catherine.†

At Geneva the exiles adopted the form of worship which pleased them best,‡ and occupied themselves in a work much more creditable to them than their Frankfort squabbles—a revision of the English translation, first of the New Testament, and afterwards of the Old. The former was published in 1557; the latter had not been completed at the accession of Elizabeth. When their companions returned to England, Whittingham and several others remained behind to finish their great task, which was long famous as the Geneva Bible. It was certainly the best English translation of the time. The first edition was published in 1560. After its publication the exiles returned home to swell the note of Puritanism, and to become again the subjects of persecution. It was in the course of that persecution that the *Discourse on the Troubles at Frankfort* was originally published, in the year 1575.

Professor M'Crie, in some observations which are introduced into the preface of the present reprint, gives plausible reasons for attributing the authorship to Whittingham. They do not appear to be quite conclusive; but further inquiry into Whittingham's life may make them so. Anthony Wood has represented him in very hateful colours, as a factious, tasteless church-desecrator; and, to sum up all faults in one, in the estimation of the Oxford biographer, 'a minister according to the Geneva fashion.' The MS. life of Whittingham, from which we have before quoted, represents the matter very differently. It contains valuable testimonies to his general character from Jewell, Burghley, Warwick, and Leycester, and leads to the inference that he was any thing but the cold, precise, and strait-laced being which constituted the Puritan after Anthony Wood's notion. At Havre, in 1563, where Whittingham was chaplain to the English forces, 'he did so there demean himself, both in his function and in the 'guise of a soldier's employment, as he, after the experience of 'the alarums coming on the sudden even in the midst of the

* Orig. Letters relating to the Reform, p. 147.
† Anderson's Annals of Eng. Bible, ii. 311.
‡ It has been published. See the Phœnix, ii. 204.

'sermons, *used to preach in his armour* continually; and the old 'captains and soldiers of Berwick would [relate], many years 'after, that when any alarum came whilst he was preaching, he 'would be on the town walls as soon almost as any man.'

Zealous in his preaching, braving all hazard of contagion in his attention to the soldiers who were swept off by plague, and ready for any service, either as a soldier or a divine, he seems to have been universally esteemed. His usefulness on the town walls may be judged of from the following anecdote:—

'Being sent from the Lord-Lieutenant with a message to the 'Rhingrave, who long encamped before the town, the Rhingrave 'seeing Mr Whittingham coming towards him, he spurred his 'horse, drew his sword or rapier, and came towards Mr Whit-'tingham in a bravado at full speed, as though he would have 'assaulted him; whereupon Mr Whittingham took out one of 'the pistols he had at his saddle-crutch, and held it out towards 'the Rhingrave, who asked him in French, "If he were in 'earnest?" He answered, "No! only attended to answer 'what he would put him unto." The Rhingrave carried him to 'his tent, and caused him to dine with him; and the table being 'full beset with gentlemen that were Frenchmen, they began to 'gibe and use broad jests against our nation, which Mr Whitting-'ham did so return upon them, to the touch of the French, that 'one of them that sate at the lower end of the table did rise in 'great fury, drew his dagger, and would have stabbed Mr Whit-'tingham, if the waiters and some gentlemen rising from the 'table had not hindered. Whereat the Rhingrave, after having 'shewed great indignation against the Frenchmen, caused a great 'double-gilt bowl to be filled with wine, and drank it off to Mr 'Whittingham. Mr Whittingham pledged the wine, but restored 'the bowl; which, when Mr Whittingham would by no means 'accept of, the Rhingrave sent it after him to Newhaven, with 'this message, that if he did refuse to take it, and keep it for his 'sake, he would never esteem of him. So Mr Whittingham 'took the cup, and left it to his sequels as a monument of the 'Rhingrave's love, and care the Rhingrave had to salve the 'wrong he had received at his table.'

A man who, Puritan though he might be, was thus ready *tam Marti quàm Mercurio*, was one of a good stamp; and we hope that our notice of this MS. life of him will incite some competent person to publish it, with an inquiry how far his memory is justly liable to Wood's aspersions.

Many of the exiles died abroad: among them, good Mrs Wilkinson, Sir Richard Morison, Bartholomew Traheron, Ponet,

bishop of Winchester, and others of considerable celebrity. The bishop took up his residence at Strasburg, and for a part of the time had Sir Peter Carew lodging with him. The house caught fire;—the bishop's treasure was in a cupboard in the wall, and, despite his offers of reward, no one would adventure his life to save it. Sir Peter, considering 'the distress and heaviness of 'the man,' took pity upon him, rushed into the house, broke open the cupboard, and brought out the gold, to his own great risk, and the bishop's infinite delight. But the gold did not save the poor bishop; he fell, as many others did, a victim to the sorrows and troubles of a melancholy exile, the speedy termination of which was not foreseen.

Those who returned soon encountered many troubles, and did not, perhaps, act with all the fortitude and wisdom which might have been anticipated; yet, judging of them, not individually, but as a body, they did good service to the cause of the Reformation, both during their exile and after their return; and are entitled to the respect and gratitude of their fellow countrymen. Honour and even reverence are their due. But our notice of their troubles would ill express our feelings, were we to close it without acknowledging—gratefully acknowledging—another obligation. Never should we forget the honourable reception which they met with in so many of the free towns of Switzerland and Germany. The privileges of municipalities are never exhibited to more advantage than in sheltering exiles for conscience-sake. Nor does the memory of the hospitalities of mercy pass away. Even now, after the lapse of three centuries, the hearts of Englishmen will warm at the remembrance of them: fulfilling the prophecy made by Grindal to the magistrates of Frankfort:—'*Nulla unquam dies hoc vestrum beneficium 'Anglorum animis eximet.*'

ART. VII.—1. *Discourses upon Trade.* By SIR DUDLEY NORTH. First printed 1691—Reprinted, Edinburgh, 1846.

2. *Sophismes Economiques.* Par Mons. FREDERICK BASTIAT. Paris: 1846.

WHOEVER has heard of Adam Smith, has heard of the almost romantic value which our ancestors set upon the possession of the precious metals; yet few persons are acquainted with the singular processes by which they sought to bring home the

golden fleece, or with much more than the names of the early writers who had the honour of first enlightening their countrymen on the true nature of this Midas folly. But this is a chapter in our economical history, which it must be always interesting to look back upon: and more especially at present—when the most impregnable of the strongholds of protection has been stormed and taken before our eyes; and when it is evident that all the minor restrictions upon commerce which yet survive, by whatever fallacies and by whatever interests they may be supported, must nevertheless come to the same, certainly not untimely, end.

This delusion as to the function of the precious metals, has been said to rest on a confusion of terms. It had a much deeper foundation—an imperfect perception of facts. Those once fully appreciated, the loose use of language proved no obstacle to the further progress of knowledge. The long existence of the delusion itself will not be disputed, however: and it is to its influence on the legislation and social economy of the nation that we now wish to direct attention.

England possessed no mines of the precious metals which could be worked on such a scale as seriously to affect the amount of national riches, according to the then received notion of riches. It was clear, therefore, that the riches of the country must come from abroad; and how to draw them thence, was the problem our early statesmen wished to understand; and very roughly and characteristically attempted practically to solve. Their first handiwork was coarse and clumsy enough: and yet the principles on which they proceeded were substantially the same as were maintained for centuries after, by all the leading statesmen of the world, and by men who, like Sully and Colbert, were undoubtedly in other respects far a-head of the times in which they lived. We must not wonder, therefore, to find our early legislators as rash, and as confident in error, as any of those around them.

One of the most remarkable though not the earliest indications of their views, occurred in the reign of Richard II. An uneasy feeling, constantly recurring at very short intervals, agitated the country. Our bullion was failing us—our riches were vanishing—destruction was at hand! And so the king and his counsellors resorted for the most absolute wisdom to the city of London; and the furred and bechained dignitaries were called on to declare what might avail to ward off the impending calamity. Their answer contained the essence of a theory which was not formally annihilated till the days of Galiani, Quesnay, Harris,

and Adam Smith—We must contrive to buy less of the foreigner, than we sell to the foreigner! And, admitting the non-productiveness of our own mines, and putting conquest and spoliation out of the question, the conclusion seemed very reasonable; and our ancestors then, as for some time before, accepted it as irrefragable.

The peculiarities of our earlier legislation sprang at once out of these convictions. The politicians of the day determined that the state should be actually present, by its agents, at every bargain made in the chief articles exported from the country; and should forcibly make such bargains directly productive of bullion. When they had thus got the bullion, they determined with equal firmness that it should never leave the country; and that they would watch the details of every transaction which might lead to its escape, with jealous and never-sleeping eyes.

To effect their purposes, they adopted a very complicated system; which we may call *The balance-of-bargain system;* and which, though its object was precisely the same with that of the balance-of-trade system, long subsequently established, yet sought to attain that object by very different means. The later and more thoughtful speculators formally eschewed all inspection of the dealings of individuals; and only sought, by foreign negotiation and domestic legislation, so to influence the productions and general commerce of the country, as indirectly to achieve their purpose of selling more to foreigners than they bought from them; and distinctly rejected all the ingenious and all the ferocious provisions of that earlier balance-of-bargain system which we are about to describe.

The provisions of that earlier system divide themselves into two classes. The first contains those by which it was sought to bring bullion into the country; the second, those by which it was sought to prevent it from going out. It is difficult to say which were the most unjust, the most harsh, and the most mischievous; and equally difficult to say which was viewed by the public with the most complete complacency—as the perfection of patriotism, wisdom, and statesmanship. The first set are always prefaced by loud praises of this noble realm, and boasts of regard for its prosperity. It did not, indeed, produce gold and silver; but it produced commodities foreigners could not do without; and care, it was promised, should be taken that they were paid for in gold and silver; and that the real riches of the country were thus kept for ever on the increase.

Two instruments were used for this purpose—the Staple Towns, and the Corporation of the mayor and constables of the staple.

The establishment of Staple Towns arose out of the social position of all Europe in the early part of the middle ages. The machinery of the mayor, constables, and corporation of the staple, was, as far as we know, peculiar to England; though Scotland, as we shall see, parodied them with tolerable closeness. These towns were at first merely places of refuge for persecuted commerce. Sea and land were then equally unsafe. The sea, more especially, was infested by pirates, English and French—among whom the people of the Cinque Ports and St Maloes were conspicuous. These persons made the navigation of the Channel and the narrow seas impracticable. Traders, therefore, were reduced to thread their way through the most protected parts of the Continent. Germans and Belgians, Italians, Africans, and the inhabitants of the Levant, met at certain great fairs: of which that of Troyes, in Champagne, was long one of the most remarkable. The resort was a mine of gold to the feudal lord who protected it; and the traders cheerfully submitted to his fixed and moderate scale of tolls and exactions.

Something more, however, than mere exemption from wrong, was soon found needful. The merchant from Barbary or Spain dealt at Troyes with dealers from Norway or Prussia; and if differences arose, how were they to be decided? Neither could follow the other for justice to his distant and barbarous home. Peculiar courts of justice were therefore established. The traders, the best and longest known, were called by the Count of Champagne to form part of a tribunal, which was completed by the presence of his chancellor, steward, and feudal officers. They decided on the spot. The dusty-feeted (*pieds-poudrés*) litigants were dismissed with a prompt sentence; and the decrees of the Court of the Fair of Troyes, are said by Savary to have been considered sacred even on the coast of Barbary. These *pieds-poudrés* courts spread over Europe. That of St Bartholomew's, the great cloth fair of England, was one of the most important, and has vanished into thin air almost before our eyes.

By degrees the Channel and narrow seas became more safe. The Italians built stout argosies, and defied pirates; and the Kings of England and France, and the Dukes of Brittany, found it expedient to curb, if they could not eradicate, the thieves of the Cinque Ports and of St Maloes—the last the hardest to manage of all. It was then that the towns of the Netherlands became a sort of perpetual fairs. The cost of land carriage was got rid of by using them; and they soon learnt to offer the same protection, and the same facilities and conveniences, which had attracted

dealers to Troyes, and other secure continental fairs; that is, they promised the protection of their walls to all traders; they laid down very moderate scales for tolls and dues; and they established courts, very like the *pieds-poudrés* courts, though still with a difference. Foreign merchants were called to make part of them; but the feudal element of seneschals and chancellors was got rid of—it is most probable, very happily for the litigants. Part of their laws, and some of their magistrates, may doubtless be traced back to the Roman codes and Roman municipal towns. A good sample, indeed, of these courts may be found in our own statute book. Edward III., wishing to divert trade from the Continent to England, tried hard to secure to dealers here the same advantages they found abroad; and established a Staple *Court* in various towns of his dominions—a scheme which his utter inability to protect the persons and property of foreign merchants from rapine and oppression, made nugatory; although he had made a vain promise that they should not be interfered with by *prelates*, lords, or *ladies*.

These towns, however, as they existed on the Continent, were chosen by the English legislature as the theatres of strenuous attempts to make every bargain in the leading products of England conducive to the pouring a given quantity of bullion into the kingdom. They were called staple towns, it is supposed, from the German word *stapelen*, to heap up, because, as they were perpetual fairs, commodities were to be found heaped up there all the year round. Of the *staple* commodities of England, (as appears by 27th Edw. III. and elsewhere,) were wool, hides, leather, lead, and tin. Wool, especially, was the subject of the peculiar care and fond reliance of our early English financiers. To make the wool available for their purposes, they established at all the staples a Corporation, consisting of the mayor, constable, and brethren of the staple. The noble remains of the palace of this corporation at Calais are only now in the progress of demolition by the hands of French masons, who are erecting very shabby dwellings on the site. This incorporated body was bound to fulfil two offices;—one at all times important, another not less important in the eyes of the financiers of the day. First, they were bound to see to the collection of the customs due to the king on the export of wool. Secondly, they were bound to see that part of the purchase-money in every particular bargain was paid in foreign coin or in bullion (principally the first), destined for England. The proportion of the price to be paid, and remitted home in bullion, varied from time to time in England; but was always regulated. Scotland, which adopted

the same plan, extended it to her exports more generally. In 1488, for each serplaith of wool, last of salmon, or 400 cloth, four ounces of silver; for each last of herrings, two ounces were required; and for other goods paying custom, in proportion.

It was in 1313 that this plan of both home and foreign staples, was first adopted by England. The mayor and constables were authorised to select some town in Brabant, Flanders, or Artois, and to punish by fine all dealers carrying wool or wool fells to any other place; and were authorised for a time to change the staple towns at their discretion. Accordingly, Antwerp and Bruges, and, as subordinate to Antwerp, St Omer and Lisle, became the only points at which foreign clothiers could seek their English wool.

The reign of Edward III. exhibits more strikingly than any other, the influence and results of this plan on the finances and prosperity of the country. His extraordinary resources in his wars with France, seem to have been almost entirely derived from duties on the export of wool. Sometimes, indeed, he impatiently seized on the commodity itself, and paid L.6 in tallies for what he sold for L.20. Ordinarily, however, he was content with the vigorous management of his *customers* at the staple towns. The blind ferocity—it deserves no milder name—with which he and his parliaments carried all their measures, for thus securing public revenue and public riches, by the management of the wool, is perhaps best evidenced by his famous statute of the staple. Seeing the gain made by the foreign towns which were successively the seats of the English commerce, he determined to try to draw the trade home; and he established staple courts, staple law, and staple privileges, in various towns of England and Ireland. He promised, as we have before seen, protection to all foreign comers; and, conscious of the state of the country, and of the weakness of his police, he promised to procure for them the protection of certain great men in the neighbourhood of his new staples. But he sadly miscalculated on his own influence, and on the habits of his subjects. In the very next year, an act was passed, of which the preamble recites, that the foreign merchants resorting to our staples had been ill used and robbed! It need hardly be added, that his scheme for attracting the staple trade to England utterly failed. But while he was yet eager with the plan, it is really startling to observe the reckless and cruel determination of both king and legislature to make all men and things submit to aid their projects.

Edward had begun his career of glory by a great naval victory at the Swyn; where, with 260 ships, he utterly destroyed a

French fleet of 400—the first sea-fight in which a king of England had commanded in person since Alfred. Yet, for the sake of the gain he grasped at from the English staples, he was prepared to sacrifice the whole mercantile navy engaged in foreign commerce, and that apparently without hesitation or compunction; and his parliament was quite ready to second him. The statute passed in 1353, accordingly prohibits the natives of England, Wales, and Ireland, under penalty of *death, and forfeiture of all their property of whatever nature*, from exporting any staple goods, or being in the smallest degree interested, directly or indirectly, in the sale of them abroad. Nay, the king tied himself up, and his heirs, from ever granting licences to any English, Welsh, or Irish merchants, for exporting such goods; and declared, that if he should grant any such licences—for which, let it be remembered, he received a price—they should be void, and *should not protect the exporters from the penalties of the law;* that is, from death and confiscation! It was not, indeed, till 1357, when the dream of riches from English staple towns was entirely dispelled, that this portentous law was relaxed; and English merchants, *as well as foreigners*, were permitted to export wool hides and wool fells—though still under certain restrictions.

From the reign of Edward, till its capture by the French, Calais continued the most constant, and from the reign of Henry VI. the sole English staple; and succeeding sovereigns and parliaments pursued, with unceasing anxiety, the policy of insisting on part of the price of every sack of wool sold being paid in money; to be recoined, if foreign, at the English mint. The instance of Berwick affords one among other strong indications of the exclusive attachment of the government to this system. Berwick, almost destroyed in the Scottish wars, seems to have been an object of care and compassion to its English sovereigns; and to repair its losses, and raise it from ruin, they declared it a sort of free port; or rather bestowed on its burgesses the right of exporting staple commodities to whatever port they pleased—and Berwick grew rich on this privilege. It might have been expected that the government and people would have learned a lesson from the experiment, and tried to make rich other ports of England, by the gift of like privileges. Not so, however: the example was very distasteful, and was voted a very bad one.

The Staplers' Company represented that the men of Berwick throve by breaking the Staple, in despite of the approved policy of England. They professed that they would take better care of both the king's revenue, and of the task of enriching the realm,

than the Berwickers did: And upon no better grounds, the markets of Europe were forbidden to the men of Berwick; and, however reluctant, they were driven, like all the rest of their fellow-subjects, to the foreign staples.

Having thus confined to one spot the dealings in wool, and other staple articles, and so enabled itself, by its officers, to be present at every bargain in those commodities, the English government had made it certain, that from year to year, and reign to reign, a constant stream of the precious metals would flow into England. Their next care was to keep it; and a more complicated combination of equally vigorous measures was resorted to, to effect this object. We may enumerate as the four principal:—1*stly*. The establishments of the Mint. 2*dly*. The searchers and customers, as the custom-house officers were called, of the outports. 3*dly*. The king's Exchanger, and his staff. 4*thly*. The statutes of employment.

To understand the peculiar importance of the Mint, we must remember, that, when the foreign coin, received as part of the price of staple commodities, had reached England, it was the object of especial care on two different grounds. There existed constant fears,—1*st*, that it might be re-exported; 2*dly*, that it might be uttered in England at some value different from that which the king and his officers declared to be its true value when measured against English coin. To attend, in the first place, to this last ground of apprehension:—The history of opinions shows us mankind labouring under different illusions as to the nature of coin and currency which held their place for periods of different duration, and cannot be said to be wholly dispersed. First, men misunderstood the relative value of bullion or money, and of the commodities they exchanged for. Errors on this point lasted till the spirit of Adam Smith culminated. If he was not the first to discern those errors, he was their destined destroyer. Secondly, men misunderstood the relations of bullion and coined money to each other, and undoubtingly believed that the king's commands could bestow upon a coin a value not measured by its value as bullion. Errors of this kind are what we have immediately to deal with. William Stafford, in the reign of Elizabeth, was the first Englishman to grapple with these; and as he was the first, so perhaps he remains the acutest and most felicitous expositor of them; but it was not till Locke's work appeared, that they were practically eradicated from the English mind. Thirdly, men mistook still longer the relations between different portions of a public currency which consisted partly of coin and partly of paper. The discussions on the Bank Restric-

tion Act first threw the necessary light on this part of the subject. Fourthly, much confusion existed as to the relations and mutual action,—on the one hand, of *national* currencies, whether of coin, of paper, or mixed; and on the other, of *that private* currency, composed of circulating bills, &c., by which by far the greater proportion of purchases and sales are now effected. In what manner these affect each other, and whether we can measure, and in what manner we can measure, the effects of any given contraction of the first or public currency, on the mass or rate of circulation of the second or private currency, are questions to which economical science is not yet prepared with a satisfactory answer.

But it is only with the second class of these illusions that we have now to deal. In the days we are speaking of, it was believed to be one of the most precious and exalted attributes of Kings to fix the value of the coinage. For either subject or stranger to interfere with this prerogative, by coining, was worse than murder, or any other felony. It was petit treason; and subjected the malefactor to a death of an odious nature. Now, the persons who uttered foreign coin in this kingdom, might infringe on this cherished prerogative; not directly indeed, but indirectly and secretly; and it was always feared they would.

It is obvious that the Frenchman, or other foreigner, who volunteered to pay for English commodities with coins of his own country, must have determined how many of those coins were equivalent to the price asked him in English money; and while he was thus setting a value on his own coin, he could not possibly avoid setting a value on the English king's coin too. But this was to interfere with the king's prerogative! It was an abuse and a crime; which, according to those days, might contribute to a great national calamity. For, if the king's coin was undervalued in exchange, either directly or through bills, it would be sure to find its way out of the country, and go to regions where it was better appreciated; and so this noble realm would be drained of its coin; that is, its riches would fly away—it would be ruined and destroyed!

No measures, then, could be too strict or too severe to prevent so great a calamity. To do them justice, our forefathers were rarely sparing of severity in their criminal legislation; and, least of all, when they were frightened. They were very thoroughly frightened for many generations at the threatened effects of undervaluing the king's coin in exchange, and the severity of their legislation kept pace with their fears.

It was based on the principle that no foreign coin should

be used in England for any other purpose than that of being exchanged for English at the king's Mint, or by the king's exchangers, according to their valuation of the foreign money. Thus the sovereign, by his officers, always set his own value on his own coin; and no foreigner interfered with his prerogative. To carry out this plan, a king's Exchanger was appointed, with almost unlimited power over the money transactions of the country. He was to appoint as many substitutes as he pleased—and, in truth, the merchants were always grumbling for more. Those officers, at their discretion, were to determine the value of all foreign coins in English money; and the stranger who landed with outlandish money in his possession, was bound to take the shortest road to the nearest place at which an officer of the royal exchanger could be found; and there to exchange his money for as much English coin as the exchanger told him it was worth. If he was found with his foreign money about him, under circumstances which made it probable he was not on his way to get it exchanged by the proper officers, the money was seized, and he was subjected to very savage penalties.

The foreign coin received at the staple towns, and that which got into the hands of the king's exchangers, was all to be sent at once to the Mint, and re-coined;—thus the king's high prerogative was fully vindicated. These processes completed, no gold or silver coin circulated in England, of which the declared value was not assigned to it by the English sovereign; who never doubted that he had thus gifted it with its character, and determined the measure of its power as a medium of exchange.

The exorbitant authority of the king's exchanger only increased with time. The negotiation of foreign bills of exchange attracted notice and suspicion. It was clear that the process of negotiating such bills could not be gone through, unless a certain sum in foreign coins was valued against what was treated as an equivalent sum in English coins. The king's coin might therefore be undervalued in this exchange. To guard against this evil, again, no measures could be too strong: And accordingly the negotiation of such bills was strictly confined to the royal exchanger and his agents; who were to charge for their trouble (say one of the letters patent) such a sum as should seem to them reaonable.

Selden cites a charter of King John. But the first of these great officers, of any note, whose name is known to us, was Michael de la Pole, a merchant, who had become the financial agent of Edward III. He was the ancestor of the Duke of Suffolk, who connected his blood with that of the Tudors. The last who possessed a valid patent as royal exchanger, was

Lord Burleigh. Other patents, however, were subsequently prepared; and drafts of them are in the British Museum. But none, at least none giving the monopoly of bills of exchange, appear to have been issued. Charles I. in 1628, appointed the Earl of Holland to the office of sole exchanger of gold and silver bullion; and declared his right in a publication by authority, entitled 'The Office of his Majesty's Exchange Royal.' The Company of Goldsmiths petitioned the king against it. Selden questioned the legality of a portion of the patent in the Commons. And, it was evident, that the time was come, when there was an instructed mercantile public; and a vernacular literature, which watched over, discussed, and sometimes influenced measures of this decription.

But the inspection of all dealings of traders, with a view to prevent the exportation of money, was not yet complete enough to satisfy the vigilant fears of the state. It was determined that before they left the country, they should give satisfactory proof that they* had *employed* all the monies they had received for their imported cargoes, in the purchase of English commodities for exportation; so that no money remained in their hands to be carried away. The various statutes passed to enforce this rule are called by our old writers, Statutes of Employments; and when after some ages they fell into desuetude, many an earnest prayer was uttered for their revival, as a last precious product of the wisdom of departed generations.

The machinery and rules by which the object was sought to be attained, varied somewhat from time to time; but the most complete and stringent statute of employment is probably that of the 18th of Henry VI. c. 4. The obliging foreign merchants to reside with official hosts, was an old regulation; which might probably, with some pains, be traced to other countries and remoter ages. These strangers' hosts were sometimes the object of bitter denunciations for forestalling, and other wicked deeds; But they were now selected by Henry and his councillors as the fittest instruments for carrying out their object of securing the *employment* of the monies received by foreigners in the purchase of British commodities. After reciting that earlier remedies had not been found sufficient, the statute provides that all merchant strangers coming to traffic in any port in England, shall be under the surveying of certain people called hosts, to be assigned to them by the officers of the town; which hosts should be creditable persons, expert in trade, and not trading in the com-

* 18th Henry VI., c. 4; Rastall, I. 255; relaxed by 17th Edw. IV. c. 1

modities of their guests. These hosts are to be privy to all the bargains made by the strangers; and to see that within eight months they sell their whole cargoes, and re-invest the proceeds in English goods. The host is to keep an accurate book of every bargain made by the foreigner; and twice in the year, at the beginning of Easter and Michaelmas terms, is to send a transcript of the said book to the Exchequer.* For his pains he was to levy twopence in the pound on the strangers' sales and purchases. If any merchant neglects to report himself to take a host, and be obedient to him, he is to be put in prison, and remain there without bail or mainprise till he has found good security that he will conform to the law; and is further for his contumacy to make fine and ransom *at the king's pleasure.* Other provisions provided the punishment for each bargain not accompted for, and for negligence or connivance of the English port officers, or of the hosts.

Edward IV., whose statute of employments is sometimes improperly quoted as the last, perhaps thought he was mitigating the act just quoted, when he allowed the alien merchant, though not attested by his host, to prove that he had legally employed all the money he had received in England, by such evidence as should *appear reasonable to the custom officers* at the port he re-embarked at. The position of the foreigner was not, probably, much bettered by the change. We need hardly add, that the obvious precaution of an army of searchers ransacking every ship about to sail from England, was not omitted.

One gap still remained to be stopped: a considerable number of Pilgrims to foreign shrines, and travellers to Rome, were constantly leaving England. At one time, the king's exchanger, deciding himself on their needs and means, gave them licence to take their reasonable expenses in coin with them. By degrees they were allowed to purchase in England bills on the countries to which they were going. But the sellers of the bills were usually foreigners: and the transactions of foreigners in bills had always an evil complexion in the eyes of the governments of those days. It was vehemently suspected that what money they received for the Pilgrims' bills, they would contrive to smuggle abroad; and it was therefore enacted,

* A practice also prevailed of making the host's foreign traders give bonds to the exchequer that they would employ all their receipts in purchasing English commodities. If the books of host's accompt, ordered by this statute to be returned twice a-year to the exchequer, were not satisfactory, the bonds were estreated.

that whenever such a bill was negotiated, the foreigner should give bond to the exchequer that he would within a given time export to the Continent a cargo of English commodities, fully equal in value to the money he had received for the bill.

It is not to be imagined that the system embodied in these regulations was always consistently carried out. The pressure of circumstances and caprice must have often broken in on it. The wars and necessities of Edward III., especially, kept him always painfully on the alert, to take any momentary advantage which presented itself; and Macpherson, the annalist of commerce, declares that at one time he seemed to change his plans every month. Still we have before us the spirit, general scope, and ordinary action of the commercial and financial policy of those ages: And putting aside, for the present, the question of their wisdom, the boldness and partial success of this strange policy of our ancestors, may well interest and surprise us. For it cannot be denied that they partly effected their two objects, of attracting constantly a stream of coin from the Continent, and of opposing very formidable obstacles to its escape.

By confining the staple trade to particular spots, the government was enabled to be present, by its officers, at every bargain made in staple commodities. To ensure the receipt of a part of the price in bullion, or coin, and its transmission to England, was thenceforward an easy task. To keep it there, was, to be sure, not quite so easy: But it cannot be denied that if the object had been attainable, the measures to ensure it were fearless, comprehensive, and not ill combined. Its consequences cannot be looked at without dismay.

Let us suppose for a moment that the system was in complete operation; every sale of staple commodities inspected by the government; every bargain of foreign merchant importers registered and returned to the exchequer, or sifted by the officers at the outports; the *tricks of the exchangers* made impossible by the agency and authority of the royal exchangers; the subordinate exchangers and the officers of the Mint and Customs, busily employed in converting foreign coin and bullion into English, and vigilantly guarding against its escape from the country:—in our days it wants no parade of argument to show how fearfully disastrous such a policy must have been in its action—first, on the production of England's wealth, and then on the interests of those who consumed any description of foreign commodities.

The production of the country was forcibly stinted; her most important products, her staple commodities, were shut out of the markets of the world. The demand for them was thus necessarily

limited, their price lowered, the stimulus to production lessened. The sufferers here, indeed, were principally the great landholders of England—the owners, in those days, of the greater part of her flocks and herds. Yet, strange to say, these very landowners formed the only really influential branch of that legislature, by which such schemes were warmly and continuously supported. The consumers of foreign commodities were affected as seriously. Indeed, it is difficult to discover how any supply was obtained at all; clearly it could only be maintained by great sacrifices on the part of the consumers. The humiliating superintendence, the difficulties, the risks, and the manacles which impeded the free course of foreign merchandise, were all, we surely know, paid for with interest to the foreigner who encountered them. The growth of the mercantile navy seemed hopeless; and occasionally we have seen it was deliberately crushed. The interference with the course of exchange, so far as it was effectual, crowned the embarrassments of the merchants as a body, as other provisions of the system enchained their freedom of action as individuals.

The blow first struck at this system, we must admit, did not come from the prevalence of scientific notions—though such notions afterwards finished the scotched snake, and prevented its revival. It was the growth and changed circumstances of the nation which first put this complicated and cherished machinery out of gear, and suspended its action. Those circumstances may be ranged under four heads:—The establishment of the Merchant Adventurers, and their privileges—the extent and necessity of dealings by foreign bills of exchange—the degradation of the currency under Henry VIII.—the capture of Calais by the French, in the reign of Mary.

The Merchant Adventurers were a body associated for the exportation of cloth. They appear first under Henry III., in 1248, at Canterbury; with the name of the brotherhood of St Thomas Beckett; but as the export trade enlarged itself, they became a national association, effecting great purposes, and armed with great privileges. The brotherhood of St Thomas had already obtained certain privileges of John Duke of Brabant; in after days, the company of Merchant Adventurers could boast that they had established treaties in Bruges, Middleburgh, Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom, Ziericzee, Amsterdam, Dordt and Utrecht, Hamburgh, Stade, East Friesland, and Oldenburgh, and that they exported cloths to the value of one million sterling.

Wheeler describes their import trade to be on a corresponding scale; and proceeds to enumerate German wares, Italian

wares, Esterling wares, Portugal wares, and Netherland wares, to the extent of sixty-one named articles; and a yet larger variety more generally described:—'The knowledge and consideration of which large purchases hath made these Merchant Adventurers thought worthie to be made of, cherished, and desired by all princes, states, and commonwealths.'

Such an import and export trade in the hands of such a body, put an end, of course, to the supremacy of the staple towns and merchant staplers, who grumbled, and reviled the interlopers accordingly.

These Merchant Adventurers, by their advocate Wheeler, claim also the credit of obtaining of themselves, from foreign states, the treaties and privileges through which this trade was carried on. And this brings us to a point in the commercial history of the European nations, upon which we dwell with the more interest, because it is perhaps best illustrated by the transactions of our own Scottish forbears. To understand the diplomatic functions committed in England to such companies, and in Scotland to the royal Burghs, we must go back to those earlier ages, in which we have seen fairs and staple towns the refuge of persecuted commerce, and affrighted traders. The delegation of powers of treating with foreign states, and stipulating for such protection as fairs and staple towns offered, arose in later times from a perception of the benefits of more extended fields for commerce, and from the unwillingness or inaptness of the governments of the day, to provide, by national diplomacy, for its progress and protection in foreign states. The task which they were not yet ready to undertake themselves, they willingly encouraged their subjects to undertake. England and Scotland acted in this point with like aims, but different instruments. In Scotland, the royal burghs, assembled in convention, very much in the style of independent states, appointed ambassadors, and made treaties, by which they secured the protection of Scottish trade abroad, and especially in the Netherlands. Mr Yair, one of their chaplains at Campvere, has left a curious and authentic sketch of their establishments and doings there. In 1578, my lords the deputies of the towns of Scotland are pleased to direct and send the honourable Henry Nisbet, *their* commissioner, assisted with George Hacket, *their* conservator, with absolute power to contract and conclude a treaty in *their* name at Campvere; and similar treaties were renewed in the name and by the ambassadors of these royal burghs, up to 1748. Yair's book is full of interesting details; and as it is a sketch of the history of the Scotch trade to the Netherlands, as well as of their staple at Campvere, it gives a curious picture of the earlier Scottish mer-

chants, and of their manners, so late as the middle of the sixteenth century. The rule and sovereignty over the Flemish trade had not been yet handed over to the Scotch burghs, it should seem, in 1532; For the king issued some remarkable rules for the regulation of the trade and traders in that year. They are given at large by Yair, page 99. We may be allowed to smile at some of them. The exports from Scotland were principally wool and wool fells, and this brought the inhabitants of the pastoral districts to the mart. Their appearance seems to have created some agitation among the burgomasters of Campvere, and their stately vrows. The ample and numerous garments of the Dutch veiled the nakedness of the human form with almost superfluous decency; and they shrank from a Highlander in his kilt as they would from a threatening monster. The King of Scotland seems, accordingly, to have condescended to their prudery; and he gave directions that none sell in merchandise except he be *honestly abuilzed* (decently clothed;) and if he be not so, the conservator, after warning him, is to take as much of his goods as will properly clothe him. After being thus breeched against his will, and, what was worse, at his own expense, the bonnie Scot had further penances in store for him. After buying their meal in the market, these rude traders found it convenient, it seems, to take it home in their own sleeves, or on the points of their daggers; and the prejudices, perhaps the alarms, of the peaceful burghers of Campvere were again soothed, by a strict prohibition of such practices.

When, however, either royal burghs in Scotland, or merchant companies in England, were permitted to find new markets, where they could and how they could, the exclusive privileges, and the old use of the merchant staplers, and the monopoly of staple towns, were clearly at an end; and so much of the balance-of-bargain system was crippled, as had enabled the government to keep gold constantly flowing into the country, by controlling and interfering with every sale in staple commodities to foreign merchants. The management of all transactions in exchange, by which the safe custody of the money of the realm was supposed to be in a great measure secured, was maimed and lost about the same time.

While the English monarchs and their ministers honestly sought to uphold the real value of their coin when exchanged, either directly or by bills, against the coin of foreign states, their host of exchangers, who, under the royal exchanger, gave English coin for foreign, or monopolized the negotiation of bills, might not unnaturally appear to be necessary for national objects; and be sustained and vindicated with earnestness. A

time, however, was come, when, instead of vindicating earnestly the real value of the English coin, it became desirable to draw off attention from that point as completely as possible, and, in fact, to sink the subject. Tampering with the coin, debasing its purity, and lessening its weight, had long been practised on the Continent most recklessly and dishonestly; and the usual and unavoidable results had followed. All those whose incomes, like that of many of the landholders, consisted of fixed sums payable in money, were injured. A French writer, Le Blanc, with somewhat startling ingenuity, traces the English victories at Cressy and Poitiers to these practices of the French monarchs. The chivalry of France, he says, was so impoverished by them, that their nominal income was no longer sufficient in the market to equip them properly with arms and horses; and they became no match for their better appointed opponents.

We have here a source of consolation, somewhat overstretched no doubt; but the English monarchs, though long much behind the French in their encroachments, were by no means impeccable; and Henry VIII. soon outstripped all former bad doings, domestic or foreign. He reduced the weight of his coins much; he debased their purity shamefully; and this last practice he carried to an extent which made the coins themselves tell-tale witnesses of their worthlessness and his shame. The burly monarch's effigy was usually stamped with a full face; of this, the nose of course was the most prominent part, and it began to wear first, and to show the inferior metal. His subjects, dutiful and cowering as they usually were, ventured to mock a little at this; and said, his Grace must certainly be in a bad plight, since he had been obliged to get Parson Brock (the manager of his Mint) to make him a copper nose. Any attempts to oblige foreigners to take such coins as representing the old money, would have been obviously futile; and the only policy to be adopted was that of getting as much for them, and drawing as little attention to their real worth, as was found possible.

There remained, indeed, the control of the negotiation of bills of exchange; and it was long before the English people could be persuaded that that control could be abandoned without danger, if not ruin. One of the first tasks of our vernacular literature, indeed, was to raise a sort of hue-and-cry on this point; and four-and-twenty tricks of the exchangers were enumerated, by which, as by a sort of necromantic art, it was maintained that they could direct the flow of money as they pleased, and ruin the helpless and unconscious kingdom whose treasure they found it profitable to exhaust.

Some impression was made in the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James, by such assertions; and we can trace several strenuous though abortive efforts to revive the office, and strange and pernicious monopoly and despotism, of a royal exchanger. Under Henry VIII. the danger was warded off by the Greshams. The nation has done but scant justice to the merits of these royal merchants, as financiers and statesmen. They found the English monarchs wholly dependent on foreigners (ordinarily those of the Low Countries) for advances of money under the most urgent circumstances. It was they who brought the native resources of the country into play: And they did this, by effecting the two separate and very difficult tasks, of teaching honesty and punctuality to the state, and confidence to the monied men. No piece of civil service ever contributed more to the independence and greatness of England—a fact which Europe, from one extremity to the other, soon very sensibly felt.

A patent had been actually prepared, re-establishing the royal exchanger, and a proclamation was about to follow, calling his functions into activity. The elder Gresham remonstrated boldly. He told Henry VIII. (what was only recently true, however) that foreign commerce could no more exist without exchange, than a ship float without water; and declared, that if the course of the mercantile exchange was interrupted, the transactions of the approaching Bartholomew fair, then the great domestic cloth mart of England, would be paralysed:—and the stern and obstinate Tudor listened, and refrained.

Of the various bulwarks by which the wealth of England had been guarded and enclosed, there still remained on the parliament rolls the Statutes of Employments. It is clear enough to us that such laws were far in the rear of the age of Henry and Elizabeth. The course of exchange had been set free; an extensive foreign traffic opened by treaties to Englishmen; and a domestic mart established for manufactured goods, which it was of national importance should be frequented. It would have been an insane attempt, under such circumstances, to seize on every foreign merchant that arrived, watch his person, control his bargains, and force him to employ his money, and remit the proceeds of his cargo, not according to his will and interests, but at the bidding of English prejudices and tyranny. Yet the statutes of employments were pet favourites of the nation, which indignantly demanded their full execution long after the greater part of the ancient legislation which we have been tracing, was abandoned—reluctantly, it must be admitted—to its fate.

The reign of Elizabeth, and the period which intervened

between that date and the accession of Charles II., may be described as one long interregnum, in which the partisans of the old system, and the opponents of its revival, began that war of discussion which ended in the establishment of the *balance-of-trade system*; of which the essential characteristic was, that retaining the object of the old system—the constant accession of fresh masses of bullion through foreign trade, it entirely *abandoned* and repudiated all the expedients and the machinery by which the *earliest* framers of the balance-of-bargain system had attempted to secure the same object. The writer by whom the change was finally established, was Thomas Mun; an eminent merchant of London. But let us cast a glance upon the gulf which separates him from the writers who first wielded our fresh vernacular literature for the purpose of influencing the economical, or rather almost exclusively the mercantile, measures of the government.

The reign of Elizabeth, which is looked back to with such fondness and triumph by the modern English, was observed with much less kindly eyes by the generation which witnessed it. The vast rise in the money price of all commodities—the universal *dearth*, as it was called, which resulted from the joint action of the influx of the precious metals from America, and the debasement of the currency; the decay of the ancient borough towns; the distress of the agriculturists from enclosures, and the clearing away of the occupying peasant tenantry; and the complete cessation of action, in all parts, of that ancient and cherished system of policy by which the wisdom of their progenitors had supplied England with riches, and guarded them—all these circumstances combined, convinced not merely the multitude, but most of the thinkers and writers who then first began to contemplate such subjects, that the nation was passing through a period of gloom and peril, of which the issues must be strange, disastrous, and deadly.

It does not fall within our compass to give any thing like a complete view of this young literature. We select the names of a few persons, the spirit of whose writings gives a fair indication of the state of the nation's mind. Mills, Malynes, Missenden, and Stafford, all wrote during the reigns of Elizabeth or James.

Mills raises the voice of a customer, or officer of the outports: he exclaims upon the decayed influence and defeated monopoly of the Company of Merchant Staplers; and calls loudly for the protection of the ancient principles and practices, by which the foreign trade of the country, better watched and more efficiently controlled, was forced by the wisdom of the state to contribute to its wealth and strength; and he is patriotically indignant with

all the new channels and agents of trade through which that old system had been subverted.

Malynes, through a long life, sounded a trumpet against the tricks of the exchangers; and in the *Canker of England's Commonwealth*, *St George for England*, and a really valuable folio, his *Lex Mercatoria*, and some other productions, endeavoured to rouse the country to a consciousness of the secret wound through which its life-blood, according to him, was ebbing away.

Missenden answered him; exposed the fallacy of many of his statements, and propounded a tolerably correct theory of exchange.

Malynes was accused, and not apparently without some reason, of sinister and selfish designs. He, a Fleming by birth, had shared in some contract with the Mint for a copper coinage—not a very prosperous venture apparently; and Missenden, after telling him that he had worn his theories till they were as threadbare as his coat, intimates that the Fleming meant to turn to his own advantage the powers of a royal exchanger, which he was eager to revive, and put in action. It probably was so. The elder Cecil, Lord Burleigh, was actually in possession of a patent for the office, with all its extravagant powers of control and extortion, which, however, he steadily refused to use. Malynes reproaches him bitterly for his unwillingness to put his powers in action; and sometimes most impudently accuses him of not knowing how to do so. James I. had been offered four hundred thousand pounds, if he would renew the office in favour of the applicants, with whom Malynes, it is highly probable, was connected; and drafts of patents are to be found among the Lansdowne papers in the Museum. It was also sought to interest the younger Cecil in this scheme, which, however, failed. Their opposition to it is one of the brightest spots in the history of that illustrious house. To refuse to exercise a patent for the renewal of which, in a few years, L.400,000 was offered, was to abstain, and that obviously from patriotic motives, from making a royal fortune. It might have been acquired, too, not only with the assent, but with the applause, of a considerable portion of the public. The wisdom and absence of greed which such conduct implies, ought not to be forgotten; and form a much better foundation for the respect and admiration of posterity, than all the official craft and cunning which made up in those days too much of a great statesman's stock in trade.

Of about the same date with Malynes, Mills, and Missenden, but earlier, came the work of William Stafford; of another order, however, and emanating from a loftier and better disciplined mind. The author was a man of profound learning—certainly

classical, apparently theological. He was inclined to Puritan opinions, and had given some offence to Queen Elizabeth, most likely by writing on church discipline. In the work we are speaking of, he undertook to bring his learning and acquirements to bear on all the various current complaints of the badness of the times. His work consists of three Dialogues, forming a 'Compendium, or Briefe Examination of certain ordinary com-'plaints of divers of our countreymen in these our days; which, 'though they are in some parts unjust and frivolous, yet they 'are all, by way of dialogues, thoroughly debated and discussed.'

To the political economist the book is principally interesting for its acute and masterly exposition of the necessary consequences of the debasement of the coin; and the proof of a truth which neither kings nor their people had at that time fully seized, namely, that 'the substaunce and quantity is esteemed 'in coyne, and not the name.'

To those who take pleasure in tracing the progress of our literature, the work has an interest of a wholly different kind. The English language was only beginning to be used for the purposes of scientific discussion, and the heads of the more learned class of writers were still full of the majestic roll of Latin periods. But as the language was only beginning to be used, it had as yet no store of foreign or compound terms. The race had not yet appeared, who were destined to 'confound the lan-'guage of the nation by long-tailed words, *is*, *osity*, and *ation*.' The pure homespun English of the day, set to a majestic cadence, and enshrined in classical sentences, gives a remarkable and occasionally very pungent character to Stafford's style; and certainly arrests the attention better than the shorter, sharper, and, it must be owned, clearer arrangements of periods in our own days. Stafford's management of his matter is not less learned and classical than that of his sentences. He has adopted the form of dialogue, and it is manifest that he has those of Cicero ever before him. His knight, his martchaunte-man, his doctor, his husbandman, and craftesman, 'recount the common and uni-'versall grieves that men complayne of now a dayes; and boult 'out the very causes and occasions of them,' with the same studied courtesies, and with manners very like those which adorn the classical personages of the De Naturâ Deorum, or the Tusculan disputations; and 'adjourn from the house to the garden 'under the vyne, for a good fresh and coole sitting in the sha-'dowe,' very much in the fashion of the more eminent visitors of the Roman villas.

The manners of the day, the change in the habits of different classes, on which they themselves looked with more amazement

than satisfaction, the course of trade, of religion, and opinions, all find a place; and we see the puzzled observers endeavouring to catch and measure the shifting images of their time, with an earnest homeliness of phrase, and extensive knowledge of the condition and needs of the people, which make the tract an historical curiosity; as well as a striking monument of an important era in our literature. It is, besides, the first model of economical speculation by a philosopher: by any, in fact, but mere practical and unpretending hands.

We now know that all the circumstances which excited fears and suspicions at the time were symptoms and conditions of the rapid progress of the nation in the arts of peace, in commerce, unfettered industry, and increasing wealth. It appears clearly, however, from all the works we have bestowed a passing glance on, that the actors in the drama were indulged in no convictions of this fact to console and reassure them.

It is time, however, to turn to the works of the man by whom all these yearnings and attempts for the restoration of the balance-of-bargain system, or any of its parts, were finally and conclusively put an end to.

That man was Thomas Mun, an eminent London merchant. His first work published, signed with his initials only, T. M., is scarce. It came to a second edition in 1621. His last decisive work was published by his son, after his own death and soon after the restoration of Charles the Second; its title is, 'England's Treasure by Foreign Trade, or the balance of our 'foreign trade is the rule of our treasure.' The two pamphlets, read together, afford unquestionable internal evidence of their being by the same hand; and exhibit a curious spectacle of the author's gradual emancipation from a lingering reverence for parts of the old, and his progress towards the distinct and undoubting faith with which he at length lays down the new system. That new system, as we have before intimated, had still the same object with the old—the increasing the treasure, that is, the coin and bullion of the country, through its foreign trade. But the new differed from the old, in discarding entirely all the provisions and machinery of earlier ages; abandoning all interference with the bargains of individuals, and confining its attempts to guide the trade of the country to measures of general policy. It is worth while to trace shortly the occasions which called forth his speculations, and their progress and transformations.

The trade to India began to assume some importance in the reign of Elizabeth; and it was from the first suspected and disliked by all but those actually concerned in it. The adventurers could only begin their operations successfully by exporting

money; and they had regular licences for that purpose. But nothing more was necessary to rouse the fears and ire of the country. The unconscious fathers of our Indian empire were assailed as the shameless enemies of their country; whose wealth, whose strength, whose treasure, they were habitually making less. Thomas Mun was apparently one of the associated merchants engaged in the East India trade; and he was roused to vindicate their innocence. Engaged in this task, the thought appears to have struck him, which it seems quite wonderful had not struck all the world long before, that to confine the attention to only the first processes of a lengthened and circuitous course of trade, was taking a very narrow and one-sided view of the matter—that a fuller investigation, by tracing the mercantile venture to its last results, might show that, although it began by exporting some bullion, it might end by importing much more; and thus add to the treasure and vitality of the country, instead of exhausting them: And he set himself about proving that this was eminently the case with the East India trade. He traces, of course, the transactions of the exporters to India, through Asia and Europe, till the English merchants have got their money home, with large additions; and this done, he was for the time triumphant.

But he was as yet far from being weaned from the time-honoured prejudices of his countrymen in favour of the disused economical contrivances of their forefathers. After answering satisfactorily the objections to the India trade, and showing, he says, 'that it hath not hurt this commonwealth,' he proceeds to enumerate the true causes of 'those evils which we seek to 'chase away'—and then enumerates 'four principal causes which 'carry away our gold and silver.' 'The first cause concerneth 'the standard; the second concerneth the exchanges of moneys 'with foreign countries, and the practice of those strangers here, 'in this realm, who make a trade by exchange of moneys. The 'third cause concerneth neglect of duties;' and here, as if to crown his adhesion to the flag of the old system, he exclaims, with patriotic indignation—'But what shall we think of those 'men, who are placed in authority and office for his Majesty, if 'they should not, with dutiful care, discharge their trust con-'cerning that excellent statute (anno 17, Edward IV.), that all 'the moneys received by strangers for their merchandise shall 'be *employed* upon the commodities of this realm? the due 'performance of which would not only prevent the carrying 'away of much gold and silver, but also be a means of greater 'vent of our own wares.'

We have mentioned this statute of Edward IV. before, as

modifying one of Henry VI.; but Mun was mistaken in supposing it to be the operative 'statute of employment' when he wrote. Henry VII. had passed another, and extended its provisions to traders from Jersey, Guernsey, and Ireland.* But these statutes of employment, in all their shapes, formed the most tyrannical and mischievous portion of that systematical interference with the bargains and dealings of individuals, which we have before been describing; and Mun's eyes were assuredly very imperfectly unsealed, when he was unconscious of their deformity, and joined in an ignorant clamour for their resuscitation.

A great and decisive enlargement of his views, however, had taken place, before we meet with him again. He had waxed old and wise. 'He was (says his son) in his time famous among 'merchants; and well known to most men of business, for his 'general experience in affairs, and notable insight into trade; 'neither was he less observed for his integrity to his prince, and 'zeal to the commonwealth.' And the commencement of his important posthumous work is worthy of the character thus given by filial piety—grave, self-possessed, elevated, holy—the language of one not unconscious of the fact, that he was about to settle questions which had agitated nations; and to throw his own appointed portion of new light on the paths through which they must advance towards happiness and strength.

'My son (he begins), in a former discourse I have endeavoured; 'after my manner, briefly to teach thee two things: the first is 'piety, how to fear God aright, according to His works and 'word; the second is policy, how to love and serve thy country; 'by instructing thee in the duties and proceedings of sundry 'vocations, which either order, or else act, the affairs of the com-'monwealth; in which, as some things do especially tend to pre-'serve, and others are more apt to enlarge, the same: So I am 'now to speak of money, which doth indifferently serve to both 'those happy ends.'

The spirit of the book will best be understood by comparing it with Mun's earlier pamphlet. He dwells here, as there, on the necessity of looking at the last results of mercantile adventures, in order to appreciate their action in increasing or diminishing the bullion, the treasure of the country: But he now discards, as idle devices, all those parts of the balance-of-bargain

* 3d Henry VII. c. 8.

machinery to which he had before adhered. He discusses separately the statutes of employment he had before especially commended—the enjoining (as was once the nation's wont) to 'the merchant that exporteth fish, corn, or munition, to return 'all or part of the value in money;' he derides all fears of the effects of the undervaluation of our money in exchange, and of the other necromantic tricks of the exchangers; and at last concludes—'But let the merchant's exchange be at a high 'rate, or a low rate, or at the par pro pari, or put down altogether. Let foreign princes enhance their coins, or debase 'their standards; and let his Majesty do the like, or keep them 'constant as they now stand. Let foreign coins pass current 'here in all payments, at higher rate than they are worth at the 'mint; let the statute for employment by strangers stand in 'force, or be repealed; let the mere exchanger do his worst; 'let princes oppress, lawyers extort, usurers bite, prodigals 'waste; and, lastly, let merchants carry out what money they 'shall have occasion to use in traffic—Yet all these actions can 'work no other effect on the course of trade than is declared in 'this discourse; For so much treasure only will be brought in 'or carried out of a commonwealth, as the foreign trade doth 'over or under balance in value; and this must come to pass, by 'a necessity beyond all resistance. So that all other courses 'which tend not to this end, howsoever they may seem to force 'money into a kingdom for a time, yet are they, in the end, not 'only fruitless, but also hurtful: They are like to violent floods 'which bear down their banks, and suddenly remain dry again 'for want of water.'

The long agonies of the balance-of-bargain system were now over. We have heard its knell. Mun's book was received as the gospel of finance and commercial policy; and his principles ruled for above a century the policy of England, and much longer that of the rest of Europe.

The task we had appointed ourselves is now over. We have traced, from its construction to its disappearance, the rude but strong commercial and legislative machinery by which our forefathers sought to enrich the realm, and preserve its increasing riches. Let us cast, however, one rapid glance in advance. We have seen that Mun never doubted the truth of the proposition, that bullion alone constituted real riches. It took another hundred years to expel this fallacy, even from the more enlightened part of the public mind; and they were a hundred years of great activity both of English mind and English policy. Through the whole course of it, a large body of mercantile literature urged on the

government the interests of trade, and the all-importance of its balance; till the real interests of both producing and consuming classes were almost put out of sight. And statesmen obeyed the impulse. They believed, as Colbert believed, that to gain bullion was to gain the only true riches by which their country could thrive; and they too talked and wrote, and fought and treated, and circumvented, and thought they overreached sometimes a rival, sometimes an ally, sometimes a poor colony, in the pursuit of the one great patriotic duty of enriching the realm through the balance of trade. In the mean time, the truth, that all commodities were a part of the wealth of a nation, seems for ever forcing itself on the notice of the busy writers who occupied the stage; and seems to have escaped them, by a miracle somewhat similar to that by which the spell-bound knights of Arthur's court were rendered unconscious of the actual presence of the holy Sangreal. A volume of instances might be adduced to show this; the most remarkable, however, and it must suffice, is that of Davenant. In one of his numerous works he sets about proving that the Custom-house books were not always conclusive evidence of the real balance of trade; and he says, that however unfavourable the indications in those books may be, yet, if the breed of animals is improving, if buildings, mills, ships, rents, &c., are increasing, we may rely on that increase as a proof—of what? Of an increase of the wealth of the country? Not at all; but as a proof that the balance of trade must, after all, be more favourable than the mere Custom-house accounts show it to be. Davenant, of course, remained firm in the faith that bullion alone constituted wealth. Without adverting to the glimmering revelations of partial truth which sometimes vary the utter darkness of the times on this point, we may observe, that before Adam Smith's work appeared, Galiani, Quesnay, Harris, and Hume, had all unveiled the fallacy which had so long received the blind homage of mankind—Quesnay, Harris, and Hume, with precision—Galiani, the first in time and genius, with a beautiful purity and simplicity of style; and a profound and acute philosophical discrimination, which place him in the first rank of philosophers of any age or nation. But Smith was the first to see the whole value of the great truth they had disclosed, and to follow it out to its consequences with equal confidence and care. And it accordingly became at once in his hands, what it had been very lamely and imperfectly in theirs, the foundation of a new structure of economical science. Having shown that bullion was not exclusively wealth, he not merely proceeded to show that commodities were national wealth, but to analyse and

explain the circumstances which determine their plentiful or stinted production; and from his work we may date the beginning of that era in economical knowledge which is still in progress—and probably in an earlier stage of its progress than the self-complacency of our own generation is very willing to admit.

We are aware that in thus speaking of the precursors of Smith we run the danger of arousing some jealousy and some anger; but as nothing can be more base than the malignant eagerness with which such facts are sometimes used to disparage greatness, so nothing can be more idle than the fears of those who imagine that they really detract from the solid fame of a writer like Smith.

None but those ignorant of the ordinary march of knowledge will think it derogatory to the great Economist that he did not create all the light he used; that he seized the trembling and imperfect beams which, in the general progress of thought, many other intellects had begun to emit, and knit them with a strong hand into a perfect ray; which sheds a light upon the path of nations that can only disappear with the disappearance of the accumulated knowledge of our race. Such is the appointed task of all great leaders, in both moral and physical science; and such are the achievements which leave the human race their everlasting debtors.

ART. VIII.—1. Mr REDGRAVE's *Letter on the School of Design, to* Lord JOHN RUSSELL. *The Builder*—Dec. 1846.

2. *The Papers and Transactions of the Decorative Art Society from January* 1844 *to January* 1846. London.

3. *Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces in Italy during the* 15*th and* 16*th centuries; taken from the principal Works of the greatest Painters. Drawn and Engraved by* THURMER, GUTENSOHN, PISTRUCCI, GRUNER, and others. With English Descriptions. By LUDOVIG GRUNER. 46 Plates, folio. London: 1844.

IT may seem idle to say one word, to prove the importance of the Arts of Design as applied to manufactures, and that, as regards all those articles (the excellence of which depends on the beauty of the pattern), it is essential that the designer should be skilled in the fine arts. And yet England, confessedly

the greatest manufacturing country of the world, appears to have been the last to become aware of this fact; or at least, the last to make any effort towards the attainment of any perfection in the different branches of fine arts connected with manufactures; though, now and then, some desultory efforts have been made by individuals.

Mr Wedgwood, feeling the importance of cultivating the most refined taste, as regarded form, availed himself of the genius of Flaxman; and with the happiest results, both as related to his own fortune, and the interests of the country: For, soon after he had brought his manufacture to perfection, we became, for the first time, large exporters of earthenware, instead of buyers. Stothard, in many respects an artist of the greatest talent England ever produced, was originally employed by the Spitalfields weavers to make their designs; and Messrs Rundell and Bridge employed both Flaxman and Bailey in the production of models for different ornamental works to be executed in silver. But whilst France and Germany were quite alive to the importance of the formation of Schools for the education of artists, who might furnish manufacturers with patterns, nothing of the kind appears to have been thought of in this country, until the absolute importance of making some systematic effort was clearly brought home to every one, by the mass of evidence produced before Mr Ewart's committee on fine arts and manufactures. Before this committee appeared witnesses of every class—traders, manufacturers, artists, and artisans, foreign and English, all testifying, in the strongest manner, to the utter deficiency of the designs used in British manufactures, the impossibility of finding persons properly educated to produce them, and the absolute necessity which our manufacturers had experienced, of obtaining from abroad, and especially from France, all their available designs: They also testified to the wretched manner in which the actual copies, or the incongruous combinations, or adaptations, were afterwards executed. French silks, French paper hangings, French bronzes, French clocks, &c., were everywhere sought after, in preference to our home manufactures; not certainly, for the excellence of the fabric or execution, but solely on account of the elegance of the design, or the taste displayed in the combination and variety of the colours.

Dr Bowring's report on Foreign trade, had made the public acquainted with what was doing in other countries for training artists capable of applying the principles of art to ornamental design, especially as regards the great school at Lyons. This report, the urgent representations of the more

intelligent manufacturers, the mass of evidence produced before the committee, and the conviction of the prevailing superiority of design in foreign manufactures, led at last to the establishment, by the late Lord Sydenham (then President of the Board of Trade) of the GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF DESIGN. The attempt, however, was attended with much difficulty. Hitherto no artist of any note had attended to the application of the principles of art to ornament, with the few exceptions which we have mentioned. And neither Flaxman nor Stothard were now alive to afford that assistance which their knowledge, taste, and experience would have enabled them to furnish. The old exhibition rooms at Somerset House were given up, however, to the school by the government; and its management was entrusted to a council, which—consisting of artists of eminence, some gentlemen connected with the various branches of ornamental manufacture, and some, whose pursuits led them to take an interest in the fine arts—was presided over by Lord Colborne, who has always taken a deep interest in the success of the school. This council is responsible to the Board of Trade, to which department of government the school is attached.

Previously, however, to this, the subject had engaged the attention of the Board of Trustees for the encouragement of arts and manufactures in Scotland; and in an admirable letter, written by Mr William Dyce and Mr Wilson, the course of study necessary in a school of design was so well pointed out, that the council of the London school determined to employ Mr Dyce to make a tour on the Continent for the purpose of visiting the foreign schools, and ascertaining the different modes of instruction there followed. On his return, he made a report to the Board of Trade, afterwards printed by Parliament, containing much useful and interesting information on the subject of education in the arts of design both in France and in Germany. The council availed themselves of his assistance, by appointing him to be the director of the London school, on the resignation of Mr Papworth; and he filled this office, until, finding that its duties were inconsistent with his professional pursuits, his resignation was accepted, and Mr Wilson, the present director (who had joined with him in the letter before noticed), was appointed. The value and importance of this school was soon felt. It was early determined to establish others in the great manufacturing towns. In addition to the branch school at Spitalfields, there are now eleven branch schools in England, besides one in Glasgow, and one in Paisley; and it is understood that one will be forthwith established in Dublin, and another at Belfast. The total number

of pupils attending the schools already in operation, exceeds 2100. At Somerset House, and at several of the provincial branch schools, there are separate classes for females, which are well attended, and much advantage results from affording education to females in a profession peculiarly suited to them.

The commonest observer must have already perceived a considerable improvement in the design and execution of English ornamental manufactures; and it may fairly be assumed, that some portion of this improvement is due to the encouragement and instruction afforded by the various schools already established. Although the government had in the council the assistance of Mr Eastlake, Sir Francis Chantrey, Sir Augustus Callcott, and Sir David Wilkie, and still have amongst the members of the council Mr Etty, Sir R. Westmacot, Mr Richmond, and Mr Cockerell, great difficulty has been experienced in determining what should be the actual course of instruction: And the difference of opinion on this head has hitherto, we believe, in a great degree diminished the benefits to be derived from these establishments. As yet, little has been taught, beyond drawing — no lectures on the principles of the fine arts, on the different ages of ornamental art, on the peculiar adaptation of the principles of high art to ornament and decoration, have been given—at least so we infer from Mr Redgrave's letter to Lord John Russell. Mr Townsend, one of the masters, is understood to have addressed a letter to the council, in most respects similar to that by Mr Redgrave to Lord John Russell, in which he points out the same defects, and suggests similar remedies; and the subjects of remodelling the course of teaching, of the superintendence of the schools, and of affording instruction in the principles of high art and its application to ornamental design, are under the consideration of a committee of the council, and of the Board of Trade. On the first formation of the school, the masters were persons merely skilled in common decoration and pattern drawing; and Mr Dyce, an artist of eminence, whose attention had long been turned to ornamental design, was early entrusted with the office of director, and had the entire control and superintendence of the masters: But on his vacating that office, artists of considerable ability were chosen as professors, and hence has arisen the necessity of re-remodelling the establishment; as, of course, it would be unreasonable to expect that *they* should be called on to act, in any manner, under the control or superintendence of any one, as regards their mode of teaching. The course of instruction, or the education necessary for the production of designers, who may be able to rival the productions of Pompeii, the Baths of Titus, the

Arabesques of Raphael, Julio Romano, Giovanni da Udine, and Benvenuto Cellini—who shall be competent to appreciate and avail themselves of the principles on which the Byzantine, Moorish, and Gothic ornaments were produced—must, we conceive, be that of complete artists—of persons well grounded in the highest principles of the fine arts.

In former times, observes Dr Waagen, in his evidence before Mr Ewart's committee, 'artists were more workmen than now, 'and the workmen more artists, as in the time of Raphael; and 'it is very desirable to restore this happy connexion.' This should be the guiding principle of the council in tracing out their course of education. Let them educate all their pupils in the knowledge of high art; and instruct them in the just application of these principles. Let them educate even the workmen in these principles; so that they may understand the designs they are to execute, when traced out by the hand of the master, and they will command success. Without this connexion between the design and manufacture, there will be no hope of attaining excellence. Messrs Dyce and Wilson observe,—

'That such a connexion subsisted to the fullest extent at the periods when the arts were in their meridian excellence, it is impossible to deny, if we look at the remains of those ages which have reached us. The proofs of the art and industry of the Romans, for example, discovered by the excavation of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiæ, display a unity of idea and sentiment, which is evidently the result of the pervading influence of fine taste. Such was the case, also, in Italy during part of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries; and history, fortunately, enables us to detail with accuracy, the means by which this practical connexion of the arts was brought about and sustained.

'At that period, the great men whose pre-eminent talents have rendered their names familiar to us, did not disdain to guide spirits of an inferior order, who laboured mechanically at the loom, in the porcelain manufactory, in the workshop, or with the needle, in decorating the mansions of their patrons.

'Thus it was in the school of Raffaelle;—one of his pupils applied himself to the design of architectural ornaments; another to landscape; a third to animals, birds, and fishes; a fourth to designs for furniture, jewellery, and casting in bronze, and the precious metals; while some painted, others modelled in plaster;—and all their proceedings were controlled and directed by one master-mind, who built up, as it were, and put together in a consistent whole, the polished stones which his workmen had prepared.*

'Some of these secondary artists, more highly gifted by nature than

* Lanzi, Scuola, Rom. Ep. II.

others, rose to be themselves the heads of schools, as, for instance, Perino del Vaga at Genoa, and Giulio Romano at Mantua; others, less aspiring, plodded on through their lives, having their minds at least imbued with the spirit of their masters. The practical importance of such a class of artists is evident. By devoting their whole attention to particular details of art, they necessarily acquired more knowledge and dexterity than would have been possible, had the application of their talents been more general.

'In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, indeed, the boundary which separates mechanical from fine art, seems to have remained completely undefined. The societies of painters comprehended not only all who laboured with the brush, but those also who in any way had to do with colours, such as *dyers*, *glass-stainers*, &c. The corporations of sculptors likewise embraced, as of the same craft, all the workers in marble, metals, wood, ivory, and precious stones. And we may be permitted to observe, that this association of the useful and fine arts is by no means without reason. If it be the influence of taste and imagination, which constitutes the characteristic excellence of fine art, then it is hard to say how low in the scale of manufacture its province extends.'

The report of Mr Dyce on the Foreign schools of design is of importance, as showing what has been done in other countries, enabling us to see how far we are to expect advantage to our manufactures from increased excellence in design, and pointing out the best mode of obtaining it. In the German schools, under the general term 'fine art,' every species of decorative design is supposed to be included; no difference in principle being recognized between that kind of art which is applicable to manufacture, and that which has for its object the poetical, the imaginative, or the historical. The immediate result of this is, that in the matter of education, the difference between a school of design for manufacture, and an academy of fine art, consists, not in the kind of instruction afforded, but only in the amount, or degree to which it is carried. The latter, indeed, in the absence of schools for manufacturing design, are supposed to include all the studies which ordinarily form the business of the former. In France, Mr Dyce observes, there is not, as far as he is aware, any regular division of departments in the numerous schools which relate to art; if we except the Royal Academies, and the Polytechnic School of Paris. All the other schools have arisen, as perhaps they ought, out of particular circumstances; and to meet a demand for the kind of instruction to which they are severally devoted. But they collectively make up a system of technical instruction essentially the same as that of Prussia and Bavaria, which therefore may be regarded as having had their earliest and most natural development in France. Thus there

are the two extremes, the elementary schools and the royal academies; and between these two, we have—first, the gratuitous schools in Paris, and the school of St Peter at Lyons, and others, which systematically connect the study of art and manufacture; and, second, the polytechnic schools, which make use of art as a means towards scientific pursuits. Some of the French schools are supported entirely by the state, as the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* of Paris. Others are so supported only to a small extent; as being mostly limited to the improvement of art in the particular branches of industry most flourishing in the localities where they are founded; and it is considered that the manufacturers should contribute to their support. Thus, the staple manufacture of Lyons being that of silks, the municipality is called upon to defray the greater part of the expense of the school there; which, so far as it relates to industry, does so, only to the teaching of design for fabrics of silk. And it may be observed, that in the constitution of our own provincial schools, the same principle is acted on. The establishment is only granted, on the town agreeing to contribute a certain portion of the cost.

The whole of Mr Dyce's report is full of interesting and instructive matter; and the only wonder is, that we should have been previously in such total ignorance of what were the real means by which our rivals were enabled so completely to surpass us in all which related to design, as applied to manufactures. There are also, it is understood, other reports to the council, made by Mr Townsend, Mr M'Ian, and Mr Poynter, the Inspector of the government provincial schools, with respect to the state of the art of design in Paris, and the mode of instruction pursued in these schools. In Lyons, Mr Dyce states that the commercial value of taste is so high, that when a young man displays extraordinary talent in this way, many great mercantile houses will admit him into partnership, in order to monopolize his services; and a pattern designer in good practice commonly obtains as much as 10,000 francs a-year. A great evil often arises from want of education in the workmen; as well as the want of good and competent designers. A French designer of paper-hangings lately came over to establish a manufactory in this country; he employed English workmen to print his designs, and insisted that the tints should exactly correspond with his drawing. But the workmen at once struck work; they had been accustomed to make up their tints in large quantities, had never used but three greens, two reds, or two yellows, and so on; and it was considered by them as absurd to submit to the caprice of a Frenchman, who seemed

to think that there were as many colours as days in the year! The concern, Mr Dyce states, was consequently broken up. When our 'workmen are better artists,' this will not happen; and when there is a good general system of artistic education, there will be no lack of workmen willing to avail themselves of it. Witness the 2,100 pupils already attending such schools as are open. It is but justice, both to the government which established the school, and to that of Sir Robert Peel, which succeeded, to state that there has been no want of support, liberal sums having been supplied for outfit, for the purchase of casts, prints, books, drawings, &c. Let us but once see an extended and complete course of instruction decided on, and we shall not despair of seeing our own schools rivalling those of our continental neighbours.

There is one important reason why the government should interfere in the furnishing of the most complete education to the designer and the artisan. In the ordinary branches of education, good teachers are easily obtained. But the principles of the fine arts can only be well taught by highly-instructed persons, whose aid can only be secured at a considerable cost. At the same time, the best examples cannot be procured without a large expenditure; while it must be kept in view, that art ill taught, would be worse than no instruction at all.

It is scarcely possible to estimate the value and importance of design in every matter connected with ornamental manufactures, or to guess at the apparently unimportant objects in which it becomes of value. The following extract from a very intelligent report made by Mr Poynter to the Board of Trade, on the advantage of establishing schools in Ireland, is so curious, that we lay it before our readers in his own words:—

'There is another branch of industry connected with design, the trivial nature of which contrasts strangely with its immense amount. It is the paper-bands with which the rolls of linen are tied round, and the boxes in which they are folded. For home consumption, these bands are usually of plain colour, stamped with some gilt ornament; but in preparing the linens for the foreign market, the manufacturers attach great importance to the effect of these ligatures; and the rolls are tied either by French ribbons and gold cord, or the paper bands are embossed, pictorially ornamented, and gaily coloured, and sometimes engraved with some popular subject, allusive to the country to which the goods are to be exported. A horseman throwing the lasso, for example, or the representation of the bolero, are adapted to the South American market. 'Humble as these objects may appear, they cost the linen manufacturers not less than from L.40,000 to L.50,000 per annum, the whole of which was, until very lately, expended out of Belfast, the

articles being supplied from London, or indirectly from Paris. There is now one stationer in Belfast, who has begun to manufacture them; and though his productions are very inferior, his returns amount already to a considerable sum. A comparison of the Belfast productions with those from London, and of the latter with the French, shows palpably the difference between art and no art, even in a matter apparently of so little importance. The establishment of a school of design at Belfast would probably secure for the town the greater part of this expenditure, and supply the manufacturers with a better and cheaper article.'

In connexion with this subject, we must mention two important works—one, the most magnificent publication of modern times, namely, the work of Mr Gruner—the other, the humble pamphlet, containing abstracts of the papers read at the meetings of the Decorative Art Society. This institution consists almost entirely of practical men, professionally employed in designs for manufactures, or as decorators. The book is full of instructive matter. It is a proof of the zeal and earnestness with which the subject is pursued, and shows how completely the members feel the importance of acquiring the true principles of the art of design, as applied to the different manufactures in which they are engaged. We trust that the council of the School of Design will take a hint from the contents of these transactions. We select the following heads:—*Carpets, Elizabethan furniture designs, Harmony of Colour, Chromatic Designs, style of Louis XIV., Paper-hanging, Geometrical figures, Marquetrie, what circumstances should determine a preference for Italian or Gothic styles, &c.* It is of course to be expected, that, in addition to the teaching the principles of high art, everything relating to the application of these principles to the peculiar conditions of different manufactures, will be taught by the council; but, if Mr Redgrave is correct in his statement, none of these matters are yet taught; and to that extent, at least, the English schools are defective. In every thing relating to taste the great body of the English people have never hitherto had a chance. Without an opportunity of seeing a work of art worth looking at, whatever genius they may possess remains yet to be developed. It will be a pleasant circumstance, should we owe to the competition of our manufacturers as much in national taste as in national riches.

With regard to Mr Gruner's work, we consider its publication most opportune, and of the highest importance with respect to decoration. It consists of forty-six folio plates, engraved and most elaborately coloured from the finest specimens of decorative art of the best time in Italy. These are an inex-

haustible mine to the designer in almost every branch of his art; and the fidelity of the execution renders them fit for working drawings for the artisan. We regret that our space does not enable us to enter more at large on the peculiar service done to art in the production of this work; but we hope, shortly, to resume the subject of decorative design, and to pursue it with particular reference to the essay by Mr Hiltorf, on the ancient arabesques as compared with Raphael and his school; a task which will enable us to show in detail how much the arts of this country, and indeed of all Europe, are indebted to Mr Gruner.

ART. IX.—*The Billow and the Rock.* A Tale. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. London: 1846.

THE announcement of a new work by Miss Martineau was always a pleasing announcement to us: But it is doubly so now, by reason of the risk to which we were recently exposed of being deprived of her altogether: And the work before us, we are happy to say, gives ample proof that her restoration is complete, that her mental powers have been strengthened rather than impaired by Mesmerism, and that her long trials have left no traces of other than healthful influences, such as the admirable book entitled *Life in the Sick-Room* would lead every reader of taste, feeling, or reflection to expect.

The Billow and the Rock is not, like most of her other tales or stories, written to illustrate any peculiar principle or doctrine of legislation or political economy; but it is a tale *founded upon Fact.* Is this an advantage or a disadvantage? ought it to be put forward as a recommendation or the contrary? We shall endeavour, before coming to the Tale itself, to answer this question as precisely as such a question can well be answered: For a good deal of error is afloat concerning the points involved in it; and a class of writers who are now exercising a wide-spread influence in both France and England, have evidently decided it somewhat summarily in their own way; since they seem to think that all objections to a scene, description, character, or plot, are answered at once by proving it to be a faithful drawing from life or nature, or an actual occurrence in society. To take only two prominent examples—when we turn away repelled and sickening from the pictures of physical suffering and moral debasement which abound in *Les Mystères de Paris,* M. Sue assures

us that the originals may be seen at the shortest warning in the hospitals or lunatic asylums of the French capital; and when all the thought, observation, artistical skill and brilliant writing lavished on *Lucretia, or the Children of the Night*, fail to neutralise the painful feelings with which we run over such a catalogue of crimes or contemplate such monsters of iniquity, we are told, that some fifteen or twenty years ago, an artist, named W——, did actually poison two of his female relatives, for the purpose of defrauding the insurance offices.

It consequently becomes necessary to re-assert what we thought has long ago been firmly established as an axiom, that the strictly *imitative* school is the very lowest in all branches of art, not even excepting the most imitative of all—painting; an axiom which can scarcely be denied by any one who is not prepared to assert the superiority of Van Stein and Teniers over Raphael and Michael Angelo. A truly great artist manifests his greatness by heightening, elevating, idealising; by addressing himself to our sensibility and imagination; by making us glow with enthusiasm, or filling our minds with beautiful and sublime associations—not by simply calling our powers of observation, memory, and comparison into play. To be true to nature, and to present nothing but a servile copy of nature, are very different things. The Apollo and the Venus are types of the ideal, not the real; and tradition says that even the Fornarina was indebted to the rich warm pencil of her lover for the most glorious part of her surpassing though thoroughly mundane loveliness. No fine portrait (as we once heard Sir Thomas Lawrence remark) was ever painted directly from the original, or except from an image distinctly present in the mind of the painter; and it is well known that Sir Thomas himself, even in the ordinary every-day practice of his profession, and when dealing with subjects which there was little chance of making historical, always began by getting his sitters into conversation and turning their attention from the object in hand, so as to have as much variety of manner and expression to choose from, as time and circumstances would admit.

> 'A graceful truth thy pencil can command,
> The fair themselves go mended from thy hand;
> Likeness appears in every lineament,
> But likeness in thy work is eloquent;
> Though nature there her true resemblance bears,
> A noble beauty in thy piece appears.'

A striking example of the consequences of an opposite mode of proceeding, is afforded by a book now lying on our table, entitled *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap Book*. The frontispiece

professes to be a likeness of Mrs Norton; a lithograph of her autograph authenticates it; and we will not take upon ourselves to deny that there may have been periods of her life when she looked as Mr Carrick has pictured her. But did he never see her in any other mood? or did he never ask himself whether the pale, meek, wo-begone and melancholy lady in the prim Quaker-like gown, could be the proud and gifted beauty who must have been so often and so enthusiastically described to him? He evidently thought of nothing but of executing a piece of taskwork for the publisher; and went on transcribing feature after feature, looking up every ten seconds from the paper to the face, till it was done. But every work of art produced on this principle will be a failure—whether a picture, a statue, or a book. Plays, like Shakspeare's, may be founded on old chronicles; romances, like Scott's, may be traced to the romance of history: But the author must fill his mind, and then write from its fullness; he must not halt in his course or check his flight to eke out a scene or chapter from the authorities; or, more correctly speakng, the creative faculty will generally be found dead or torpid, and there will be no course to halt in or flight to check, when such purely mechanical aids and handicraft contrivances are resorted to. Above all, it is general truth, probability, and agreement with nature, that are indispensable: A work (*Tom Jones*, for example) may possess these qualities in perfection, and strike every one as eminently natural, without containing a single incident taken from actual life or history; and a work may abound in well-authenticated details, and yet not only offend by their repulsiveness, but strike every one as unnatural, by reason of their anomalous character, or their rarity.

We are far from thinking that Miss Martineau has erred, like the popular writers to whom we have alluded, in the choice of her materials; but we were certainly led into the foregoing train of remark, by finding how much she had occasionally been cramped by the supposed necessity of attending to the authenticated details of the adventures she has taken for her groundwork. The Lady Carse of her Tale is the Lady Grange of Scottish story, about whom several hundred pages have been printed within the last half century; and, for Miss Martineau's sake, we heartily wish they had not; for she would have done far better had she been thrown more completely on her own resources, or known nothing of the lady in question but what was current at the period of Dr Johnson's journey to the Hebrides—

'After dinner to-day (says Boswell) we talked of the extraordinary fact of Lady Grange's being sent to St Kilda, and confined there for several years, without any means of relief. Dr Johnson said, if Mac-

leod would let it be known that he had such a place for naughty ladies, he might make it a very profitable island.'

In a note to this passage Boswell adds :—

'The true story of this lady, which happened in this century, is as frightfully romantic as if it had been the fiction of a gloomy fancy. She was the wife of one of the lords of session in Scotland, a man of the very first blood of his country. *For some mysterious reasons, which have never been discovered*, she was seized and carried off in the dark, she knew not by whom, and by nightly journeys was conveyed to the Highland shores, from whence she was transported by sea to the remote rock of St Kilda, where she remained, amongst its few wild inhabitants, a forlorn prisoner, but had a constant supply of provisions, and a woman to wait on her. No inquiry was made after her, till she at last found means to convey a letter to a confidential friend, by the daughter of a catechist, who concealed it in a clew of yarn. Information being thus obtained at Edinburgh, a ship was sent to bring her off; but intelligence of this being received, she was conveyed to Macleod's island of Herries, where she died.'

Now, a story in this state is the very thing a writer of fiction should fix upon. 'Mysterious reasons which have never been 'discovered,' what a fine field for the imagination is here laid open! yet, to the best of our information, only one adventurer was found to try his fortune in it, till it was not only explored and surveyed, but inclosed and ploughed up by antiquaries and annotators of all sorts.

In 1798, a poem appeared in London with the following title :—*Epistle from Lady Grange, to Edward D——, Esq. Written during her Confinement in the Island of St Kilda.* The author was Mr W. Erskine, W.S., probably a connexion of the husband's family. The poem is a palpable imitation of Pope's famous Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard, as will sufficiently appear from the commencement—

'Rave, ye fierce winds; ye angry surges, roar;
Climb the rude cliffs that circle Kilda's shore;
The tempest rolls along the troubled heaths,
The lightning glares, and yet Matilda breathes.
Blasting the groves, the flame-wing'd torrents speed,
Yet glide innocuous o'er this guilty head.
Yes, I have scorned *thy* laws, in love sublime,
And glory in the inexpiable crime.'

Then comes a passage explanatory of the share Edward D——, Esq. is supposed to have had in the matter—

'And then, dear sharer of my love and crime,
Whatever region holds, whatever clime '——

She labours hard to be philosophical, and make up her mind that what cannot be cured, must be endured; ever and anon trying the soothing influence of a day-dream of a fancied isle, where—

> 'Love fired by liberty, might spurn control,
> Dart through the frame, and rule the o'er-flooded soul.'

This style of wishing, instead of leading us to sympathise with the lady, rather leads us to commend the prudential measures of her lord. But the reality is too strong for any effort of fancy—

> 'Dear lost delusion! Truth's too fervent ray,
> Strikes the bright frost-work, and it melts away.
> In Kilda's isle I trace the fancied shore,
> But you and innocence are mine no more.'

How Edward D——, Esq., and Innocence, could ever have been hers at the same time, is not quite obvious; but this was the fashion in which so-called poems, or poetical epistles, handsomely printed in quarto, were composed during the last quarter of the last century; the only apparent object of the writers being to produce a certain number of lines in imitation of some recognised classic.

A few years after this poem was written, attention began to be attracted to the story; at length the whole of it became known; and the curious in such matters may now not only follow Lady Grange through her adventures (strange and striking enough, if true) on her enforced expedition through the Highlands to the Hebrides, but speculate on her feelings in her own Journal, and analyse her lord's character in his Diary.

Lord Grange was a judge of the Court of Session, and, as such, took his title from his estate. He was a younger son of the Earl of Mar who played so prominent a part in the troubles of 1715; but, warned by his father's example, he concealed what were always believed to be his real opinions, and professed a zealous attachment to the House of Hanover, the Whig party, and Sir Robert Walpole. He never stood high in the estimation of his contemporaries, and the following lines express the popular notions regarding him—

> 'Th' answer I'll give thee in these few lines,
> Perhaps you may think strange,
> In villany, that he's outshined
> By hypocret, Lord Grange.
> All Charters' sins were open done
> In facè of men and skyes;
> But Grange kidnapt his wife by noon,

And whoors with upcast eyes.
Let Charters then, rest in his grave,
He has received his doom;
He has no place 'mong hypocrites—
That's held till Lord Grange come.'

It is difficult to help thinking the charge of hypocrisy well founded, when we find such an entry as this in the Diary, and connect it with the known self-seeking habits of the man—

'I have reason to thank God that I was put out from the office of justice-clerk; for, beside many reasons from the times, and my own circumstances, and other reasons from myself, this one is sufficient, that I have thereby so much more time to employ about God and religion.'

There is a reflective turn and a felicity of expression in another short entry,—

'I have religion enough to spoil my relish and prosecution of this world, and not enough to get me to the next. Nay, worldly things do not give me that satisfaction and delight which they did heretofore, but yet they follow me,—and in a dull heavy way take up my mind and amuse it.'

After all, inconsistency is not hypocrisy; a man may feel rightly, or intend to act properly, in his closet, and yet prove utterly unable to resist temptation, or forego the worldly advantages within his reach. A somewhat remarkable discussion in the British Cabinet transpired a few years ago, in the way in which everything strictly private does transpire, namely, through the wife of one of the members. The subject was, whether a man who had killed his wife in one of the colonies, should suffer the highest penalty of the law. A duke, blessed with a very beautiful duchess, stood out for the alleged criminal; but when pressed for his reasons, it appeared he had none to give, but that 'women 'are *so* aggravating.' Now, the same justification, if it be one, is clearly open to Lord Grange; for a more aggravating helpmate it was hardly possible to have; and the manner in which the union was brought about, was such as to throw considerable doubts, from the commencement, on the probable duration of his felicity. Even the parentage of Lady Grange was ominous for a judge. 'On a Sunday afternoon' (so runs the narrative), 'in 'the spring of the year 1689, the president of the court of session '(Lockhart) was walking quietly home from church, when a 'pistol-shot, fired close behind him, brought him to the ground 'a corpse. Amongst the crowd who gathered round the spot, 'stood a gloomy-looking man, who, when he heard that the 'venerable judge had died instantly, remarked, that he was not 'accustomed to do things by halves!' This gloomy-looking man

was John Chiesly of Dalry; who had committed the murder to revenge a decision which Lockhart had given against him, in an arbitration. He was the father of Lady Grange; and the story goes, that she compelled Lord Grange, by whom she had been seduced, to marry her, by holding a pistol to his head and reminding him that she was the daughter of John Chiesly.

The wonder, is that this union lasted so long without an open rupture; but the lady says that they went on happily and peaceably enough for more than twenty years; and it is a remarkable fact that they had two sons grown up, and a daughter married to the Earl of Kintore, at the period of the catastrophe with which Miss Martineau begins her Tale.

About 1730 they quarrelled, and a formal separation was agreed upon; but the terms were ill kept on her side, as it seems she took every opportunity of annoying him, and even threatened to assail him on the bench, 'which,' he says, 'he every day ex-'pected; for she professed she had no shame.' But it was a threat to accuse him of political disaffection that brought about the crisis. During their halcyon days, he had written to her from London, severely reflecting on Walpole and his government; she had treasured up the letter; and those were times when any scrap of writing that would bear a doubtful interpretation might have cost a judge his place, or, combined with a suspicious circumstance or two, his life. 'The judge,' (quietly observes Sir Walter Scott,) 'probably thought with Mrs Peachum, that it is rather 'an awkward state of domestic affairs when the wife has it in her 'power to hang her husband;' and some of his friends concurred with him; among others the famous, or infamous, Lord Lovat, who was no doubt afraid that (mixed up as he was with all the intrigues of the period) if Lady Grange were allowed to execute her threat, something might transpire to compromise himself.

Miss Martineau's Tale opens just when Lady Grange's threats are beginning to render decisive steps of some sort necessary: But, as we have but little room for extracts, we pass at once to the scene of her actual deportation. She had been baffled in one attempt to go to London to make her threatened revelation; and is gloomily meditating on the best means of resuming it.

'In the evening, she wearily rose, and slowly dressed herself—for the first time in her life without help. She was fretted and humbled at the little difficulties of her toilet, and secretly wished, many times, that Bessie would come back and offer her services, though she was resolved to appear not to accept them without a very humble apology from Bessie for her fears about London. At last she was ready to go down to tea, dressed in a wrapping-gown and slippers. When halfway down, she

heard a step behind her, and looked round. A Highlander was just two stairs above her; another appeared at the foot of the flight; and more were in the hall. She knew the livery. It was Lovat's tartan.

'They dragged her down-stairs, and into her parlour, where she struggled so violently that she fell against the heavy table, and knocked out two teeth. They fastened down her arms by swathing her with a plaid, tied a cloth over her mouth, threw another over her head, and carried her to the door. In the street was a sedan-chair; and in the chair was a man who took her upon his knees, and held her fast. Still she struggled so desperately, that the chair rocked from side to side, and would have been thrown over, but that there were plenty of attendants running along by the side of it, who kept it upright.

'This did not last very long. When they had got out of the streets, the chair stopped. The cloth was removed from her head, and she saw that they were on the Linlithgow road, that some horsemen were waiting, one of whom was on a very stout horse, which bore a pillion behind the saddle. To this person she was formally introduced, and told that he was Mr Forster of Corsebonny. She knew Mr Forster to be a gentleman of character, and that therefore her personal safety was secure in his hands. But her good opinion of him determined her to complain and appeal to him in a way which she believed no gentleman could resist. She did not think of making any outcry. The party was large; the road was unfrequented at night; and she dreaded being gagged. She therefore only spoke,—and that as calmly as she could.

'"What does this mean, Mr Forster? Where are you carrying me?"

'"I know little of Lord Carse's purposes, Madam; and less of the meaning of them probably than yourself."

'"My Lord Carse! Then I shall soon be among the dead. He will go through life with murder on his soul."

'"You wrong him, Madam. Your life is very safe."

'"No. I will not live to be the sport of my husband's mercy. I tell you, Sir, I will not live."

'"Let me advise you to be silent, Madam. Whatever we have to say will be better said at the end of our stage, where I hope you will enjoy good rest, under my word that you shall not be molested."

'But the lady would not be silent. She declared very peremptorily her determination to destroy herself on the first opportunity; and no one who knew her temper could dispute the probability of her doing that, or any other act of passion. From bewailing herself, she went on to say things of her husband and Lord Lovat, and of her purposes in regard to them, which Mr Forster felt that he and others ought not, for her own sake, to hear. He quickened his pace; but she complained of cramp in her side. He then halted—whispered to two men who watched for his orders—and had the poor lady again silenced by the cloth being tied over her mouth. She tried to drop off; but that only caused the strap which bound her to the rider to be buckled tighter. She found herself treated like a wayward child. When she could no longer make opposition, the pace of the party was quickened; and it was not more than two hours past midnight when they reached a country-house, which she knew to belong to an Edinburgh lawyer, a friend of her husband's.'

So far Miss Martineau has followed the actual narrative. The country-house was Muiravonside, belonging to Mr John Macleod, advocate; who adds another to the long list of persons of station and respectability engaged in the deportation. She was next carried to a place called Wester Polmaise, belonging to a gentleman named Stewart, where she was imprisoned in an old tower for fourteen or fifteen weeks, till arrangements were made with Sir Alexander Macdonald for transferring her to a small island of his, called Heskir, within sight of the Isle of Skye.

In Miss Martineau's Tale, the lady reaches her final destination without any adventure of a romantic cast. But Dr Macleay, in his work or compilation entitled 'Historical Memoirs of Rob 'Roy, &c.,' leads her through three or four, which sound passing strange, and would be strikingly illustrative of the then state of society, if true: But they are so questionably authenticated, that we can only assist the curious reader with this general reference.

Miss Martineau, however, has carefully and, in our opinion, judiciously eschewed everything of the exciting order, and relied almost exclusively on simple descriptions of natural scenery, and the deep though homely truth of her moral reflections, for the main interest of her book.

> 'The path of sorrow, and that path alone,
> Leads to the place where sorrow is unknown.'—

This is the moral of the story; and the entire book may be best regarded as a vehicle for conveying it. Considered in this point of view, the principal character (who, after all, is not, in our judgment at least, the wild woman of whom we have been speaking,) is admirably conceived. We are thus introduced to her, as the vessel carrying Lady Grange approaches the island which is to be her prison:

'She once more insisted on landing by daylight, and was once more told that it was out of the question. She resolved to keep as wide awake as her suspicions, in order to see what was to be done with her. She was anxiously on the watch in the darkness an hour before midnight, when Macdonald said to her,

'"Now for it, Madam! I will presently show you something curious."

'The sloop began to move under the soft breathing night wind; and, in a few minutes, Macdonald asked her if she saw anything before her, a little to the right? At first she did not; but was presently told, that a tiny spark, too minute to be noticed by any but those who were looking for it, was a guiding light.

'"Where is it?" asked the lady. "Why have not you a more effectual light?"

'"We are thankful enough to have any; and it serves our turn."

'"O! I suppose it is a smuggler's signal; and it would not do to make it more conspicuous."

'"No, Madam. It is far from being a smuggler's signal. There is a woman, Annie Fleming, living in the grey house I showed you, an honest and pious soul, who keeps up that light for all that want it."

'"Why? Who employs her?"

'"She does it of her own liking. Some have heard tell, but I don't know it for true, that when she and her husband were young she saw him drown, from his boat having run foul in the harbour that she overlooks; and that from that day to this she has had a light up there every night. I can say that I never miss it when I come home; and I always enter by night, trusting to it as the best landmark in this difficult harbour."'

This Annie Fleming is, as we have already intimated, the real heroine. The other characters serve for little else than to bring out her good qualities. They are her son Rollo, and a wrong-headed clergyman named Ruthven, with a not much wiser wife. All of them are anxious to aid Lady Grange; and even the steward or factor would not be sorry to be rid of her, but the sense of obedience to his chief overcame every other consideration:—

'"And now," said Annie, "if the lady is afflicted with such hardness of heart, is it not cruel to take her away from God's word and worship, just when there is a minister coming? O! Macdonald, what would you do to one who should carry away your poor sick little Malcolm to St Kilda, just when your watching eye caught sight of an eastward sail, and you knew it was the physician coming;—sent, moreover, for Malcolm's sake? What would you think then, Macdonald?"

'"I should think that if Sir Alexander was in it, there could be nothing done, and there ought to be nothing said. And Sir Alexander is in this. So I must go."'

The following passage strikes us to be full of quiet truth, and may serve to illustrate the general tone of the publication. From the scenes preceding it, we collect that Lady Grange has succeeded, to some extent, in alienating the son from the mother:—

'From Rollo himself she (Annie) heard less and less of his proceedings and interests. Anxious as she was, she abstained from questioning or reproving him, on the few occasions when he spent an hour with her. She was aware of his high opinion of himself, and of the point he made of managing his own affairs; and she knew that there were those next door who would certainly engross him if any thing passed in his mother's house to make him reluctant to stay there. She therefore mustered all her cheerfulness when he appeared on the threshold; gave him her confidence, made him as comfortable as she could; and never asked him whence he had come, or how long he would stay. She had

a strong persuasion that Rollo would discover in time who was his best friend; and was supremely anxious that when that time came, there should be nothing to get over in his return to her—no remembrance of painful scenes—no sting of reproach—no shame but such as he must endure from his own heart. Strong as was her confidence in the final issue, the time did seem long to her yearning spirit, lonely as she was. Many a night she listened to the melancholy song of the throstle from the hill-side, and watched the mild twilight without thinking of sleep, till all was silent; and was still awake when the lark began its merry greeting to the dawn which was streaking the east. Many a day she sat in the sun watching the pathways by which she hoped her son might come to her; and then perhaps she would hear his laugh from behind the high garden wall, and discover that he had been close at hand all day, without having a word to say to her. How many true and impressive things passed through her mind that she thought she would say to him! But they all remained unsaid. When the opportunity came, she saw it to be her duty to serve him by waiting and loving; feeling and trusting that rebuke from God was the only shock which would effectually reach this case, and reserving herself as the consoler of the sinner, when that hour should arrive.'

This line of conduct and feeling is one which all of us would do well to follow in every case of estranged affection, where we have reason to suppose that the estrangement will be but temporary, and leave no lasting blight upon the heart. Reproaches and remonstrances only render matters worse.

It would serve no useful purpose to make further extracts from a popular work published in so cheap a form, and we shall therefore only add, that Miss Martineau has introduced a completely new reading, as regards the conclusion of the Tale. Lady Grange was, in point of fact, confined in several islands —Heskir, St Kilda, Skye, Assint, in succession—and lived many years after the recovery of her liberty. But Miss Martineau has thought it best to kill her off at the precise period best adapted for a dramatic ending. In the beautiful modern ballad entitled *The Indian's Return*, the exile lives just long enough to see the white cliffs of his native land—

'Feebly he lifts his weary head,
One wistful glance he gives—no more—
"England and Home!" was all he said:
The Exile dies—in sight of shore.'

In Miss Martineau's last chapter, entitled *Free at Last*, Lady Carse has just left the island in a boat with Duncan Forbes (the president), whose chance arrival had occasioned her release:—

'"She looks comfortable," whispered the President to Sir Alexander. "Can you suggest anything more that we can do?"

'"Better let her sleep while she can, my lord. She appears comfortable at present."

'Three more hours passed without anything being observable in Lady Carse, but such slight movements now and then as showed that she was not asleep. She then drew the handkerchief from her face, and looked up at Helsa, who exclaimed at the change in the countenance. The President bent over her, and caught her words—

'"It is not your fault—but I am dying. But I am sure I should have died on land, and before this. And I have escaped. Tell my husband so."

'"I will. Shall I raise you?"

'"No; take no notice. I cannot bear to be pitied. I will not be pitied; as this was my own act. But it is hard...."

'"It *is* hard: but you have only to pass one other threshold courageously, and then you are free indeed. Man cannot harm you there."

'"But to-day, of all seasons...."

'"It *is* hard: but you have done with captivity. No more captivity! My dear Lady Carse, what remains! What is it you would have? You would not wish for vengeance! No; it is pain!—you are in pain. Shall I raise you?"

'"No, no; never mind the pain. But I did hope to see my husband again."

'"To forgive him. You mean, to forgive him?"

'"No: I meant...."

'"But you mean it now? He had something to pardon in you."

'"True. But I cannot.... Do not ask me."

'"Then you hope that God will. I may tell him that you hope that God will forgive him."

'"That is not my affair. Kiss my Janet for me."

'"I will; and all your children.... What? Is it growing dark? Yes, it is, to us as well as to you. What is it that she says?" he inquired of Helsa, who had a younger and quicker ear.

'"She says the widow is about lighting her lamp. Yes, my lady, but we are too far off to see it."

'"Is she wandering?" asked the President.

'"No, Sir; quite sensible, I think. Did you speak, my lady?"

'"My love...."

'"To Annie, my lady? I will not forget."

'She spoke no more. Sir Alexander contrived to keep from the knowledge of the boatmen for some hours that there was a corpse on board.'

Those who wish to learn more about Lady Grange, will find ample particulars in the publications enumerated below.* It

* Scots Magazine (new series), vol. I. (for 1817); Chambers's Edinburgh Journal for March 7, 1846; Dr Macleay's Historical Memoirs of Rob Roy, &c.; Tales of the Century, &c., by John Sobieski

strikes us that the story has now received as much attention as it deserves, and that too much stress has been laid upon it as illustrative of Scottish manners at the period. Lady Grange was a woman of ungovernable temper, and habitually given to intoxication. She had been guilty of several outrageous acts of violence in public—and was about to proceed to the worst extremities against her husband and his friends. Were a judge's wife to demean herself in this manner in modern times, he would hardly, perhaps, take so decisive a step as shipping her off to the Hebrides; but most assuredly some restraint would be put upon her. The connivance of so many persons of known probity, and the acquiescence of her sons and daughter, sufficiently prove the general impression regarding her, and go far towards showing that her husband erred less in substance than in form.

The case mentioned in a note to Miss Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, is a far more remarkable one. It happened, moreover, in comparatively modern times. The lady was known to many persons still living, and the incarceration lasted twenty years. The parties were Lady Cathcart and Colonel M'Guire;—the prison was an upper room in an Irish country-house, but not a solitary or deserted house; for the tradition is, that the Colonel frequently entertained his friends, and never failed at dinner to send a message to his wife, the invariable answer to which was, 'Lady Cathcart's compliments, and she has every thing she wants.' It is stated by Mr Edgeworth, that 'when she was first told of 'his death, she imagined that the news was not true, and that it 'was told only with an intention of deceiving her. At his death 'she had scarcely clothes sufficient to cover her;—she wore a red 'wig, looked scared, and her understanding seemed stupified;—'she said she scarcely knew one human creature from another.' Lady Grange died in a state of imbecility, but Lady Cathcart appears to have recovered her understanding, for at an after period she earnestly recommended her young female friends to take warning by her example. 'I have been three times mar-'ried;—the first time for money; the second, for rank; the 'third, for love—and the third was worst of all.'

The remarkable pamphlet, entitled '*A Word to the Public*, by 'the author of *Lucretia*, &c.,' did not reach us till after this

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and Charles Edward Stuart, Edinburgh, 1847; Burton's Life of Lord Lovat, just published, pp. 187-192; and especially some original Letters to and from Lord Grange, in the third volume of The Miscellany of the Spalding Club, which has been given to the public (or at least to the members) even since Mr Burton's publication.

article was written, or we might have somewhat moulded our preliminary remarks with reference to it; and having alluded to *Lucretia*, we think it right to add, that, if the author has been assailed in the manner he mentions, he has been most unjustly assailed; and that, in our opinion, his answer to the assailants is complete. He is one of the last writers we should accuse of endeavouring to undermine public morals or lower public taste, by selecting low subjects or treating them in a low manner. It does not appear to us to be the prevailing character of his books to make heroes of criminals; nor should we think the worse of them on that account, if it were. Most assuredly 'it is (as he 'says) the treatment that ennobles, not the subject. Grant that 'the characters are what convention calls *low*—in birth, station, 'instruction; born in a cellar, dying on the gibbet, they are not 'one jot, for these reasons, made *necessarily* low to art. Art can, 'with Fielding, weave an epic from adventures with gamekeepers 'and barbers. Art can, with Goethe, convert into poetry the 'most lofty, the homely image of the girl condemned for infanti-'cide; and confine the vast war between spirits and men to the 'floor of her felon cell.'

In short, we give in our almost unqualified adhesion to most of the general principles laid down by him: But this does not deprive us of the right to question their application in each individual case. A man born in a cellar and dying on a gibbet, is not necessarily made low to art: But neither is a man necessarily made high to art by being hanged. To say he is, would be to adopt to its full extent the doctrine of *Lelia*, in George Sands' novel of that name, when she silences her young admirer, who is at a loss to discover what she can see to admire in Trenmor, by saying, '*Ecoutez, jeune homme, il a subi cinq ans de travaux forcès.*' A man of education, who has undergone such an ordeal, undoubtedly presents a tempting subject for the imagination of a woman like Lelia, or for a popular dramatist of the Porte Ste Martin school; but, to give legitimate art a fair chance with a real criminal, the story, we think, must be obscurely known—there must be distance as to time or space, or the veil of foreign manners, or a misty vagueness of some sort thrown over it. If Black George had been actually tried for poaching on Squire Western's preserves just before the appearance of Tom Jones—or Margaret for child-murder just before the appearance of Faust, they would have been materially damaged, if not rendered absolutely useless, for the purposes of art; and we much doubt whether Fielding and Goethe would have meddled with them.

Sir Edward Lytton says, 'All crimes now, if detected, must 'obtain the notoriety of the Old Bailey, or reap their desert

'in Newgate; and to contend that Newgate and the Old Bailey 'unfit them for the uses of the writer of fiction, is virtually to 'deprive him of the use of all crimes punished by modern law, 'and enacted in the modern day; as if there were no warning to 'be drawn from men that are not ennobled by ermine and pur-'ple; as if there were no terror in the condemned cell, no 'tragedy at the foot of the gallows.'

Here, again, the accomplished writer does not distinguish with his usual acuteness. The doctrine for which we contend deprives the writer of fiction of the use, not, by any means, of all *crimes*, but only of all *criminals*, punished by *modern* law, &c. The four pleas of the crown are at his disposal; the whole Newgate Calendar is open to him; but we object to the actual Weare in his gig, or the actual Tawell in his straight-cut coat; and it is no use telling us that poetic as well as strict matter-of-fact justice has been done to them; for it is not so much the moral tendency as the artistical fitness of such subjects, that we differ about. 'The past cannot monopolise the sorrows 'and crimes of ages. While we live, we ourselves become a 'past.' But we must wait till we have actually become a past. We do not even say that such works may not be highly satisfactory to posterity, but only that some law of association, which it is impossible to reason down, prevents them from being satisfactory to us.

'Folly and error,' continues Sir Edward, 'vice punished by 'ridicule, constitute the main materials of the comic writer, 'whether he employ them in a drama or a novel. Must we 'not grant to the writer who seeks for the elements of tragedy 'that exist in his own time, the equal licence to seek for the 'materials to which tragedy must apply?' The answer is, that tragedy and comedy stand on a totally different footing. According to the old proverb, familiarity breeds contempt: But it does not prevent laughter; and associations which do not impair comic effects, may utterly destroy tragedy for the time. Any one conversant with the history of the stage, could relate instance after instance in which an accidental circumstance of the ludicrous character has decided the fate of an entire representation; as when Quin, seated in the pit and speaking loud enough for every one to hear, compared Garrick in Othello to the black boy bringing in the tea-things in Hogarth's *Marriage-à-la-Mode*; or when, in John Philip Kemble's day, the ghost in Hamlet, by some unlucky jerk of the machinery, was suddenly flung upon the stage, in helmet, cuirass—kerseymere breeches and dirty cotton stockings! For ourselves, we own we could never quite get over Werther's top-boots, or Charlotte's cutting

bread and butter for the children; and we do not know a single instance of a modern domestic tragedy, in which the lowering effect of familiarity has been kept down, except by an accumulation of appalling details, decidedly inimical to that mood of mind which it is the peculiar province of high art to inspire and sustain. *La Dame de Saint Tropez*, a drama founded on the Laffarge case, was as successful as such a drama well can be; but is there one critic of taste throughout these realms, who would wish for a repetition of the experiment?

We should be glad to analyse a few other passages of this pamphlet, but our allotted space is exhausted; and we will only add now, that, in our opinion, Sir Edward Lytton has laid far too much stress on the illiberal attacks made upon him. Dr Johnson was fond of saying that no author was ever written down except by himself; and authors, like Sir Edward Lytton, who are read and admired in every quarter of the globe, have surely nothing to fear from the misrepresentations of critics, and little cause to complain of the tardy justice of contemporaries. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

ART. X.—1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Consolidation of the Statute Law.* Printed by command of her Majesty. 1835.

2. *Substance of a Speech delivered by the Right Hon. Henry Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls, in the House of Lords, on the 13th June 1836, on the second reading of the Bill for the better Administration of Justice in the High Court of Chancery.* London: 1836.

3. *Report from the Select Committee on Public Bills.* Printed by the House of Commons. 1836.

THE English law delights to confound the unlearned reader as much by its language as by its contents. It consists of two divisions: written and unwritten. Unwritten laws comprise all legal customs—all judicial decisions—all treatises of authority. The written comprise everything else.

The written laws of the kingdom, thus understood, represent all the laws which can now be ascertained to have been issued directly from the supreme legislature. They are the statutes, acts, or edicts made by the sovereign, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in Parliament assembled. The oldest of these now extant, and

printed in our statute books, is the famous *Magna Charta*, as confirmed in Parliament, 9 Hen. III.; though doubtless there were many acts before that time, the records of which are now lost, and their provisions perhaps at present currently received, as maxims of the common law. This great division of our laws now consists of about thirty-five large quarto volumes, exclusive of cart-loads of local and private Acts of Parliament, (in many cases affecting the public,) and which have been passed at every period of our growth and civilization. Some are in Latin, some in French, (neither with any authorised translation;) some were passed on the spur of the moment and in heat of passion, either against a particular class, or to carry out or bolster up some feeble or absurd doctrine of politics, political economy, or religious persecution; some are of the most rambling and tedious length, others are couched in the obscurest brevity; while many, in order that they might be brought into decent conformity with the necessity of the times and the wants of society, the judges of the land have felt themselves obliged to construe in a sense utterly at variance with their expression—because the legislature was either ignorant in the first instance, or sluggish since.

Nobody whose opinion is worth having will deny that this is a just character of the larger part of the body of laws under which we now actually live. The evil of such a mass of contradictory rules was early felt. The reformation in Religion scarcely had the start of a strong sense of the necessity of a Reformation in the Law. Evidence of this has found its way even into 'King 'Edward's Remains'—'I would wish, when time shall serve, that 'the superfluous and tedious statutes were brought into one 'sum together, and made more plain and short, to the intent 'that men might better understand them; which thing shall 'much help to advance the profit of the commonwealth;' and the effect of these words of the wise young king, or of his advisers, has been repeated in every age and time, by sages of all classes, by Parliament and from the Throne, down to the report of the House of Commons, in 1836, which we have placed at the head of this article. And if, in King Edward's time, the statutes were found so 'superfluous and tedious' as to call for notice from the Throne, what must they be now, increased as they are, at least an hundred-fold? It will be necessary to trace, step by step, the opinions on this subject, to show that there was no time at which the necessity of revision and consolidation was not felt and urged.

Lord Coke represents many of the statutes in his time 'as 'antiquated and unprofitable, which remain as snares to en-'tangle the subject withall.' He purposed 'their revision,

'and the repeal of the obsolete, that none may be deceived, and 'that one plain and perspicuous law should be made, divided 'into articles, so as every subject might know what acts were in 'force, and what repealed in part or in whole, and clearly see 'how to obey them. This he reckons as a necessary work, and 'worthy of singular commendation; and this his majesty out 'of his great wisdom and care of the commonwealth, had com-'manded to be done.' If Lord Coke found so many snares in obsolete statutes, we shall soon see that we are far worse off, and are yet without a fit remedy. It was in one of these very snares that the Dorsetshire labourers, a few years ago, were caught. The justices, finding themselves unable to commit them for poaching, fined them under an old and obsolete act for not going to church! and as they had not a penny to pay the fine, packed them off to jail, there to abide, till they were released by public opinion. Without this piece of antiquarianism on the part of their worships, perhaps we should have had these very *snares* still in force; But this flagrant injustice led to the report we shall after notice; and to the sweeping away of a mass of absurdity and injustice, consisting of penal statutes relating to the profession of religious opinions, which disgraced and encumbered the statute-book down to 1846.

King James, on his accession to the throne of England, recommended this subject to Parliament. He observed on the obscurities in some parts of our written law, and the want of fulness in others; stating that all were weary of it, and that where there was uncertainty, though a just judge may do rightly, yet an ill judge might take advantage to do wrong; 'wherefore leave not the law to the 'pleasure of the judge, but let your laws be looked into; for I 'desire not the abolishing of the laws, but only the clearing and 'sweeping the rust off them, and that by Parliament our laws 'might be cleared and made known to all the subjects. Now 'rather it were less hurt, that all the approved cases were set down 'and allowed by Parliament for standing laws in all times to come; 'for although some of them peradventure may be unjust, as set 'down by corrupt judges, yet better it is to have a certain law 'with some spots in it, nor live under such an uncertain and ar-'bitrary law.' No legislator could have spoken more wisely: Though perhaps he had sufficient confidence in his own kingcraft, to feel sure that, however clear the laws might be made by this scheme, he should be able, at his will, and when it suited his purpose, to twist them, through corrupt judges, as he pleased.

Lord Bacon, one might be sure, did not pass over so great an occasion: And both in his Epistle Dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth prefixed to his Elements of the Law, and in his Proposal for

Amending the Laws of England presented to King James, with his magnificent 'offer to the king of a Digest,' the subject is treated of with perspicacity and earnestness. But before this, in 1557, Sir N. Bacon, Lord Keeper, had drawn up a short plan 'for 'reducing, ordering, and printing the statutes of the realm:' and the subject during Queen Elizabeth's reign had been frequently taken into consideration — but nothing was effected. During the protectorate, however, the undertaking was resumed with ardour: Bulstrode, first lord commissioner for the custody of the great seal, being at the head of a committee 'to revise all 'former statutes and ordinances now in force, and consider well 'what are fit to be continued, altered, or repealed; and how the 'same may be reduced into a compendious way and exact 'method, for the more safe and clearer understanding of the 'people;' but no report exists. In 1651-2, Matthew Hale, afterwards chief justice, Sir A. A. Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, and Rushworth, with other persons, were appointed a committee for the same purpose; and, in 1653, a new committee was appointed 'to consider of a new model or body of the law.' But the lawyers, who were in favour of the Stuarts, purposely held their hand; conceiving that nothing would be more likely to reconcile the nation to a change of rulers, and make a Restoration impossible, than the abolition of the old laws! and Bonaparte seems to have been incited especially on this ground to the construction of his *Code Napoleon*. After the restoration, Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, Sergeant Maynard, Mr Prynne, and others, were appointed a committee for like purposes—but all with no result. No further notice of the subject occurs till the Lords' reports on the promulgation of the statutes, and on temporary laws, in 1796 and 1803. The commissioners on public records in 1806 resolved that Francis Hargrave, Esq., should be requested to consider and report 'as 'to the best mode of reducing the statute law into a smaller 'compass and more systematic form, and revising and amend-'ing the same, in whole or in part, &c;' but no report was made. In 1816 the House of Lords came to two resolutions, declaring the expediency of arranging the enactments of the statute book under distinct heads; and that a person learned in the law, with clerks, &c., should be appointed for this purpose; and in this resolution, with some amendments, the Commons concurred. Nay, even Lord Eldon thought some good might come of this project, as we collect from Mr Twiss's Life; but again nothing was done. All admitted the evil—all agreed as to the mode of cure, but still no remedy was applied.

In addition to these royal, parliamentary, and judicial autho-

rities of all times, we might cite a long list of authors of authority, lawyers, and others, who have all urged revision or digest, in some shape or other. Amongst the foremost are the names of Blackstone, Wood, the author of the Institutes, and Daines Barrington. But the most important modern authority was the late Mr Miller, an English barrister of great learning, who published, in 1822, a work on the present state of the statute and common law of England, in which the evils and inconveniences arising from its present state are clearly and forcibly pointed out. The part relating to the statute law was first published in the *Quarterly Review* in 1819. We now come down to our own times. To no man has this country been more indebted, for the stimulus given to this reform of our laws, than to Lord Brougham. The great speech on Law reform, which he made whilst in the House of Commons, led to the commissions on the common law and on the law of real property; and one of his earliest acts, when Chancellor, was to advise the issuing a commission for the revision, and digesting into one statute or code, of the whole criminal law. This great and laborious work is now actually drawing to a close: and, as respects this branch of our laws at least, England will have a clear and precise code of criminal jurisprudence; and the reproach of the uncertainty and confusion of our criminal law will be removed. Nor was the general state of the STATUTE LAW forgotten. For the commissioners were directed, in addition to the framing a digest of the criminal law, to '*inquire and report* '*how far it might be expedient to consolidate the other branches* '*of the existing statute law or any of them;*' and it is to the report of these commissioners, made as far back as 1835, upon this branch of their duties, that we are now desirous of calling the attention of our readers.

As Talleyrand used to say that words were given to men for the purpose of concealing their thoughts, so we always consider that blue books are printed purposely that they should not be read. We suspect that we are perhaps the only persons, except the printer and the commissioners, who ever took the trouble to read this report—which is a monument of labour and research. The commissioners to whom this task was referred, were, we think, judiciously selected;—Mr Starkie, for many years chairman of the Manchester Quarter-sessions, and author of an important work on the law of evidence and criminal proceedings, and of another on the law of libel; Mr Bellenden Ker, a conveyancing barrister of long standing, and occasionally employed in the preparation of Acts of Parliament; and Mr Wightman (now a judge) and Mr Amos, both eminent practitioners in

the common-law courts; together with Mr Austin, author of one of the profoundest works on jurisprudence which have been produced in this country. The commissioners reported in favour of 'a complete and systematic consolidation, accompanied with 'an adjustment of the enactments to precedent and judicial 'decision.'

In addition to the different authorities which we have cited on the necessity of a complete digest of the whole statute law, the commissioners naturally rely on the successive recommendations of digests of particular laws, and on their successful execution. The important bills introduced by Sir Robert Peel for the amendment of the Criminal law, the ship Registry act, and the acts relating to Trade, Commerce, and Customs, are so many signal proofs of the necessity of consolidation, and of its great practical advantage. These acts have already swept away from the statute book hundreds of obscure and contradictory enactments; which could only perform the functions of the snares mentioned by Lord Coke. They have afforded the public a comparatively clear and compendious exposition of the existing law; while at the same time they also prove the ease with which the consolidation of the whole might be executed. In fact, care, time, and knowledge are all that is wanting to the completion of this great and important labour. That such a work could be executed so as to be faultless and free from doubt, is hopeless. But it is not this certain evil that should prevent the undertaking the task. The question to be considered is, which is the lesser evil of the two,—to go on under the existing mass of obscure and contradictory enactments, growing larger every session; or to have a clear and expurgated text of the law, although there might arise in some special cases, some difficulty on some particular points? If there were any real doubt on this question, the experience of the advantage derived from the great chapters of the law already consolidated would set it at rest; while it might fairly be expected that a revision of the whole law systematically arranged by competent persons, would lead to a more complete, dexterous, and systematic mode of execution than any hitherto attained, even with the benefit of a partial revision. As regards the execution of the whole task, we have, in another country, with laws similar to our own, examples of its successful accomplishment. Whilst we have exhausted ourselves in invoking the aid of Jove to help us in the performance of our duty, in America they have put shoulder to wheel, and actually performed it; thus relieving themselves from the evil of living under an ill-defined, ill-expressed, and cumbrous statute law. In the State of New York there have been frequent consolidations of the statutes, and with

the best effect. In the evidence of Mr Duer, which we shall presently refer to, we shall see how this was done; and the same has been effected by the State of Massachusetts.

The commissioners begin with the imperfections of the existing statute law, and then proceed to the remedies. Want of space alone prevents us from entering into their details respecting the existing law. There are now more than 300 obsolete laws, all snares, existing! For, be it understood, that though the term obsolete is used in common parlance, in England there is no such thing as an obsolete statute (it is otherwise in Scotland); but, however absurd, however contrary to the habits, wants, and exigencies of modern times, in however barbarous an age enacted, its provisions are, by law, as fresh and vigorous as on the day of its enactment. The English statute book even now teems with provisions recognising villenage; with special penal enactments against Irishmen and Welshmen, gipsies, and military service; and with the most absurd regulations, concerning particular manufactures and trades, husbandry, &c. As late as 1799, slavery existed according to statute in Scotland; and the statute against witchcraft in Ireland was not repealed till 1821.

The mass of obscure enactments relating to penalties still existing, would make an informer's mouth water. In this ingenious age one almost wonders that some gang of informers have not thought it worth their while to keep an antiquary in pay; if it were only to hunt out unknown provisions, to be worked out before justices, for their benefit. One celebrated absurdity which has been often referred to, (but about the existence of which there was some doubt,) is the 53 Geo. III. c. 146, respecting parish registers. The penalties inflicted by the act are carefully apportioned between the informer, and the poor of the parish: whilst the only penalty imposed is fourteen years' transportation! In the appendix to the report is an awful list of the *nova statuta* up to the time of Queen Anne, (the only authentic edition of the statutes ending with her reign,) from which it appears that there are 658 statutes repealed, 260 repealed in part, 142 indirectly repealed, or repealed by implication; 234 obsolete, and 780 expired—2074 in the whole. No one wishing to see the law in its true colours, should shun the trouble of reading the whole report, the case of the Dorsetshire labourers, and the motions of Mr Watson in the House of Commons; together with the enumeration of the host of unrepealed statutes relating to religious opinions, inflicting penalties, many of them of præmunire—that is, confinement for life and forfeiture of goods—which existed in full vigour up to the last session. Persons (Protestants) absenting

themselves from their own parish church, (though away from home,) might, after a certain number of convictions, be condemned as *Popish recusants convict.* Nay, Jews might be so punished: and a person of the same persuasion might be called before two magistrates, and compelled to take the oath of allegiance, on the faith of a *Christian.* Children had recently attacked their parents under certain of these laws; and it was only during the very last session that, on the special report of the criminal law commissioners, Lord Lyndhurst brought in a bill for the repeal of these vexatious enactments.

There has been but one more effort made to call attention to this subject; with a view towards supplying a remedy for the past, and ensuring greater perfection for the future. The publication of the Report of the Commissioners on the Digest, led to the appointment, in 1836, of a select committee of the House of Commons, 'to consider the expediency and practicability of adopting 'some plan for the more carefully preparing, drawing, and revising 'public bills:'—Of this Mr Aglionby was the chairman; but it having been appointed late in the session, the evidence alone was reported, accompanied, however, by a strong observation, 'that it was admitted on all hands, and was fully made out by 'the evidence which had been adduced, that the present mode of 'framing bills was liable to many objections—was productive of 'want of uniformity of design, of unnecessary prolixity and in-'accuracy of language, entailing difficulty of reference to the 'clauses of acts of parliament, uncertainty with respect to the 'intentions of the legislature—much litigation and expense;'—and recommended that, for the more perfect consideration of the important subject, the inquiry should be resumed at an early period of the then next session.

One of the most practical parts of the evidence consists of suggestions concerning the best mode of forming a board, not only for the preparation of the revised statutes, but for securing effectual revision of new laws, and adapting them to the existing law. The peculiar nature of the proceedings in either house of Parliament with regard to bills, both as to their introduction and progress, and the jealousy there would be as to any revision, or perhaps even suggestion, beyond what regards mere technical expression, renders the subject one of considerable difficulty; and shows, according to the views of Mr Ker, the expediency of making any plan adopted merely tentative. The report also contains the striking statement made by Mr Duer, before referred to, a lawyer of considerable eminence, practising in the Superior Courts of New York, and who was himself one of a commission of three deputed by the state

to revise the Statute Law of New York. The task of these commissioners, when compared with our own, was easy. Moreover, the legislature of the state, from being devoted less to political matters than civil legislation, opposed fewer difficulties to the passing of the revised statutes than must be experienced in this country; while such was the feeling of the importance of the subject, that special sessions were held for the sole purpose of attending to this grave matter. We shall lay before our readers Mr Duer's account of the proceedings at New York; this is due to it, from its importance, and especially in consideration of the fact, that from being in a blue book, and connected with no political subject, it has been little known and less attended to.

'The means we adopted were the systematic arrangement of the laws in appropriate chapters, according to their subjects, and the consolidation in each chapter of all statutory provisions embraced by its title;—the giving to the enactments of each chapter, as far as possible, a logical and not an arbitrary order; the repeal of inconsistent and of useless provisions; the substitution of plain and general regulations for such as were complex, various, and partial; the use of general terms carefully defined, instead of an enumeration of particulars; the rejection of unnecessary words; the translating of technical and obsolete phrases, and the use, according to our best judgment, of a precise and accurate, instead of a loose and redundant phraseology. One of the rules to which we generally adhered, and which in practice we found of great importance, was to confine each section (which with you, I think, is termed a clause) to the enactment of a single proposition. In examining the old statutes, we became satisfied that a chief and very frequent source of their obscurity, is the embodying numerous provisions, running into and involved in each other, in one section; in reading which the mind of the reader is in a manner suspended until the close, and then oppressed by the effort to embrace at once the whole meaning. In order to arrive at the meaning of the old sections, we found ourselves compelled to break them up into distinct propositions, and by this analysis were enabled to discover the true meaning of each enactment, and any error or ambiguity in the form of expression. By correcting these, and re-enacting separately each proposition, we have given the readers of the revised statutes the benefit of our analysis, and relieved them from the necessity of making it for themselves. I will only add, that nearly in every chapter we have inserted a title, prescribing the rules of interpretation applicable to the chapter; and that to the body of the revised statutes we have added a general statute, prescribing certain rules of interpretation applicable to the whole work. By the adoption of these rules, we have not only swept away an immense mass of repetitions, but have rendered the use of such repetitions in future laws unnecessary.

'The effect of this revision has been striking, and I think very beneficial; all subsequent laws have been framed, as near as possible, upon the model of the revised statutes, by rejecting superfluous words, and

making the language clear and precise. Nor is this all; as the revised statutes embrace all laws of a public character, every law of that kind now introduced is either an alteration of the existing statute, or an additional provision, and is generally effected by referring the alteration or amendment thus made to the particular chapter to which it belongs: And, as in framing a new law, the party has the whole of the statute law before him, he has little difficulty in directing in what part of the revised statutes it shall be inserted; and thus in a great measure the necessity of a further revision is superseded, because the alterations made can be inserted in their proper place in a new edition.

'The benefits resulting from our revised statutes are very striking; the laws being rendered simple and intelligible to the class of officers who are called upon to execute them, they have become much better acquainted with their duties, and much fewer questions arise between them than formerly. There is with us a very perceptible decrease in that litigation which arises from the disputed construction of the statutes. I think the benefit that would thus arise would more than compensate the necessary expense to be incurred. I think the statute law now with us is much better understood by the profession, and by the community at large, than it was before the revision. The power and jurisdiction of justices of the peace with us are very extensive, and the laws in relation to their duties have been framed with very particular care; and I think the benefits have corresponded to the care bestowed.'

The remainder of the evidence of Mr Duer is of value to all inclined to consider this important subject practically and in detail. The cases of America and England, however, though similar, are not the same. Our laws, to be digested and revised, are to be measured by cart-loads. Imagine the advantage to our justices of the peace of having a clear and intelligible code to go by, instead of some eight volumes, of nearly 800 pages each, of *Burn's Justice*, filled with unintelligible and inconsistent provisions; which are well or ill worked out by the justice's clerk, without (except in some rare cases relating to game) their legal effect being even understood by their worships.

There would appear, however, to be some fatality about Law Reform in England. The same fate attended this last attempt of the House of Commons, which had awaited that of all former suggestions; whether made by kings or text-writers, committees or commissioners. The importance of the subject was fully admitted: But the question has never since been revived—except now and then by a few passing observations in the House of Commons, when members have been specially gravelled in committee by the consideration of some unintelligible, or verbose, or illogically expressed clause: And in these observations Sir Robert Peel has more than once joined.

We have only one more attempt to notice: and that is the report made on the subject by the Law Amendment Society, at

a time when some hopes were entertained, as expressed by Lord Brougham, that it was in the contemplation of the late government to take the question into their serious consideration. It is curious to observe how much more, in the way of carrying out the great principles of reform of the law, was seriously contemplated before the Revolution, than has been thought of since. After that grand victory, we seem to have been contented with the triumph. Almost up to the leaden times of Lord Eldon, the whole time of parliament, when in activity, was occupied in party struggles. These last reporters pointedly ask,

'What have we done since? When we put this question to the triumphant popular party of the eighteenth century, if we hear no sufficient answer, but only a mere repetition of phrases about the excellence of civil and religious liberty, must we not confess, with Dr Arnold, that the popular party has neither practised nor understood its duty? *that they laboured well to clear the ground for their building, but when it was cleared, they built nothing?*'

We have shown that the revision of the old, and careful preparation of the new law is, and always has been, a subject of general interest with all thinking persons, at all times. It is a subject, however, of more than ordinary interest at present. Every newspaper contains accounts of flagrant injustice arising from the obscurity and complexity of our enactments. Every report of the proceedings in our courts of justice shows the embarrassment of these courts in struggling with the exposition of unintelligibly expressed, and frequently conflicting laws, the construction of which is worked out at the grievous cost of the community. Nearly every debate shows with what difficulties the legislature itself has to contend, owing to this single cause: while every session teems with an endless series of bills to alter and amend unintelligible volumes of previous legislation, often couched in terms at least as obscure as their predecessors. In the meantime, not a hand is raised to remedy the evil, which all admit. Why is this? The subject, it is true, is one of great difficulty; would require time so to mature any plan as to give us hope of a good result; and would take much labour to be made perfect: But is not the end worthy of deeds as wells as words? Where is the Justinian of modern times to be found? Why are not the hitherto untiring energies of Lord Brougham applied to the accomplishment of an object, to which he has already devoted so much time and labour? Is he appalled at the prospect of undertaking the carrying through this great task, to the value and importance of which no man can be more alive, and of which no man is more competent to judge? Is Sir Robert Peel content to rest satisfied with the extirpation of

some three or four hundred useless and vague criminal law statutes from our books, and the partial improvement of some branches of our laws relating to crimes? Is the whole time of Parliament, now and for ever, to be devoted to the eternal strife of parties?

The evil must at last become too great to be borne; and will bring its remedy. But then the pressure, probably, will be so urgent, that, as in other reforms too long delayed, there may be neither the leisure, nor the knowledge, nor the temper necessary to guide us right. The characteristic defect of our present system for the performance of such a task, is the want of due machinery. Some one member of the government should be specially charged with the superintendence of legislation. And we may observe, that though we gladly take the reformed House of Commons in place of its predecessor, yet it is a bad working body as regards the very duties from which a legislature derives its name. Every member is now too busy; nearly all are in some way or another under the influence of some active or interested constituent; hence the numerous, one-sided, and ignorant objections which are made against almost every measure; till the member who brings it forward, is tired out, and abandons in disgust whatever may not be immediately urgent; taking warning by his failure, to undertake nothing for the future but what he is compelled of necessity to introduce. Sir Robert Peel, from his experience of the working of the House of Commons in all great measures of legislation, foresaw this evil: and, when denouncing the Reform Bill, triumphantly asked, will your reformed House of Commons pass a bill for the general registry of deeds? He was too true a prophet. The reformed Parliament did, we believe in its very first session, throw out one of the wisest and most useful measures of law reform that were ever submitted to the consideration of Parliament. A private member, feeling the importance of the subject, may (as was the case with Mr Aglionby) enter on it, and point out the necessity of a revision; a public body, as the Law Amendment Society, may do the same—nay, a royal commission (as was the case with the one whose report we have been discussing) may show in detail all the evils, and suggest the remedies. But where is the Minister who is to decide on its being effectually carried out?—what time has the Lord Chancellor, usually the only law minister in the Cabinet, to devote to such a subject, already overwhelmed with at least four times as much to do as can be done by any one man? The Home Secretary? where is there a single day in the whole year that could possibly be taken from the performance of the daily and hourly duties of his proper office? This evil and its remedy

were forcibly pointed out by Lord Langdale in the speech noticed at the head of this Article:—But why has his Lordship, feeling as he did, let more than ten years elapse without a single attempt to carry into effect, a part even of what he so ably showed was requisite to be done? Would not his position as the second Equity Judge of this country, have enabled him by constant recurrence to the subject, long ere this to have removed the evil? We shall give the substance of his opinion in his own words; because the testimony of marked men must be of far more importance than any reasoning of our own.

'A constant and vigilant superintendence over the state of the law should be diligently exercised. The mode of its working—the defects which may be observed—the inconveniences which arise—should be duly and regularly noted. The learned judges whose duty it is to administer, but who have no authority to make the law, when they meet with cases to which the existing law is not applicable, should give information to the government; and the changes which may from time to time become necessary, should be carefully considered upon a general system. In the absence of any efficient assistance in this respect from the Chancellor, the government, in both its executive and legislative parts, is in want of a constant and safe guide to useful improvement when there is need of it, and of a constant check to inconsiderate innovation when ignorantly proposed.

His Lordship then proceeds powerfully to show the baneful effect of the leaden rule of Lord Eldon, damming and stopping up all reform, taking his stand on his ever-repeated Conservative rules of *stare decisis*—his *super antiquas vias*—and his never-failing cry of 'It works well.'

'That plan of resistance,' continues Lord Langdale, 'was for a time eminently successful. But the necessity and the desire of change went on increasing, and at length prevailed. Proposals to change then came on with a rapidity which scarce admitted of control. The Government has from time to time found itself embarrassed by the proposals to change which have been since made, and by its own incapacity to afford them due consideration.

'We have accordingly, within a few years past, had, in England alone, commissions to inquire into the state of the Court of Chancery, the Courts of Common Law, the Law of Real Property, the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the Statute and Criminal Law. The expedient was in perfect conformity with the established practice of the constitution, but was never before so extensively resorted to. The commissioners, generally speaking, have applied great knowledge and industry in investigating the subjects submitted to their consideration. They have collected a mass of very valuable information, and made many useful suggestions. But they worked separately; collected their information and made their suggestions separately, and with special regard to their own peculiar objects and circumstances; and their recommendations have

not always been perfectly consistent with one another. If there had been a central power to compare their different reports with each other, and with the whole system of the law; if there had been a Minister able to bestow his own time on the subject, to consult the judges and officers engaged in the administration of the law; and, after receiving their advice, to procure the proper bills to be properly prepared, and to explain to Parliament the foundation and reasons of the proposed changes, the country might, before this time, have derived infinite benefit from the reports of the commissioners. Under the circumstances which have existed, some fruits—nay, considerable fruits—have been derived from their valuable labours: But I would venture to ask the members of the successive governments which have existed during the last ten years, if the difficulty of determining whether the recommendations of the commissioners should or should not be adopted, or (that difficulty being overcome) whether the difficulty of preparing, bringing forward, and explaining the necessary bills, has not been in many instances insuperable? and whether this has not arisen solely from want of sufficient knowledge and power in the Government to attend to the subject? And I confidently ask every man who has witnessed with any attention the manner in which acts of Parliament are prepared and brought forward, whether he is not satisfied that very great public inconvenience constantly arises from the want of some constituted and responsible Minister capable of attending to the subject, and of giving the requisite information, and proper assistance in laying the proposal before the Legislature for its consideration, and in framing, and finally settling the details of the law, when the general principle is approved of? Without such a guide, however, Parliament still proceeds, from year to year, blundering in legislation, accumulating one statute upon another, without system and without order; and the statutes themselves are often framed in such a manner as almost to defy interpretation; daily provoking observations in the courts of justice upon the carelessness and want of skill in the legislature.'

We make no apology for this extract. Who could have better explained the evil—who more effectually pointed out the one thing wanting—the master mind? Are we never to give life and vigour to all these vast materials which have been collected at so great a cost?—or are we to wait till the time has come—and it may be fast coming—when Lord Langdale will be listened to too late; and an irresistible desire of change will carry all before it, sound and unsound alike? We fear that Lord Langdale has been disheartened by a conviction of the hopelessness of engaging public attention on any subject not connected with the conflicts of party, or the urgency of the moment. Whatever may have been the cause, it is deeply to be regretted.

Sir Samuel Romilly has left the true example for law-reformers. Beaten session after session—assailed by every species of abuse from those who feared him—left almost alone by those

who professed to admire his views—surrounded by virulent opponents and lukewarm friends,—he was only the more stimulated to pursue a course which he felt and knew to be right and honest. The harvest ripens; though the husbandman who sowed the seed may not live till harvest. We owe it more to Sir Samuel Romilly than to all other persons put together, that we are no longer a scandal over the world for the cruelty of our laws. If he had been contented to have only once or twice expressed his opinion on the subject, the chances are that we should have remained to this hour without any of those measures with which his honoured name will in all time be connected, by whatever disciple they were ultimately passed. We cannot close this paper better, than by referring to the 29th volume of this Journal, for his admirable exposure of the state in which the English law has been left, written and unwritten.

The subject is dull and dry, and can hardly be rendered attractive to the general reader by any art—*ornari res ipsa negat;* but the most careless perusal, we think, must convince every one of its importance: And this must be our justification for having entered upon it after so long, and what we indeed consider so blameable a delay.

ART. XI.—1. *Correspondence relating to the Marriages of the Queen and Infanta of Spain.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1847.

2. *Documens communiqués aux Chambres dans la Session de* 1846-1847, *par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres—Mariages Espagnols.*

3. *Speech of the Duc de Broglie in the Chamber of Peers, January* 19, 1847.

4. *Speech of M. Guizot in the Chamber of Peers, January* 20, 1847.

5. *Speech of M. Guizot in the Chamber of Deputies, February* 5, 1847.

6. *Considerations respecting the Marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with reference to the Treaty of Utrecht.* London: 1847.

QUESTIONS of foreign policy, unless when they bear directly upon the honour of the nation, or the commercial interests of the empire, attract but little public attention in this country. Happily the general course of our foreign policy is not subject

to the same vicissitudes, as belong to legislation on our domestic affairs. Continental alliances are no longer the rallying-cries of party. The larger interests of England cannot now be sacrificed for the aggrandisement of the German dominions of her sovereign. She moves undisturbed in her own orbit, while she shares in the general motion of the system of civilized nations to which she belongs.

We think that this indifference to questions of foreign policy—an indifference common to the public, to Parliament, and to the ministers, whether belonging to one party or the other—is pushed too far. There is, no doubt, an instinctive wisdom in not making such questions topics of frequent discussion, and party controversy; the result of such discussions and controversies might turn out an administration, but might at the same time involve the country in war, or lead to the hasty conclusion of peace on precarious and disadvantageous terms. On the other hand, however, it is not without danger, if an impression should prevail amongst foreign nations that much may be undertaken by them, without attracting the notice or calling forth the resistance of the Cabinet of Great Britain; or that a vigilant and far-sighted Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will not be acceptable to his colleagues, or supported by Parliament, when he feels it necessary to use language, and to take preliminary proceedings, which imply a determination to resist encroachment, and to put down intrigue.

It is very probable that this known indifference to foreign affairs was not without its influence on the French government, when it was resolved to hurry on with indecent precipitation the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta of Spain. Indeed we have something like the authority of M. Guizot himself for the supposition; he said of England,* in the debate on the paragraph of the King's speech relating to the Spanish marriages—and the saying, we are informed by one who was present, was received with a burst of hilarity not usual in the well-disciplined and impassive Chamber of Peers—

'The English nation and its Government (for God forbid that I should separate them, and the notion has never for a moment entered into my mind)—the English nation and its Government have, one as well as the other, two great qualities—Justice strikes them, and so does necessity (*on rit.*) It is a moral country that respects rights: it is a wise country that accepts irrevocable facts.'

M. Guizot has had ample experience since he has been Minister of Foreign Affairs, that where the honour of the British

* Debate in Chambers of Peers, Jan. 20, 1846.

nation has been attacked in the person of a British subject, the demand for satisfaction has been prompt and peremptory—the Indemnité Pritchard is there to attest the fact. He is also aware that where the interests of British commerce are concerned, there is no lack of vigorous interference: But he has good reason for thinking, that with the business-doing people of England the balance of trade claims a more ready attention than the balance of power; and that in weighing France against England, a little change of weight in the scale is not likely to be as much observed in the latter balance, as if it took place in the former.

We must in justice to the daily press of London allow that the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier has not been treated with indifference. It occurred at what is commonly called the dead time of the year; and as it was known that the English minister at Madrid had in vain attempted to delay the marriage, and that much diplomatic controversy was going on, public curiosity was excited—and it became the pleasing duty of the press to satisfy that curiosity, by giving to the world all the information, that the discretion or indiscretion of the official persons who were conducting the controversy, allowed to transpire.

It was soon known that the British Government objected to the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta upon two grounds—the first, as a violation of the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Utrecht; and the second, as a departure from the engagements entered into at the Château d'Eu, between the sovereigns of Great Britain and France, and their respective ministers.

The pamphlet entitled 'Considerations respecting the Mar-'riage of the Duke of Montpensier, with reference to the Treaty 'of Utrecht,' contains an elaborate and, we think, conclusive argument in support of the first ground of objection to the marriage, taken by Lord Palmerston in his despatch of the 22d of September to Lord Normanby, as addressed to those who admit the unimpaired validity of the Treaty of Utrecht.

The French Government itself acknowledges the validity of the Treaty of Utrecht, and admits that the international law of Europe, as far as that law stands upon existing treaties, prohibits the union of the crowns of France and Spain on the same head; but denies that the prohibition derived from the Treaty, applies to the marriage of a son of the King of the French with an Infanta of Spain, although that Infanta be the presumptive heiress to the throne of Spain.

By the Revolution of July 1830, the elder branch of the House of Bourbon was deprived of the throne of France, and the Orleans branch substituted in its place; the point at issue, there-

fore, is the applicability of the Treaty of Utrecht to princes of this latter house. Referring our readers to the very able argument to which we have already alluded, we shall content ourselves with calling their attention to the following passage in the '*Renonciation avec Serment*, de Philippe Petit-Fils de France, Duc d'Orléans, à la Couronne d'Espagne, et *à toute esperance d'y pouvoir succéder un jour, lui, et ses Enfans, et ses Descendans.* Fait au Palais Royal à Paris, le 19 Novembre, 1712:—

'Et desirant de notre côté concourir à la glorieuse fin qu'on se propose, de rétablir la tranquillité publique, et prévenir les craintes que pourroient causer les droits de notre naissance, ou tous autres qui nous pourroient appartenir: Nous avons resolu de faire ce désistement, cette abdication, et cette renonciation de tous nos droits, pour nous et au nom de tous nos Successeurs et Descendans. Et pour l'accomplissement de cette résolution, que nous avons prise de nôtre pure, libre, et franche volonté, Nous nous déclarons et nous tenons dès à présent, Nous, nos enfans et descendans, pour exclus et inhabiles, absolument et à jamais, et sans limitation et distinction de personnes, de dégrez, et de sexe, de toute action et de tout droit à la succession et à la couronne d'Espagne. Nous voulons et consentons pour nous et nos descendans, que dès maintenant et pour toujours on nous tienne, nous et les autres, pour exclus, inhabiles et incapables, en quelque dégré que nous nous trouvions, *et de quelque manière que la succession puisse arrivér à* NÔTRE LIGNE.'

The only other extract which we will make is from the second Article of the Quadruple Alliance of August in 1718:—

'Pro regulâ statuatur, ne Regna Galliæ et Hispaniæ ullo unquam tempore in unam eandemque personam, nec in *unam eandemque Lineam*, coalescere unirique possent.'

In this last quotation from the Treaty of 1718 is to be found the true spirit of the treaties, by which the recognition of Philip V., and the future succession to the throne of Spain, were accomplished and regulated. The title of Philip V. to the throne, derived from the will of Charles II. of Austria, had been virtually established before the signature of the Treaty of Utrecht, by his own perseverance and the patriotic adherence to him of the Spanish people. Still the acknowledgment of him as King of Spain, by the princes who had engaged in the war of the succession for the purpose of setting aside the will of Charles II. in his favour, rested on the express condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united in the same person, nor in the same line. The exclusion of the branch of the House of Bourbon then reigning in France was stringent, and immediate; but, as a security against the dreaded contingency, the Orleans branch was also excluded from the succession to the throne of Spain, and the title derived by it from the common ancestor, Anne of Austria, was again solemnly renounced and extinguished.

Lord Bolingbroke, writing on the subject of the evasion by Louis XIV. of the renunciation by Maria Theresa to the whole Spanish monarchy, and the assertion of his claim to the country of Burgundy, the duchy of Brabant, and other portions of the Low Countries, says :—

'The rest of Europe had a short objection to make to the plea of France, which no sophisms, no quirks of law, could evade. Spain accepted the renunciations as a real security. France gave them as such to Spain, and in effect to the rest of Europe.'

This observation applies with equal force to the succession of any descendant of the Orleans line to the throne of Spain, and renders that succession a violation of the Treaty of Utrecht.

All this reasoning proceeds upon the assumption that the Treaty of Utrecht and the Treaty of 1718 are still in force and binding upon the parties to those treaties. It must, however, be observed that two of the parties to those obligations and arrangements—the States-General and the Emperor of Germany—have ceased to exist politically; and Spain has so changed the form of its government, as to place the succession to the monarchy under the control of the Cortes. The author of the 'Considerations' assumes the irrefragable validity of the Treaty of Utrecht; and he has a perfect right to do so as against the French Government. Upon the first course (that is, a denial of the validity of the treaty,) he says :—

'It will not be necessary to say much, because it is sufficient to ask by what treaty it is supposed that the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht have been annulled? Their validity, moreover, is not, we believe, contested by the French Government. In the Spanish Cortes, indeed, it was boldly stated by some deputies that the treaty was not in force; and that statement was not contradicted by the Spanish Government. But this diversity of language between France and Spain does not serve to confirm the soundness of their respective views upon the subject, but rather tends to show that the Spaniards considered the words of the treaty, and of the acts incorporated in it, to be too clear and precise to be explained away, and thought it easier at once to deny its validity.'

The author further says :—

'The Spaniards, moreover, may have been influenced by the consideration that if the Treaty of Utrecht could be set aside, the reciprocal renunciations incorporated in it of the French princes to the crown of Spain, and of the Spanish princes to that of France, would be thereby annulled, and the Spanish princes would thus acquire a claim to the crown of France superior to that of the House of Orleans. It is needless to observe that such a result would not suit the views of the French Court or Government; and hence they have been reduced to the necessity of admitting the validity, and trying to alter its natural signification.'

We have a very great respect for the author of the 'Considerations,' and do ample justice to the ability with which he has treated the subject; but we think that his veneration for the Treaty of Utrecht, and the successful use he has made of it against the French Government, have led him to suppose that it has had a direct influence upon others, in anticipating results, with which it is wholly unconnected, and to which it has become entirely inapplicable.

The Revolution in France of 1830, and the existing constitutional charter, settled the crown of France on the Orleans branch of the house of Bourbon to the exclusion of the elder branch; and we believe that the author stands alone in his supposition, that the eventual claims, of the Spanish princes to the French throne, have had any effect in determining certain members of the Cortes, or the Spanish ministers, to question the validity of the Treaty of Utrecht. The French Government has been, as the author says, reduced to the necessity of admitting the validity of the Treaty of Utrecht; but not for the rather fanciful reason assigned by him, but because the King of the French having, in the first instance, disclaimed any right to marry a French prince to the Queen of Spain, and thereby to render the union of the crowns of France and Spain on the same head obviously possible, it had a respectable appearance, on his part, so far to admit the validity of the Treaty of Utrecht. Even this, however, as will appear hereafter, was meant to be a conditional admission.

The British Government did not, as was at first asserted, and very generally believed, protest, through the English minister at Madrid, against the marriage of the Infanta Luisa, the sister of the Queen of Spain, and heiress-presumptive to the Spanish crown, with the Duc de Montpensier, as a violation of the Treaty of Utrecht, but 'against such an alliance as calculated to 'exercise the most injurious influence upon the future relations 'of the British and Spanish crowns.'* This was a legitimate ground of protest; and might have had its intended effect, if the note to M. Isturitz had been presented, before the marriage had been determined upon.

The communications from the Spanish minister on the marriage of the Infanta, as given in the Parliamentary Papers, are replies from M. Isturitz to Mr Bulwer in answer to the two notes presented by the latter—the one on the 22d of September 1846, and the other on the 5th of October following. The first was a formal protest; but the latter† is a declaration of the

* Correspondence laid before Parliament, p. 22. † Ibid. p. 29.

'incapacity, disability, and exclusion, in regard to the succession to the throne of Spain, which would attach to any issue or descendants of the marriage of the Infanta with the Duc de Montpensier, if, in utter disregard of the remonstrance and protest of Great Britain, 'that marriage should be persisted in; and thus, if at any future time any dispute should in consequence arise as to the succession to the throne of Spain, and if Great Britain should in such case deem it proper to take part in such dispute, in support of the principles which have been set forth in this note, it will not be in the power of any of the parties concerned, to allege that the British Government did not give timely warning of its sentiments and views.'

This vigorous declaration is founded upon the Treaty of Utrecht, and upon the renunciation of the Duke of Orleans of November 29, 1712, incorporated in the treaty. We cannot but think that the practical view taken by the Spanish minister in his replies to the protest, as well as to the declaration on the subject of the marriage, does not deserve the contemptuous indifference with which the author of the 'Considerations' is disposed to treat it; and if the pretensions of the French Government, recently set up and persisted in, did not constitute the very essence of the controversy, we should say that, as between Great Britain and Spain, the Treaty of Utrecht is an instrument, valuable from its declared purpose and historical associations, but not so important as regards the actual relations of the two countries. Those relations can only be injuriously affected, as regards England, by Spain becoming dependent upon any other European power; and England can have no interest in preferring one royal family to another, except so far as the independence of Spain itself may thereby be weakened or disturbed. If there were no descendants of Philip V. in existence, the Princes of the House of Savoy would not be less acceptable than the Spanish Bourbons are, to England; nor is it to be supposed that, in the present day, any act of the Spanish people, changing the family or person of the sovereign, if promulgated by the Cortes, in contradiction of the Treaty of Utrecht, would be repudiated by the Government of England. It has become the principle of our foreign policy to accept the Governments *de facto*, or *de jure populari*, of other countries; and the ready acknowledgment of the Government and dynasty established in France by the Revolution of July 1830, is a striking application of that principle.

Let us, however, not be mistaken. We do not mean altogether to put aside the argument, derived from the Treaty of Utrecht, against the possible consequences of the marriage of the Infanta, the heiress-presumptive to the throne of Spain, with the Duc de Montpensier: on the contrary, we think it sound as against the

House of Orleans; but we prefer to rest the opposition on the part of the English Government to the marriage, upon a more obvious and practical ground—the declared pretensions and policy of the French Government in its relations with Spain; and here we must admit, that the French Government has been most audaciously frank in the avowal of those pretensions. *Audentes fortuna juvat.*

The mission of M. Pageot to the courts of England, Vienna, and Berlin, was the first formal proceeding, taken by the French Government, in making known its determination to refuse its concurrence to the marriage of the Queen, with any prince that was not a member of the House of Bourbon. The limitation was at this stage confined to the Queen herself. Lord Aberdeen, in his despatch to Sir Robert Gordon, announcing the mission of M. Pageot, says *—

'The great remedy which the King of the French proposes for all the evils of Spain, both present and future, is an agreement respecting the marriage of the Queen. He declares that he entirely renounces all pretensions for any son of his own, but that France will never submit to see the Queen married to any prince but a member of the House of Bourbon. He is indifferent respecting what individual may be selected, or from what branch of the family; but, according to the expression of M. Pageot, he would place his veto upon the choice of a prince of any other house.'

This was certainly very plain speaking on the part of his Majesty the King of the French; and was not exactly the language that might have been expected from a sovereign of his known prudence. The communication made by M. Pageot was an ultimatum that precluded modification, and could not therefore become the subject of negotiation. The impression made upon Lord Aberdeen, by this extravagant and extraordinary declaration, is forcibly given in his letter to Sir Robert Gordon, dated 26th April 1842:— †

'This sacrifice of a prince of his own family by the King of the French, has led to the unreasonable attempt to force upon the choice of the Queen another member of the House of Bourbon, to the absolute and peremptory exclusion of all competition. M. Pageot has even ventured to insinuate that the peace of Europe may depend upon such a settlement. Now it is possible that the family of Bourbon may offer to the Spanish nation the most eligible stock from which to select the husband of their Queen. Upon this subject we desire to express no

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* See Correspondence, p. 2.
† Ibid. p. 1.

opinion, but to leave it to the unfettered judgment of the government and people of Spain. One thing is certain: whether such a marriage be desirable or not, the manner in which it is propounded is calculated to excite feelings of indignation and resistance in the breast of every Spaniard who values the dignity and independence of his country.'

The manner of propounding was not changed: * on the contrary, the matrimonial limitation was further extended to the sister of the Queen, the heiress presumptive to the throne of Spain.

M. Guizot concurred in the exposition of the policy of France towards Spain, given by the Duc de Broglie, in the Chamber of Peers on the 20th of January; and we will quote some passages from the duke's speech, that our readers may fully appreciate that policy, and decide for themselves whether any systematic concert in the question of the Spanish marriages could be relied upon between parties who set out upon such different principles as the Governments of Great Britain and France did:—

'If (that which became possible by the accession of a female to the throne of Spain) the crown passed from the House of Bourbon into another house, there was an end, in all probability, to those relations of natural alliance, of habitual intimacy, and reciprocal confidence, that had subsisted between Spain and France for nearly two hundred years, and which, notwithstanding some very short interruptions, had survived so many trials and such various fortunes; for thus there was an end of all securities for us on our southern frontiers, and thereby, it must be admitted, our independence, our freedom of action on our eastern and northern frontiers would be most seriously compromised.

'Such is geographically the position of Spain, that to be estimated abroad as she ought to be, to play in the affairs of Europe the part that belongs to her—to be any thing, she must be the natural friend, the habitual ally, of France, as she has been under the princes of the House of Bourbon, or she must be the natural friend and ally of all the enemies, of all the rivals of France, as under the last three kings of the House of Austria. This is written in history and on the map.

'The first object of any one in Europe who might be on bad terms with France—of any one who might be merely jealous of the prosperity and greatness of France—would be to create embarrassments and difficulties on the other side of the Pyrenees, thus to divide our attention and our strength, and in some measure to attach a cannon-ball to our foot; and if we reflect upon the subject, it is not merely our personal interest that is concerned, there is something more. I do not think that it is possible to bring about a greater alteration—a more considerable disturbance in the equilibrium of Europe—than thus to annul the influence of France, and thus immeasurably to increase the preponderance

* Speech of the Duke de Broglie.—Debate in the Chamber of Peers, Jan. 20.

of those who, like Russia and England, are unassailable at home, and inaccessible on any part of their frontiers.

'In order to avoid this result and to guard against this danger, having once acknowledged the rights of Queen Isabella, we had but one line of conduct, which was, when the time arrived, to obtain from Queen Isabella, and her advisers, *natural* and official, *of course by no other means but those of argument and persuasion*, that this princess should choose a husband from amongst the descendants of Philip V., or at all events from amongst the princes descending from the House of Bourbon.'

The policy of Louis XIV. in accepting the will of Charles II. of Austria, and that of Napoleon in placing by force of arms his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain, continues, according to the Duc de Broglie, to be the only one that the safety of France will permit her to pursue. That policy consists in an habitual and never-ceasing control over the relations of Spain with the great powers of Europe. That it is so felt by the King of the French personally, appears from the mission of M. Pageot; the official language of the French minister is to the same effect; and the speech of the Duc de Broglie most fully developes and establishes it. Concert, therefore, between the Governments of Great Britain and France on the Spanish marriage, as the general principle of diplomatic action at the court of Madrid, was, after the communications made in the name of the King of the French by M. Pageot, altogether out of the question; they might have accidentally concurred, as they did, in the selection of a Spanish prince for the husband of the Queen, but the motives must always have been different. On the part of Great Britain the motive was to assist in doing that which was best for Spain, while the motive on the part of the French Government was to perpetuate relations that insured the subserviency of Spain to France.

It is the undoubted interest, and ought, therefore, to be the policy of Great Britain, unremittingly to resist the pretensions of the French Government in Spain, whatever be the means or form by which it may be sought to give practical effect to those pretensions; and we cannot but think that the British Government ought to have withdrawn the selection of husbands for the Queen of Spain and her sister from the category of those questions, on which the two Governments were prepared to act together. We conceive that this course might have been taken without disturbing the general good understanding which so happily subsisted. The communications made by M. Pageot, as we have said above, evidently left no doubt as to the difference of principle. The King of the French put his veto upon any prince not a descendant from Philip V., or a member of the House of Bourbon; the British Government did not pretend to

exercise any such pretension. The 'sacrifice,' or rather the desistance, of the King of the French respecting a prince of his own family, was taken, we presume, as a matter of course, not as a concession, by the British Government; and certainly it furnished no reason for guiding our proceedings at the court of Madrid, by any consideration for the opinions or views of the French cabinet.

The justifiable and salutary distrust that would have been shown by the withholding of any pledge to act in concert with France at Madrid, need not have precluded the British Government from recommending at any subsequent stage of the negotiation, out of regard for Spanish interests and feelings, a Spanish prince as the fittest husband for the Queen; for if there were any objection to such a choice, it could only be found in the pretensions of the French Government to exclude all but Bourbon princes from the range of candidates.

We believe that if the British Government, after the receipt of the communications made by M. Pageot, had been satisfied with an energetic and persevering protest against the pretensions of the King of the French, no greater misunderstanding between the two Governments would have arisen, than has since taken place, and it is by no means improbable that at this moment the Duc de Montpensier would not have been the husband of the Infanta.

However anxious the King of the French might have been for maintaining the policy of Louis XIV., and for the aggrandisement of his own family, he could not have been indifferent to the declared opinion of the English Government, that the restriction imposed on the free choice of Queen Isabella was an attack upon the independence of Spain, and would therefore meet with all the opposition which the counsels and influence of Great Britain at Madrid could present to it; and he might reasonably have apprehended such a resistance on the part of the Spanish nation, under the encouragement of the British Government, as would have defeated the scheme altogether.

His Majesty was throughout sure of the co-operation of the Queen-mother, who was bound to him by every tie of gratitude and self-interest, and who had returned to Madrid more French than Spanish; but Queen Christina had her own position to maintain as well as to execute the schemes of the French court; and her personal enmities ultimately made her hesitate in the completion of the latter part of her task.

Events and the correspondence furnish ample proof that the inclination of Christina would have led her to have preferred Count Trapani as the husband of the Queen, to the exclusion of

the two Spanish princes, and it is equally clear that the hand of the Infanta Luisa was throughout destined both by King Louis-Philippe and by Christina to the Duc de Montpensier. It was, however, necessary to win the first trick with the Queen, and the cards were played accordingly. If the Queen-mother were solely to have regulated the affair of the marriages, the Conde de Montmolin and Don Enrique, who had connected himself with a party in Spain personally and politically hostile to her Majesty, were out of the question; and even Don Francisco, now the husband of the Queen, was only tolerated on the failure of the Trapani arrangement. Prince Leopold of Coburg was brought into the field for no other purpose, but that of diverting the British Government from pressing the selection of Don Enrique as the fittest husband, as he undoubtedly was in many respects, for the young Queen.

The British Government throughout had no candidate of its own, and in fact had no interest in the marriage of Queen Isabella and the Infanta, except so far as the national tranquillity and the political independence of Spain might be affected by the choice of the husbands: But it had to deal with parties who were differently situated, and who acted under very different influences. The King of the French had national and family interests to guard and to advance; and Queen Christina had the security of her own position to consult, and personal enmities to satisfy. At Madrid the counsel of the British Government was entitled to the respect and, we might almost say, acceptance of all parties to whom the independence of their country was dear; while no recommendation of the King of the French could have been entitled to the same confidence, for it could not be free from the taint of national and family pretensions and predilections. This brief exposition of the feeling by which the several parties were moved, will, as we think, enable our readers to follow with greater facility the narrative of the progress and termination of the negotiations on this rather complicated question. We shall make great use of M. Guizot's speech in the Chamber of Peers for the historical part of these transactions; it is remarkable for clearness; and, as we dispute his conclusions, we prefer to use his own statement in our attempt to disprove them.*

During the year 1842, and till the month of July 1843, M. Guizot says that the political conduct of the British Government was full of reserve, and he attributes the approach to confidence and concert, to the check which the influence of Great Britain had

* Speech of M. Guizot in the Chamber of Peers, January 20, 1846.

received by the fall of the Regent Espartero, and to the rumour which had then acquired currency and belief in Spain, that the Spanish Government was desirous of marrying the Queen of Spain to the Duc d'Aumale. M. Guizot read, on the occasion referred to, a despatch from Lord Aberdeen to Lord Cowley (not given in the correspondence laid before parliament), which suggests that instructions 'should be given to the respective diplo-'matic agents at Madrid, directing them to act in constant and 'friendly union to forward the benevolent views of their respective Governments.' In this despatch there was no allusion to the marriage of the Queen of Spain. This omission was remarked, and rectified with much decision and studied frankness, in that addressed by M. Guizot to Count Chabot. 'In order,' says M. Guizot, 'that the concert may be efficacious, it is important that 'the questions to which it is applicable should be specified: *the* '*gravest, without doubt, is the marriage of Queen Isabella.*' After the usual and formal expression of respect for the independence of the Spanish Queen and her Government, M. Guizot repeats the cardinal point upon which the policy of the French turned in the marriage-question, that the descendants of Philip V. should continue to occupy the throne of Spain. 'The concert had been 'thus proposed and accepted when the first visit of the Queen of 'England to Eu took place;' and there, M. Guizot asserts, it was agreed between Lord Aberdeen and him that every candidate, excepting a descendant from Philip V., should be discouraged 'by the exertion of influence only, but that any such candidate 'should be so.' Lord Aberdeen on this occasion refused to accept, or to promulgate the principle upon which the French Government acted in imposing a special limitation of choice.

In the despatch which M. Guizot wrote to Comte Flahault, dated the 21st of September, 1843, we find the first mention of the Prince of Coburg: 'No exclusion has been formally pro-'nounced; we do not formally exclude the Cobourgs; England 'does not formally exclude the sons of the King. But it is under-'stood that we shall not adopt the one or the other; that, on the 'contrary, we shall exert ourselves to prevent the proposal of either 'the one or the other by Spain; and that, if one of the two propo-'sitions were made, the other would immediately resume its liberty 'of action. I have said that the appearance of the Prince of Co-'bourg would be the renunciation of the Duc d'Aumale.' M. Guizot in the beginning of this despatch informs Comte Flahault 'that Lord Aberdeen accepts the descendants of Philip V. as 'the only candidates suitable to the throne of Queen Isabella.' This goes rather beyond the opinion expressed by Lord Aberdeen in his despatch to Lord Cowley of the 15th of December 1843

(*Correspondence*, No. 3). In that despatch Lord Aberdeen, after putting aside the admission of the fundamental principle of the French Government, but at the same time expressing a disposition to concur in the proposition of that Government respecting the Queen's marriage, goes on to say:—

'Such an arrangement would seem to correspond with the nationa feelings in favour of a kindred race in the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon, and would be calculated equally to secure the future independence of Spain, and to protect the general interests of Europe.'

M. Guizot declares that the French Government cordially accepted the selection of a Neapolitan Prince, which appears to have originated with Lord Aberdeen. Such a combination could not fail to be most agreeable to the King of the French, even more so than that of one of the Spanish Princes. The Comte d'Aquila was first mentioned, and subsequently the Comte de Trapani was brought to Spain, and presented as a candidate. The obstacles to the marriage of the Comte de Trapani to the Queen, purely Spanish in their origin and character, were found to be insurmountable.

However, while the Trapani marriage was still supposed to be possible, we are informed by M. Guizot that an overture was made to the French Government for a simultaneous marriage of the Comte de Trapani with the Queen of Spain, and of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta. M. Guizot thus writes to the Comte Bresson, the French minister at Madrid, on this overture, and he takes great credit for the fidelity to engagements by which even such a confidential communication is marked. This letter to Comte Bresson is dated Nov. 26, 1844:—

'One word to-day respecting the Duc de Montpensier. When Queen Isabella shall have been married and has a child, he will be very happy to marry the Infanta Donna Fernanda; he considers this a good and suitable marriage for him, but neither the King nor he adopts any crooked policy. Do not take this, however, as a definitive decision or a diplomatic engagement. I tell you the disposition just as it is. It is very friendly towards Spain, and frank towards everybody.'

It is impossible not to be struck with the provident frankness of this language. According to M. Guizot, the rumour of this plan, and the colour that was given to it, gave some uneasiness to the British Cabinet, and it was in this state of things that the second visit to Eu took place. In the month of September 1845, the subject of the marriage was fully discussed between Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot. The latter openly declared, that although the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta would be most satisfactory to the King of the French, yet there was no disposition to effect it by indirect means, or at the

risk of compromising the concert of the two Governments in their general policy; that until the Queen of Spain was married—until the succession was secured in her line—the marriage of the Infanta had, in the opinion of the French, the same political bearing as that of the Queen; all that was required was, that the conduct of the British Cabinet should be reciprocal. Lord Aberdeen, as might naturally be expected, admitted the frankness of this proceeding; and, on his part, declared that, supposing the Queen of Spain married, and having children, the British Cabinet could offer no 'strong, reasonable, admissible, and presentable objection to the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta.'* The next sentence in M. Guizot's speech qualifies this assent of Lord Aberdeen, by adding the expression on the part of Lord Aberdeen, that the Queen once married to a descendent of Philip V., and the succession in her line secured by the birth of children, 'the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier would no longer meet with the same difficulties;' from this we have a right to infer, that some of those objections, subsequently brought forward by Lord Palmerston, had been at least alluded to; and that the concurrence of the British Government in the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier was entirely dependent upon two events: the previous marriage of the Queen, and her having '*enfans*'—the plural number, and thereby effectually securing the succession in her line.

M. Guizot, continuing his narrative, says, that while the marriage of the Comte de Trapani was meeting with various obstacles in Spain, the name of the Prince of Coburg was frequently mentioned, and caused some uneasiness to the French Government; which was speedily allayed by the assurances of Lord Aberdeen, that there was no cause for apprehension in that quarter.

In the month of November 1845, a proposal was made to the French Government by the Spanish Ministry, to conclude immediately the marriage of the Queen with the Comte de Trapani, provided the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta took place at the same time; this proposal was, from respect for the engagements contracted at Eu, refused, and the Spanish ministers were informed that the King's Government could not treat definitively for the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta until 'this marriage had lost all its political character.' So far the conduct of the French Government was in strict accordance with the engagement entered into at Eu;

* Speech of M. Guizot.

and it becomes, therefore, very difficult to account for the next step taken by M. Guizot—we mean the despatch to Comte Bresson, of the 10th of December 1845. In this letter are the following paragraphs, which we do not hesitate to translate at length, inasmuch as they contain an exposition of the line of conduct pursued from this date, until the simultaneous conclusion of the two marriages by the French Government:—

'The more I reflect, the more I am convinced there is in Spain, and about Spain, an active and incessant effort to bring about the marriage of the Prince of Cobourg either with the Queen or with the Infanta. The English Government does not positively exert itself for this marriage, but it uses no efficacious endeavour to prevent it. It does not say to any combination that might bring a Cobourg to the throne, positively *no*, as we do in regard to a French prince.

'On the other hand, Queen Christina and the Spanish Government wish to make use of the fear that we have of a Cobourg marriage, to make sure of the Montpensier marriage; at the same time securing to themselves the possibility of a Cobourg marriage in case the Montpensier should fail.

'We cannot in all this play the part of dupes. We will continue honestly to follow out our policy; that is to say, to set aside any combination that might rekindle conflict in regard to Spain between France and England; but if we perceive that, on the other side, the party is not as clear and decided as we are—if, for example, through the inertness of the English Government, or through the proceedings of its friends in Spain, or round Spain, a marriage for the Queen or for the Infanta should be contemplated which endangered our principle; and if this combination had any chance of success, at the very instant we will put ourselves forward without reserve, and we will simply and loudly demand a preference for the Duc de Montpensier.' *

This is declared to be the line of conduct that Comte Bresson is to follow; and he is authorised to carry it out, should the necessity arise, to its fullest extent. Mons. Guizot says of his despatch of the 26th of November 1844, that it contains, as it were, the domestic language of the French Government; and we have, in examining this matter, a right to suppose that the despatch of December 10th, 1845, is of the same sincere and confidential character.

This despatch was written when Lord Aberdeen held the seals of the Foreign Department, not long after the explanations and engagements that were entered into at Eu, and when there was no reason whatsoever for the apprehension of any proceeding on the part of the British Government that could thwart or

* Documens Communiqués aux Chambres, p. 45, Annexe G.

retard either the marriage of the Queen with a descendant of Philip V., or the conditional marriage of the Infanta with the Duc de Montpensier. No impartial person can read the passages that we have quoted, without allowing that in the month of December—but two months after the reciprocal cordialities at Eu—there had arisen in M. Guizot's mind great distrust of the English Government, and a most decided dread of the efforts of its friends in Spain and about Spain.

In the month of February 1846, General Narvaez quitted the Spanish ministry; and this circumstance appears to have given alarm to the French Government as to the fate of its policy in Spain. M. de Jarnac was summoned to Paris, and took back with him the celebrated memorandum of the 27th of February, which was presented for perusal to Lord Aberdeen on the 4th of March 1846. If our limits permitted, we would insert the whole memorandum, which is conceived and expressed in a spirit not far removed from menace, insinuates distrust, and announces a determination, under not improbable contingencies, to act according to the separate interests of France, and without reference to engagements previously entered into. Let us take the following passage as an illustration :—

'The English Cabinet has not afforded us for the Trapani combination any active and efficacious support. It has maintained a cold neutrality, and its inertness has allowed a free course to all the enmities, all the intrigues, whether of Spaniards or of subordinate English agents, who would have been restrained by its decided and active co-operation.'

He adds, that a very active intrigue is going on to marry the Prince of Coburg either with Queen Isabella or with her sister the Infanta; and that, if this state of things continued—that is, if the marriage of either of these princesses with any other than a descendant of Philip V. became probable and imminent, the French Government would consider itself released from its engagements, 'et pour parer le coup,' immediately ask the hand either of the Queen or of the Infanta for the Duc de Montpensier. Was such language to be expected from M. Guizot to Lord Aberdeen, in whom he professed entire confidence, and whom he had not the slightest reason to suspect of any intention to depart from the engagements contracted at Eu, and, therefore, from consenting to the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta, whenever that marriage, from the birth of children, should be, for the present, divested of a political character? The papers laid before Parliament do not state whether Lord Aberdeen took any notice of this memorandum, beyond such private and confidential conversation as may have taken place with the

French ambassador, when it was read to him. We, however, are convinced that the progress of events at Madrid, and the urgency of Queen Christina, had persuaded the French Government, that the engagements contracted at Eu were incompatible with the success of its principal object throughout, namely, the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta, and that the two marriages must take place together, or not at all.

Another overture, according to M. Guizot, was made at this time by the Spanish Government through the Marquis of Miraflores to the French ministry for the marriage of the Infanta with the Duc de Montpensier, even before the settlement of the Queen's marriage. This overture was dealt with in the same manner as that for the simultaneous marriages, and this course was taken in maintenance of the engagements* that had been contracted at Eu.

The Marquis de Miraflores, in the Spanish senate, has, on the 1st of February, denied that he, when President of the Council after the fall of Narvaez, ever made any overture whatsoever on the subject of the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier; and has asserted that he told Comte Bresson that he saw no reason why the marriages should take place at the same time. This denial amounts to a positive contradiction of M. Guizot's statement; and we may be allowed to take it as a diminution of the value of the refusal of the French Government to accept the overture alleged to have been made by the Spanish ministers.

Such was the condition of affairs, when the attention of M. Guizot was, as he says, simultaneously called by M. Bresson and by Lord Aberdeen to the active intrigues and exertions that were carrying on at Madrid in favour of the 'combinaison 'Cobourg.' Lord Aberdeen's 'avis loyal' stated that a proposal had been made by the *Spanish Government* to the Duke of Coburg for the marriage of Prince Leopold with the Queen of Spain. Great was the surprise of the French Government, and M. Guizot lost no time in expressing it; and Lord Aberdeen wrote to the British minister at Madrid, blaming him for having taken any part in the design. M. Guizot here admits the honourable frankness with which Lord Aberdeen acted. M. Guizot thus describes the three lines of policy that were then in existence:—

'The Spanish policy, which required either a French or a Cobourg combination, and acting just then very actively in favour of the latter combination; the French policy, which rejected the union of the Duc

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* Speech of M. Guizot.

de Montpensier with the Queen, and his immediate marriage with the Infanta; and lastly, the English policy, which, while it did not pursue a line of conduct as decided as ours, nevertheless accepted the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier, provided it were not *simultaneous* with that of *the Queen.*'

And here we must interrupt the narrative, to point out this incorrect statement of the condition upon which the English Government proposed to consent to the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta. Lord Aberdeen had indeed shown the strongest disposition not to make the marriage of the Queen of Spain, an exception to the general concert in action of the two Governments. He had agreed not to oppose the marriage proposed for the Infanta, upon a very intelligible, and, to a certain degree, efficacious condition, that it should not take place until the Queen of Spain should have children. Time, therefore, was not the most important condition in the consent that was given; the essential point was the birth of children. And M. Guizot's own narrative of the earlier communications between Lord Aberdeen and himself, proves that it was so considered by both parties; for the possibility of the conclusion of the two marriages, at the same time, had never become even the subject of discussion. Indeed, we are disposed to think that the expression '*simultanée*' was here used inadvertently by M. Guizot: but the critical examination of his narrative would not allow us to pass it by without notice.

M. Guizot terminates the narrative part of his speech at this point, omitting the last act (recorded in the correspondence) of Lord Aberdeen respecting the marriage of the Queen, with which, however, he was unacquainted—we mean the note of the Earl of Aberdeen to the Duke of Sotomayor, in reply to that minister's inquiry,

—'Whether it would call forth the displeasure of the British Government if the Cabinet of Madrid should find it necessary, in the interest of the Spanish Monarch, to select some prince as the future husband of the Queen other than a member of the family of Bourbon; and also whether, if France should resent this proceeding, and attempt to coerce the free action of the Spanish Government, it would be regarded with indifference by Great Britain?'

Lord Aberdeen had no difficulty in answering these inquiries. He says—

'We have always denied, and still deny, the right or pretension of the French to impose a member of any family upon the Spanish nation

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* Correspondence laid before Parliament.

as the husband of the Queen, or *to contest in any manner the decision of a question* so purely Spanish.'

Lord Aberdeen proceeds to admit the possible expediency of selecting a husband for the Queen from among the descendants of Philip V., and adds that, with this view, no objection had been offered to the Comte de Trapani; and that, when that arrangement failed, the British, though without any English candidate or English preference, had ventured to point out the Infante Don Enrique 'as the prince who appeared to us to be 'the most eligible, because the most likely to prove acceptable to 'the people of Spain.'

In the event, however, of its being found that no descendant of Philip V. could safely be chosen, consistently with the happiness of the Queen, and a due regard to the tranquillity of the country, the Spanish government was free to exercise their independent judgment; 'and in this case it could be no cause of 'displeasure to Great Britain if they were to elect a prince from 'some other family.' Lord Aberdeen concludes by assuring the Duke of Sotomayor that—

'If, contrary to all reason and probability, any such project, that is to say, an attempt to contest the wishes and feelings of the Queen, and the clearly understood will of the Spanish nation should be contemplated, there can be no doubt that Spain would not only receive the warmest sympathy of Great Britain, but of all Europe.'

A copy of this note was sent to Mr Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid, for his information and guidance.

Lord Aberdeen, when he wrote this note to the Duke of Sotomayor, must have had in his recollection the contents of the memorandum of the 27th of February 1846, and he must therefore have known that, according to the sentiments of the British Government, as expressed in his note, a state of affairs at Madrid might arise, if it did not already exist, which would, in the language of the memorandum, place the French Government under the 'empire of an absolute necessity to prevent their policy in 'Spain from receiving a check, either in regard to the marriage 'of the Queen or that of the Infanta of Spain,'—'which would 'happen if the marriage of the Queen or the Infanta with the 'Prince of Coburg, or with any other prince, not being a de-'scendant of Philip V., became probable and imminent;' for in such a case the French Government would feel itself released from all engagements, and free to 'act immediately *pour parer le 'coup*,' by asking the hand either of the Queen or of the Infanta for the Duc de Montpensier. It is worthy of remark, that the French minister puts the possible marriage of the Queen and

that of the Infanta with the Prince of Coburg as events in the same category, while the observations of the British Government are confined to that of the Queen. This difference may be easily traced to the difference in the motives by which the two cabinets were actuated. With the first, the question of the marriages was really a Spanish one; with the latter, it was French, and personal. Taking Lord Aberdeen's note to the Duke of Sotomayor as the last expression of the opinions and views of the cabinet to which he belonged, we think there can be no difficulty in showing, that no such change of conduct took place on Lord Palmerston's coming into office, as M. Guizot asserts, and by which he justifies the non-fulfilment of the arrangement determined upon at Eu.

Lord Aberdeen contemplated, in his note to the Duke of Sotomayor, the possible selection of a prince not among the descendants of Philip V. as the husband of the Queen; he knew that the Prince of Coburg had been mentioned, and even proposed, to fill that station; and he must therefore have included him among the possible objects of choice. Lord Aberdeen declared that under certain circumstances, this rejection of a descent from Philip V. would be no cause of displeasure to Great Britain; but, in saying this to the Spanish minister, Lord Aberdeen was quite aware that, should such a contingency arise, there was an end of all concert between the governments of France and England. Lord Aberdeen, however, had reason to expect that, as regarded the marriage of the Queen, the concert was not likely to be interrupted; for either of the Spanish princes would, he had a right to assume, receive support, or at least acceptance, from the two cabinets. Lord Aberdeen had no specific English candidate; but between the two sons of Don Francisco he did not hesitate to express his preference of Don Enrique.

M. Guizot in this speech most eloquently explains the reasons that led him to place entire confidence in the identity of opinion between Lord Aberdeen and himself, on all the great questions of European policy, and points out how subordinate in the minds of both, incidental points of national rivalry were to—

'the instinct of a great and common mission of civilization, the desire to prevent, by the concert of the two powers, all revolutionary commotions, and to effect that object through the regular development of civilization and equal liberty.'

We are not aware that any English statesman, belong to what party he may, would be found unwilling to admit the speculative truth of these general principles; but M. Guizot had more practical reasons for confidence in Lord Aberdeen, than their being charged with this joint philanthropic mission. In all the

communications that had taken place between them on the subject of the Spanish marriages, Lord Aberdeen had shown the strongest disposition to treat the extravagant pretensions set up by the French Government, to limit the choice of the Queen, and indeed of her sister, to princes of the House of Bourbon, with as much moderation as the denial of the justness of these pretensions would permit; we presume that Lord Aberdeen saw that the marriage of the Queen with a Spanish prince descended from Philip V. was a good arrangement as regarded Spain, and that, under certain conditions, the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta might become free from political objection. At the same time, M. Guizot had no ground for supposing, that Lord Aberdeen would not hold him to the engagements or understanding entered into at Eu, or consent to his making the marriages simultaneous events.

No one can be surprised that M. Guizot should have felt great anxiety to ascertain, whether Lord Palmerston would take the same view of the question of the marriages, that his predecessor had. He could, however, have had little doubt that, under the very peculiar circumstances of the transaction, the arrangement mutually agreed upon at Eu would be maintained.

The communication made by the Comte de Jarnac on the 20th of July appears to have been confined to the marriage of the Queen, and to have proposed the joint action of the Governments of France and England in favour of the two sons of Don Francisco de Paula. M. Guizot in his speech gives no account of the language held by Lord Palmerston in reply to the Comte de Jarnac, and would leave it to be inferred that the whole result of the interview was the communication of the despatch of Lord Palmerston to Mr Bulwer of the 19th of July. We must therefore have recourse to Lord Palmerston's despatch to Lord Normanby of the 22d of September, to supply the omission. Comte Jarnac at once observed that the name of the Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg was put forward, while that of the Comte de Trapani was excluded; and that this was inconsistent with what had passed between the French government and the late British ministry, between whom it had been agreed that the Duc de Montpensier should be withdrawn as a candidate for the hand of the Queen, provided that the Prince of Coburg were also withdrawn, and that some descendant of Philip V. should be recommended as consort for the Queen. Lord Palmerston informed Comte Jarnac that he found no trace in the Foreign Office of any such agreement; and, after a short exposition of the general view taken of the subject of the marriage, told the Comte that—

Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg was not *a candidate put forward*

or supported by the British ; and that, on the contrary, the British Government thought, for many very weighty reasons, that a Spanish prince would be a fitter husband for the Queen, and that among Spanish princes Don Enrique seemed to be the best suited to be her consort.'

Lord Palmerston further said—

'It was impossible Mr Bulwer should suppose that the mere circumstance of the Prince of Coburg being mentioned by me as one of the candidates for the Queen's hand, was to be construed by him as an intimation that the British Government intended to support or recommend that prince.'

In the beginning of this despatch, Mr Bulwer had been told that Lord Palmerston referred him to, and adopted, the instructions which had been given by her Majesty's late government; and Lord Palmerston assured Comte Jarnac that his 'private 'communications to Mr Bulwer would prevent the possibility of 'any such mistake.'

We might reasonably suppose that these remarks and explanations of Lord Palmerston would have been communicated by the Comte Jarnac, and, from their importance, in the very words used, to M. Guizot; and we must confess that we are much surprised to find, from the letter of M. Jarnac to M. Guizot, read by the latter in the Chamber of Deputies, that the explanation, a most satisfactory one, of the accidental precedence given to the name of Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg is omitted, while the original objection made by Comte Jarnac is stated very fully. We will take the liberty of assuming the accuracy of the account given by Lord Palmerston of the interview, and of saying that M. Guizot had no right to take the order in which the name of the Coburg prince was mentioned in the enumeration of candidates for the hand of the Queen, in the despatch of the 19th of July, to Mr Bulwer, as a proof of preference, when that very preference had been so strongly disclaimed in the verbal communication to Comte Jarnac, and when another candidate had been actually recommended as more eligible. Our readers cannot fail to perceive that the language of Lord Palmerston in this interview is identical with that of Lord Aberdeen, in his note to the Duke of Sotomayor, as regards the Queen's marriage; but Lord Palmerston was not called upon to advert to the possible conduct of the British Government, in the contingency alluded to by the Spanish minister, in his note to Lord Aberdeen.

We shall again use the narrative of these transactions as given by M. Guizot* himself in his speech in the Chamber of Deputies

* Speech of M. Guizot in Chamber of Deputies, February 5, 1847.

on the 5th February. He was then defending himself, and did not, naturally, omit any circumstance that could justify his conduct. M. Guizot lays some stress on the fact that the despatch of the 19th of July had not been communicated before it was sent; and still greater stress on the fact, that his despatch of 20th of July, to Comte Jarnac, remained five weeks without reply. Surely the full exposition of the views of Lord Palmerston, given in the interview of the 21st, was a sufficient answer to that communication. In the subsequent conversations between Lord Palmerston and Comte Jarnac, the former continued to give a preference to Don Enrique over Don Francisco, while the latter had his doubts arising from the difference in the behaviour of the two princes towards the Queen; but at last he assured Lord Palmerston that if Don Enrique, under the advice of the British Government, took an attitude, and held language suitable and becoming his situation, the French Government would not act in a contrary sense. Lord Palmerston stated the necessity of taking the sense of the British Cabinet on this particular point, before a decision could be come to. The Comte Jarnac pressed the urgency of an immediate determination.

M. Guizot asked the Chamber whether these conversations could be considered as satisfactory, respecting the candidateship of the Prince of Coburg. Now, we really think that they were perfectly so. The point at issue, or rather in doubt, between Lord Palmerston and Comte Jarnac, was, which of the two Spanish princes, Don Francisco or Don Enrique, was to be preferred; and the Comte Jarnac represented the French Government, as it had always professed to be, indifferent to the choice, provided it were made with the full and free consent of the Queen of Spain and her Ministers. Lord Palmerston's despatch to Lord Normanby, of the 22d of August, is in strict conformity to the language held by Comte Jarnac, and assumed the probability of instructions being given to the French and English Ministers at Madrid to unite in recommending Don Enrique to the Spanish Government as husband for Queen Isabella. The view taken of the state of the question by M. Guizot was very different, for he immediately wrote to the French Minister to recall to his recollection (a very unnecessary reminder) the instructions of the 10th of December 1845, and desired him, the case arising, to act upon them; and yet on the 23d of August, in an interview with Lord Normanby, the British Ambassador at Paris, M. Guizot discussed the marriage of the Queen of Spain with Don Enrique, which was pressed by Lord Palmerston, as an event within the range of possibility, and did

not allude to the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta. It must, however, be said, in M. Guizot's justification, that Lord Normanby does not appear to have put any questions to him on this latter point, and, therefore, to use M. Guizot's own expression, he may not have considered himself bound to be quite unreserved with an 'adversary.'

M. Guizot asserts that M. Bresson 'strictly fulfilled the duties 'imposed on the one hand by the known and publicly proclaimed 'policy of his Government, and, on the other hand, by the engage-'ments contracted at Eu.' Those engagements, as regarded the Duc de Montpensier's marriage, M. Guizot here again limits to the condition, that it was not to take place simultaneously with that of the Queen.

Mr Bulwer, in his despatch of the 14th of August, entirely confirms M. Guizot's statement, that the marriage of Don Enrique with the Queen was positively rejected by the Spanish Ministry, and it necessarily followed that Don Francisco was the only Spanish prince remaining a candidate. M. Guizot thus states the difference, at this stage of the affair—that is, in the early part of the month of August, between the policy of France and England; the former would only accept a descendant of Philip V. as the husband of Queen Isabella, while England would not offer any objection to Prince Leopold of SaxeCoburg. M. Guizot further says, that the Queen of Spain, and her Ministry, were resolved to strengthen themselves, internally and externally, by what might be called either a French or an English alliance. The question thus placed rested for decision entirely with the Spanish Government; and, according to M. Guizot, the whole policy of France in Spain was in the greatest possible danger. At this critical moment, on the 9th of August, the Spanish Government proposed the marriage of the Duke of Cadiz to the Queen, provided the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier were concluded at the same time. This was, indeed, a tempting offer, and M. Guizot, with admirable candour, says, that 'the French Ministers would have failed in their duty 'towards France, and been wanting in the relations of France 'towards Spain, if the proposition had been refused by them.' Something, however, was required to quiet the ghost of the engagements contracted at Eu, for the living body was destroyed by the consent to the simultaneous marriage. The Comte Bresson, therefore, pressed for, and finally succeeded in obtaining, the introduction of the important words, 'autant que faire 'se pourra,' into the preliminary engagement concluded between M. Isturitz and himself for the marriage of the Duc de Mont-

pensier with the Infanta Maria Louisa Fernanda. The engagement provided that the marriages of the Queen and the Infanta 'shall be determined and fixed in such a manner as to associate 'them "autant que pourra."' Poor ghost of the Château d'Eu! Why, this engagement to associate the marriages, was the very reverse of the engagements of Eu. The principle of the engagements at Eu was dissociation of the marriage of the Queen from that of the Infanta, and that of the engagement at Madrid was association 'autant que pourra.' As we write these lines we have a feeling of entire satisfaction that such a pretence of respect for engagements, already abandoned, was not the suggestion, or act, of a British Minister.

We will here recapitulate the dates of these transactions:—On the 9th of August, M. Guizot received a proposal from the Spanish Government that the marriage of the Queen of Spain with the Duke of Cadiz (the Infante Don Francisco), should take place simultaneously with that of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta. This proposal, he himself declares, was immediately accepted. On the 28th of August, M. Guizot assured Lord Normanby that 'he would write to Mons. Bresson to-'morrow, to the effect, that, if the Queen of Spain should be 'inclined to make choice of Don Enrique, such a choice would 'be perfectly satisfactory to the Court of France.' On the 29th of August, Mr Bulwer writes from Madrid that the marriage of the Queen of Spain with the Infante Don Francisco had been finally settled, and that on the evening of the 28th of August the Comte Bresson had formally demanded the hand of the Infanta for the Duc de Montpensier, stating that he had powers to enter upon and conclude that affair; and the terms of the marriage were then definitively settled between M. Isturitz and him. On the 1st of September, M. Guizot informed Lord Normanby that the marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Cadiz was settled, and that her Majesty was, at the same time, to give her sanction to the marriage of her sister with the Duc de Montpensier. He gave the Ambassador to understand, that the marriages would not take place at the same time. On the 11th of October, Mr Bulwer reported to Lord Palmerston, 'that the double marriage 'of her Catholic Majesty with the Infante Don Francisco de 'Cadiz, and her Royal Highness the Infanta Donna Louisa with 'the Duc de Montpensier, took place last night, at half-past ten 'o'clock, at the palace.' It is not necessary for us to point out the only inference that can be drawn from this bare recapitulation of dates, and we content ourselves with remarking, that M. Guizot cannot hope to enjoy the triumph of diplomatic finesse,

and lay claim, at the same time, to the humbler merit of plain dealing.

In our opinion, the French Government had not the slightest justification, if any regard were to be had to positive engagements contracted with the British Government, for accepting the offer, let it have been voluntary or suggested, of the Spanish Government. Queen Isabella was about to be united to the Duke of Cadiz, a Spanish prince, and a descendant of Philip V.; the English Government had ceased to press Don Enrique, and the Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg was entirely out of the question. The great object announced in the mission of M. Pageot was achieved, and the fulfilment of the arrangement made at Eu, respecting the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta, seemed a natural and inevitable consequence; and so perhaps it might have been, if the personal interest and feelings of Queen Christina had not required that the marriages of her daughters should be simultaneous. So firm was the purpose of the Queen-mother on this point, that the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier with the Infanta would probably have been sacrificed, to effecting it. Queen Christina was resolved to exclude Don Enrique from marriage with either of her daughters, and she could only secure this exclusion by marrying her daughters at the same time; and the Infanta to some one else, rather than to Don Enrique. We have reason to believe that, had the marriage of the Infanta been delayed, the influence of the Duke of Cadiz would have been exerted to obtain the hand of the Infanta for his brother, and with some chance of success. Such a 'combination' would have been intolerable to Queen Christina, and would have been very embarrassing to the King of the French, who, whatever may be his determination to preserve the throne of Spain to the descendants of Philip V., is too patriotic a Frenchman, and too good and provident a father, to have abandoned the national and family advantages, which have, we think, and we rejoice to think so, been erroneously reckoned upon from the marriage of the Infanta with the Duc de Montpensier. A 'douce 'violence' was, therefore, exercised towards the King of the French and his Ministers, by the offer from the Spanish Government to conclude the marriages at the same time, *or not at all;* and really the stake played for was, in their estimation, so valuable, that, feeling for the usual infirmity of human nature, we are not so much surprised at their conduct. Machiavel would have admired the skill with which the game of the Montpensier marriages was played by the French Government; but from the different spirit of the age in which he lived and wrote, he would

have thought the attempt to reconcile the mode in which it was won, with the expectations of another party, however well founded, quite unnecessary.

Our limits will not allow us to pursue any further the examination of the correspondence laid before the Legislatures of England and France. It was impossible, from the very nature of the transactions and the points at issue, that personality should have been altogether excluded from that correspondence: misunderstandings and departure from engagements were the topics of controversy, and mutual contradictions as to occurrences, and language, were inevitable. This is much to be regretted; and as we feel we could not do justice to a more detailed examination of the correspondence without aggravating the evil, we here leave the parliamentary papers. Our object has been to put our readers in possession of the facts, by a knowledge of which an impartial judgment may be arrived at; and we have made use, in doing this, of the narrative as given by M. Guizot himself: he has told his own story, and furnished, we think, his own refutation.

It has not surprised us to find, that in the French Chambers the approbation of the Montpensier marriage has been almost unanimous. M. Guizot says emphatically—'It is the first great 'affair that we have accomplished alone, quite alone, in Europe, 'since 1830.' English patriotism has much cold haughtiness belonging to it, while that of the French is mixed up with vanity; and the historical retrospections of modern Frenchmen are directed with almost as much satisfaction to the ambitious policy of Louis XIV. as to that of Napoleon—in fact, the territorial aggrandisements of the Grand Monarque remain, while those of the Emperor have been torn from France by the disasters of war, and the hope of regaining them has become visionary.

Even the able and habitually cautious monarch who reigns in France is not free from the hallucinations of this national vanity; and he has obviously been led by it to pursue the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier to the Infanta with as much determination as Louis XIV. did the placing his grandson on the throne of Spain. Louis XIV. knew that war must be the inevitable consequence of accepting the will of Charles II. of Austria, and he gallantly encountered it. His Majesty Louis-Philippe has relied upon the ready acceptance by the English Government and nation of a '*fait irrévocable*' for only a short interruption to the '*entente cordiale*' which it had been his pride to have established between the sovereigns and ministers of the two countries. His Majesty and his councillors have, however, greatly overrated the

advantages likely to flow from the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier; and if they have anticipated a permanent increase of French influence in Spain, we firmly believe that the very opposite effect will be produced, and all that is actually passing in Spain, confirms our belief. The speeches in the French Chambers, and the publication of the official correspondence, have made the pretensions of France to control the external relations of Spain, if not to interfere with its internal condition, known. These pretensions have been ostentatiously proclaimed—they have been accepted as sound principles of policy by the leading statesmen of France; and no thinking Spaniard can refuse to ask himself the question—Is intimate alliance with France, and submission to her counsel, or rather to her dictation, in all foreign affairs, the necessary condition of the existence of Spain as a nation? Who can doubt the answer of those Spaniards, and the sons of those Spaniards, who defied Napoleon in the height of his power, and who rejected his brother?—will not the answer to the King of the French be, 'You have won our Infanta with her 'dowry, but we will keep our independence.' 'There are Py-'renees, and there are Spanish hearts and arms to guard them.' The marriage of the Infanta with a French prince, although more or less objectionable in principle, might have passed without much notice or serious opposition, if no pretensions to control the succession to the throne of Spain had been put forward by the French Government; but, as explained and maintained, it has very properly called forth remonstrances from the cabinet of Great Britain, and most undoubtedly ought not to be treated with indifference by the other cabinets of Europe.

The personal character, and the prudence of the present monarch of France, may be considered as sufficient securities that no war, having territorial aggrandisement for its object, will be undertaken while he is at the head of the government of that country; but no one is credulous enough to suppose, that the ambition for conquest is entirely extinct in the French nation. The Duc de Broglie, and all French statesmen who have given opinions on the subject, have said that France must be at ease on her Spanish frontier, before she engages with any prospect of success in war on the Rhine, or beyond the Alps. The Duc de Broglie emphatically says—'If Spain is not with 'us, she will be against us'—there must be a *pacte de famille*, or there is no security. War between neighbouring European nations, even in the present state of railroads and civilization, is a possible contingency; and the circumstances that might give rise to it, and under which military operations would be

conducted, are not to be neglected. Great Britain would, in a contest with France, rather have to deal with France alone, than with France in alliance with Spain. Prussia, in the same manner, would consider some anxiety on the Spanish frontier, a useful diversion to the application of the undivided military strength of France on the Rhine; and Austria might feel that an alliance with Spain would not be valueless, in the event of the ambition of a future French monarch being directed towards Italy. The independence of Spain cannot, therefore, be altogether indifferent to continental statesmen who attach any value to the balance of power—or, in other words, to such a distribution of force and influence among the powers of the first order, as shall discourage the prosecution of schemes of separate aggrandisement by any one of them. M. Guizot flatters himself, and endeavours to persuade the French Chamber, that the English Cabinet stands alone in its objections to the pretensions of the French Government, and to the marriage of a French prince with the presumptive heiress to the throne of Spain: he takes their silence for assent. We feel confident that he is mistaken: the peculiar relations, in which the great continental Powers stand to Queen Isabella, precluded them from taking any part, or expressing any opinion, respecting the marriage of a sovereign with whom they held no diplomatic intercourse; but the ambitious character of the French policy in Spain cannot have escaped their observation, and must have shaken their confidence in the caution and moderation of the King of the French and his minister.

It remains for us to consider the effect which the unfortunate difference on the subject of the marriage of the Infanta of Spain with the Duc de Montpensier, may have upon the general policy of the two Governments in their relations with each other. Will that effect be temporary or permanent? As far as an uncomfortable state of diplomatic intercourse is an evil, we are assured that the effect must be temporary. It cannot be the wish or the interest of either cabinet to cherish the bitterness that has been engendered by a discussion which has ceased to have an immediate object, and which does not force either to adopt positive measures; on the contrary, it must be the anxious desire of the Ministers in both countries to resume those habits of courteous intercourse that previously existed between them; they must be equally solicitous to pursue a course of joint action in some important questions, still pending, in which their views are similar, and which are wholly unconnected with the late misunderstanding; but we cannot flatter ourselves that the same absolute

confidence will be entirely restored. British statesmen must have learnt, that the traditional policy of the old French Monarchy and of the Empire survives the change of dynasty, and must be prepared for certain contingencies in which the prosecution of separate French interests will prevail, even under the reigning monarch, over the avowed policy of maintaining a good understanding on all great European questions with the Government of Great Britain. So far the effect of the late disagreement will be permanent: it will produce caution—but caution need not pass into suspicion or jealousy. The '*entente* '*cordiale*' had become a byeword in both countries; and most undoubtedly the ostentatious profession of it had, on some occasions, proved a cause of embarrassment and weakness to the ministry in France. It was difficult for them to be just, lest they should be suspected of subserviency; and we do not exaggerate when we say, that the marriage of the Queen of Spain with the Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, in itself quite unobjectionable if contracted with the consent of the Spanish nation, would have been fatal to the Soult-Guizot cabinet. Violent storms often clear the air; and we hope that the statesmen of both countries will, now they are removed from the debilitating atmosphere of a hothouse friendship, take their course with less intimacy, but with more decision and plain dealing. In England, as there is no dread of the power, so there is no jealousy of the prosperity, of France. War between the two nations is an eventuality that does not enter into the speculations of any party in this country; and with some knowledge of public feeling in France, we venture to assert, that there are no men likely to form a government in that country, who would not view a rupture with England as a great European calamity, and a serious difficulty to themselves.

ART. XIII.—*A Plea for Ragged Schools; or, Prevention better than Cure.* By the Rev. THOMAS GUTHRIE. Edinburgh: 1847.

HERE is a pamphlet to be had for sixpence! and which may be read in half an hour. But, if the reader be worth his salt, the first cost will be but the beginning. Before it has done with *him*, and he with *it*, it will have cost him something more.

Mr Guthrie is known over Scotland as a great pulpit orator, full of pictures and of passion; with commanding gestures, and a dramatic action, of which English congregations have no experience. You feel at once that in him it is nature and not art: or, if it must be called art, it is the honest art of rising, in manner as well as mind, to the height and ardour of his inspiring themes. He drops down gracefully from the most soaring flight to the most familiar illustration, and strikes home by a strong and stirring diction, which, like other electric forces, clears the way before it, penetrates and consumes.

Franklin tells us, that very prudent persons, when they went to hear Whitfield preach for a charity, did not trust themselves with their purses. They were seen, however, occasionally borrowing money of their neighbours. The stony heart was stormed; and the wall that had fenced it round, fell down at the preacher's call. We know the space which separates written and spoken words Yet we have some hope that Mr Guthrie may be heard through the press on this occasion, without the difference being perceived. The subject of his appeal lies of itself near the conscience and the heart of every body. Suffer them to come unto you! Of such *should be* the kingdom of heaven. We scarcely think we could have been more deeply affected by it, had we been a hearer of his Sermon on the Mount—(one of an assembled multitude—wave urging wave) than when we read it alone in our silent room. For, so this tract came to us—a few pages of common letter-press: But they woke us up, as a trumpet heard at night. And even now, on returning to them, our heart again beats faster; for the solemn warning again approaches us—'Inasmuch as ye did it not unto 'the least of these, ye did it not unto me.'

Society has, at present, in too many countries, the look of Lazarus at the gate of Dives. There is the rich man faring sumptuously every day; while the dogs are licking the poor man's sores. Yet the hand of private charity is not shortened. Dryden's image, that man was made

> 'With open hands, and with extended space
> Of arms, to satisfy a wide embrace,'

was never so near being verified as now. If we but look at what is taking place at home every year, the heart of the nation is growing softer and softer, and even seems in danger of losing its strength in its softness. Capital punishments will speedily become impossible. Already, nobody dares propose to reduce the comforts of the worst criminal in a public jail as low

as what many a hard-working man would be thankful to make sure of in his honest cottage. Political economy can hardly show its face, for what is called its hard-heartedness. As to its getting a fair hearing, *that* is already past praying for. To confess a belief in some of its most certain truths, demands almost as much courage in England at present, as was required of a physician to exercise his calling during the plague at Milan. What makes this impatient sensitiveneness more unreasonable, is the fact of its having come on us at a time when political economy is actually much more occupied with the prevention of poverty, than with the formation and distribution of wealth. To keep off famine from the land, and mitigate the pressure of destitution, is the characteristic object of its most obnoxious province. The author of the *Essay on Population* was born, by his gentle nature, the poor man's friend. We knew him well; and it was as impossible to know him and not to love him, as it is for a reader of ordinary intelligence to peruse his writings, and not perceive that the poor have much more of a personal interest in them than the rich.

At no period of our history can it have been of more importance than at present, that the course and objects of public charity should be wisely chosen. Strength of purpose and good intentions are not enough. Woe, treble woe, to those who let the evils of society accumulate till the mass of misery becomes past enduring! Yet, outraged humanity must not rush upon extremes. Legislators on Factory Bills and Poor Laws—in other words, on the most complicated and vital parts of our social system,—must bring with them to their perilous interposition, the hearing ear and the understanding heart. The more we exalt the claims of humanity and of conscience (and they cannot possibly be exalted higher than they deserve), the more necessary it becomes that we should duly comprehend the wants and the intelligence of our age. From neglecting this duty, too great predominance is often given to particular subjects, while others, quite as important, are slurred over altogether. We are creatures of habit, in the use we make of even our best feelings. Slavery, for instance, has been a second nature to all mankind, in nearly all ages. John Newton was, while captain of a slaver, as much at his ease, as when directing the conscience of Cowper, and of the most religious section of the religious world. But a time comes; and the eyes of men are opened. All depends on the course which is taken at such a moment; whether we rush from one extreme to another (which human nature is so prone to) or buckle to the far more difficult task of a patient, judicious, and

painstaking superintendence. That so much humanity and so much misery as exist at present, should be dwelling together within the same community—perhaps in the same street—is a terrible thought, and a terrible contrast. Unless it is strictly looked into and adjusted, it must end in being a terrible contradiction. A part of the contrast might surely be removed by well-directed efforts, public and private; by enlarging the views of some; by stirring up the feelings of others; through judicious help extended to many forms of wretchedness; and by a flowing sympathy for all. One of these efforts is making by Mr Guthrie in the Appeal before us. The best of us must thank him for it. He compels us at least to stop and make our election. We may lift up the little ones, who, at their very entrance on life's journey, have been left behind, naked and hungry, by the way; or we may pass on upon the other side! The responsibility is now brought home to us. It behoves us to be mindful how we choose.

Some people are of opinion that the sentence pronounced upon mankind from the beginning, assumes, as the world gets older, a more awful and unmanageable character: and that societies, which have advanced the furthest in civilisation, suffer from it the most. This, to say the least of it, is very doubtful. Though appearances may be against the present age, we suspect that the reality is in its favour: and that the general impression to the contrary may be accounted for, rather by the increase of our knowledge and of our compassion, than by an increase in our viciousness and distress. Former times did not live in the glass case we do; and they were made of harder stuff. They did not know; and they did not care. Another circumstance also is of consequence in this question. The form in which the battle of life is waged by its *Proletaires*—by the last residue of the lowest poor—will be always changing: And it is plainly a law of nature, that we make light of evils which we only hear or read of, compared with those which we see and feel. The state of society, and with it the condition of the poor, alters from century to century; it may also widely differ between conterminous countries at the same period. For example, were we to look no further than to a change in the proportions between the town population and the country population of a kingdom, what diversities might yet follow from this single cause!

Great towns have great advantages; but they also bring with them their own specific evils.* They conceal and they

* Our official criminal tables show conclusively, by the centesimal

corrupt; they are the natural home of the thief and prostitute, of the juvenile offender and the deserted child. England has been raised to the place she holds among the nations, not by her broad acres, but by her thousand factories and her miles of crowded streets. On the other hand, she owes to these a painful pre-eminence, and a shameful one; that of being ahead of the nations of the earth—if not in the rapid growth of her criminal population—certainly in the melancholy succession of apprentices to crime, among children of tender years.

This is the state of things, in which our actual generation has grown up. It has gained upon us without being heeded. Our want of heed before is good reason, why we need not despair now: But, it is a reason, which tells us, precisely in the same proportion, that we have not an hour to lose in recovering our ground, and in making exemplary amends. Hitherto there has not been the pretence of an attempt to exercise the slightest preventive check over its causes—moral or otherwise. With no asylum to receive them, no schoolmaster to instruct them, no policeman entitled to restrain them; what right have we to wonder that, in the common meaning of the word nurseries, our great cities have been found to be the nurseries of criminals? And, by what miserable distinctions can we any longer justify our horror at the barbarous practice of exposing infants, or denounce the Rajpoot and the Chinese, should we persist in exposing children—very little older and quite as helpless—to mortality in its more prolonged and painful forms, of want, and degradation, and disease? If we cannot bear to enter the alleys of

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proportions of the ages of offenders, that crime uniformly begins earlier in the manufacturing counties than in the agricultural: while it also subsides there sooner—important facts, if we will but use them. On a comparison of two districts, 'the proportion of offenders under fifteen years of age was seventeen per cent greater in the manufacturing than in the agricultural counties: but, under the age of twenty-five, the proportion is reversed, and is nearly five per cent greater in the agricultural than in the manufacturing counties.'—*Statistics of Crime*, in 'Knight's Companion to the British Almanac. 1846.' The cry, which is now haunting us, goes up first and loudest from the towns. According to Mr Hamilton in his 'Practical Remarks on Popular Education,' the persons among whom crime is generated, form about one-fifth of the population in large towns; about one-sixth in those of middle size; and about one-seventh in the smaller towns. If squires and rectors are in earnest and desire to turn the balance still more in favour of their rustic youth, they will study the working of a 'Village School in Hampshire,' by Mr Dawes.

London and the wynds of Edinburgh in our own persons, Mr Guthrie has penetrated them for us. We can follow him page by page, as vividly as step by step. We can plead ignorance and thoughtlessness no longer. What then can be our other pleas? There is no passing by, and no forgetting pictures like the following:—

'On one side of this square, in two-thirds of the shops (for we have counted them) spirits are sold. The sheep are near the slaughter-house—the victims are in the neighbourhood of the altars. The mouth of almost every close is filled with loungers, worse than Neapolitan lazzaroni—bloated and brutal figures, ragged and wretched old men, bold and fierce looking women, and many a half-clad mother, shivering in cold winter, her naked feet on the frozen pavement, a skeleton infant in her arms. On a summer day, when in the blessed sunshine and warm air, misery itself will sing: dashing in and out of these closes, careering over the open ground, engaged in their rude games, arrayed in flying drapery, here a leg out and there an arm, are crowds of children: their thin faces tell how ill they are fed; their fearful oaths tell how ill they are reared; and yet the merry laugh, and hearty shout, and screams of delight, as some unfortunate urchin, at leap-frog, measures his length upon the ground, also tell that God made childhood to be happy, and that, in the buoyancy of youth, even misery will forget itself!

'We get hold of one of these boys. Poor fellow! it is a bitter day; he has neither shoes nor stockings; his naked feet are red, swollen, cracked, ulcerated with the cold; a thin, thread-worn jacket, with its gaping rents, is all that protects his breast; beneath his shaggy bush of hair he shows a face sharp with want, yet sharp also with intelligence beyond his years. That poor little fellow has learned to be already self-supporting. He has studied the arts—he is a master of imposture, lying, begging, stealing; and, small blame to him, but much to those who have neglected him—he had otherwise pined and perished. . . . .

. . . . . Such children cannot pay for education, nor avail themselves of a *gratis* one, even though offered. That little fellow must beg and steal, or he starves. With a number like himself, he goes as regularly to that work of a morning as the merchant to his shop or the tradesman to his place of labour. They are turned out—driven out sometimes—to get their meat, like sheep to the hills, or cattle to the field; and if they don't bring home a certain supply, a drunken father and a brutal beating await them.

'For example, I was returning from a meeting one night, about twelve o'clock. It was a fierce blast of wind and rain. In Prince's Street, a piteous voice and a shivering boy pressed me to buy a [illegible]. I asked the child why he was out in such a night and at such an hour. He had not got his money; he dared not go home without it; he would rather sleep in a stair all night. I thought, as we passed a lamp, that I had seen him before. I asked him if he went to church. "Sometimes to Mr Guthrie's," was his reply. On looking again, I now recognised

him as one I had occasionally seen in the Cowgate Chapel. Muffled up to meet the weather, he did not recognise me. I asked him what his father was. "I have no father, Sir; he is dead." His mother? "She is very poor." "But why keep you out here?" and then reluctantly the truth came out. I knew her well, and had visited her wretched dwelling. She was a tall, dark, gaunt, gipsey-looking woman, who, notwithstanding a cap, of which it could be but premised that it had once been white, and a gown that it had once been black, had still some traces of one who had seen better days; but now she was a drunkard! Sin had turned her into a monster; and she would have beaten that poor child within an inch of death, if he had been short of the money, by her waste of which she starved him, and fed her own accursed vices. Now, by this anecdote illustrating to my stranger friend the situation of these unhappy children, I added that, nevertheless, they might get education, and secure some measure both of common and Christian knowledge; But mark how, and where. Not as in the days of our blessed Saviour, when the tender mother brought her child for His blessing. The Jailor brings them now! Their only passage to school is through the Police office; their passport is a conviction of crime: And in this Christian and enlightened city it is only within the dark walls of a prison that they are secure either of school or Bible. When one thinks of one's own happy boys at home, bounding free on the green, and breathing the fresh air of heaven—or of the little fellow that climbs a father's knee, and asks the oft-repeated story of Moses or of Joseph—it is a sad thing to look in through the eyelet of a cell-door, on the weary solitude of a child spelling its way through the Bible. It makes one sick to hear men sing the praises of the fine education of our prisons. How much better and holier were it to tell us of an education that would save the necessity of a prison school! I like well to see the life-boat, with her brave and devoted crew; but with far more pleasure, from the window of my old country manse, I used to look out at the Bell Rock Tower, standing erect amid the stormy waters, where, in the mists of the day, the bell was rung, and in the darkness of the night the light was kindled; and thereby the mariners were not saved from the wreck, but saved from being wrecked at all.'

Newgate has its observatory as well as Greenwich: and crime can be followed in its course almost as clearly as the stars. Under similar circumstances, its regularity is so fearful as to wear an air of fatalism; only, it is a fatalism of which we need not be afraid at all, since the causes from which it proceeds may be more or less controlled by human means. M. Quetelet's statistics are very curious. An analysis of his criminal returns exhibits the same definite proportions constantly recurring, down to the most minute particulars. The relation of cause and effect is so thoroughly dissected in them, that when a change occurs, the cause of the diversity can be easily discerned. For instance, every stage of life, from the cradle to

the grave, produces its average amount of criminals: the *maximum* ranging over the ten or fifteen years of manhood, when man, from the full development of his nature, may be said, in one sense, to be at his best. Looking over these tabular returns, we learn the meaning of Averroes, when he wished *Utinam, natus essem Senex!* Old age, we trust, still retains its advantage. But in England, the sweet prerogative of youth, its crown of innocence and flowers, if not yet lost, is sadly faded. The ignorance of vice has ceased: the knowledge of virtue has not replaced it. The mistress of a school of industry said to a lady lately—'There are no children now.'

In all times, a few unhappy children have been trained to be unconscious instruments in crafty hands. Sir M. Hale speaks of them in his day as being necessary appendages to a burglar—just what his skeleton keys were; just what an infant in the arms is to a beggar-woman; or the boy that leads him to the blind. The difference, which has come upon us as a thief in the night, is the fact, that, where they were then one, they are now Legion: where they were formerly automatons, representing the fraud of others, they have since warmed into independent life, and set up, under the teaching of thirst and hunger, and in the filth of cities, on their own account. Juvenile offenders are not only rapidly passed on, under vagrant acts and police acts: but they crowd our calendars. They have become so common, that police magistrates would seem, from their familiarity with the fact, to be betrayed into a forgetfulness of the law. The other day, a child of five years old was sent by a magistrate to prison! though children under seven are presumed by law incapable of crime.

Humane men, presiding over the criminal courts of large towns, are well aware of the falseness of their position, whenever a child is brought before them. They cannot deceive themselves into the belief that they are administering justice; they feel that they are sacrificing victims; and that the spectacle of a lunatic in the dock is not more disgraceful to a society not itself insane, than that of children whom careful parents would think hardly old enough to put to school. For some time past, Serjeant Adams, with an earnestness which does him honour, has been raising his voice in Middlesex once a quarter—few or none regarding; Mr Hill the same at Birmingham: and so on in Liverpool and other places. Mr Smith, the governor of the Edinburgh prison, reported in the year 1845, that seven hundred and forty children, under fourteen years of age, had been committed to that prison during the three preceding years, of whom two hundred and forty-five were under the age of ten! The immediate parties who so deservedly provoke the pity of the authori-

ties, are, in the eye of the law, criminals; notwithstanding which, no reasonable man will raise a doubt on the wisdom of the course lately taken at Dundee, where the culprit was removed from the police court direct to a school of industry. To be sure, in the case of children,* what a scandal to a community, if its penitentiaries and its schools of industry are not substantially the same! We are not sanguine in anticipating the moral reformation of adults. Enquire of the governors of your jails what are the effects of punishment upon grown-up persons, either to reform or to deter. The little you can do, you must however try. But here, in the case of children, there can be but one question, within whatever walls it is to be answered—What are

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* The Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents at New York, makes an annual report of the proceedings of their house of refuge to the legislature of the state. Their twentieth report (1845) is now before us. In reference to our present subject, we earnestly recommend to the attention of our readers the letter which Lord Brougham has just addressed to Lord Lyndhurst: especially his demand in behalf of infant schools, and his very interesting account of the French establishment at Mettray. There are now twelve of the kind in France; six supported by government, and six by private efforts. Lord Brougham was informed by M. Duchatel, 'that nearly 4000 young persons are now received into them, rescued from guilt and suffering, undergoing the most wholesome moral discipline, and preparing for their restoration to society.' We were, some time back, much struck with a letter No. 2, in the Appendix to the Third Report of the Criminal Law Commissioners. Its writer strongly enforces the necessity of our dealings with young offenders being more domestic than at present; that parishes should replace the wreck of the parish stocks by lock-up houses; and that, where parents neglect to correct their children (in the case of a variety of small offences, which lead to worse,) the clergyman and parish-officers should be authorised to confine the child for a few hours in the lock-up house, and to impose a small pecuniary fine upon the parent. The intelligent author of a Paper on Transportation in the *Political Dictionary*, is of opinion that sufficient provision has now been made at Parkhurst Reformatory and Millbank Penitentiary, for as many of this unhappy class as come under his denomination of juvenile transports. Above 700 can be received in the first: 200 in the other. The only auxiliary institutions, he mentions, are the Refuge for the Destitute, and the Philanthropic Society. A third has been at work successfully for eight and twenty years, at Stretton upon Dunmow, Warwickshire. We cannot conceive any call on public justice and private charity more imperative than that of multiplying similar establishments for juvenile delinquents of whatever class. And we believe, with Miss Murray, that the best interests of humanity suffered, when the Children's Friend Society was clamoured down.

the means by which the growing buds that have been so early cankered, can be best restored? There never was such an occasion for ennobling the vulgar saying—'A stitch in time saves nine.'

By the schools of industry just mentioned, we mean those places of refuge for the children of the very poor, now popularly known by the name of Ragged Schools. The juvenile convict, we should always recollect, is only a unit, who has risen accidentally to the top, out of an unconvicted class nowise better than himself. What is to be done with the rest? Are they to wait till their turn comes also—till a ruthless society, which has never done a single act of duty or of kindness by them, challenges them, much in the same humour that Abhorson summoned Master Bernardine, to come out and be hanged? Or, are we prepared at length to take the trouble of treating them as human beings—we say nothing of immortal souls—and to make a serious attempt towards placing them in circumstances where, for the first time in their lives, a chance of happiness and of virtue may be brought within their reach? It is more a question of trouble than of expense; since we may rest assured that they are costing us more in their wild, neglected state—living on the public, and to be guarded against as criminals—than if we were at once to undertake the charge of bringing them within the domestic pale of civil life. You will maintain them cheaper, domesticated at your barn door, than when left to help themselves from your land and fields, as game. It is the self-same question which occurs respecting the moral, as the physical health of towns. Will you go to the thought and the expense of sewerages and drainages, and so secure to the poor fresh water and fresh air; or, will you wait till a far heavier charge rolls back upon you in a poor-rate, swollen with the miseries incident to the long sickness and early death of the labouring man, whose family depends upon his labour? Take a word from Mr Guthrie, on this subject, also:—

'Do you fancy that, by refusing this appeal, and refusing to establish these schools, you, the public, will be saved the expense of maintaining these outcasts? A great and demonstrable mistake. They live just now; and how do they live? Not by their own honest industry, but at your expense. They beg and steal for themselves, or their parents beg and steal for them. You are not relieved of the expense of their sustenance by refusing this appeal. The Old Man of the Sea sticks to the back of Sinbad; and surely it were better for Sinbad to teach the old man to walk on his own feet. I pray the public to remember, that begging and stealing, while in most cases poor trades to those who pursue them, are dear ones to the public. Catch yon little fellow, with his pale face and piteous whine, and search, as some of us have done,

his wallets, and you will be astonished at the stores of beef and bread concealed beneath his rags. Don't blame him, however, because he whines on;—he must reach his den at night, laden with plunder. You forget that a sound beating may await him if he returns empty-handed; and you also forget that at some expense he has to keep his mother in whisky, as well as his brothers and sisters in food. You have often tried to put down public begging, the dearest and most vicious way of maintaining the poor: till some such plan as ours is adopted, you never can. Not to speak of the beggars that prowl about our public streets, hundreds of children set out every morning to levy their subsistence for the day, by calls at private houses. They beg when they may—they steal when they can. Such a system is a disgrace to society; its evils are legion; and we can fancy no plan that goes so directly, and with such sure promise of success, to the root of these evils, as that we now advocate. We say with Daniel Defoe, that begging is a shame to any country: if the beggar is an unworthy object of charity, it is a shame that he should be *allowed* to beg; if a worthy object of charity, it is a shame that he should be *compelled* to beg.'

The first founder of a Ragged School bravely decided for the better part. Mr Guthrie is now imploring us to enlarge the basis of these most charitable institutions. In the same spirit, and against an evil not much less crying about two hundred years ago, St Vincent-de-Paul opened at St Lazare* his *Maison des Enfans Trouvés.* There could not be an end more noble. May God guide us, through wiser means, to a more successful issue!

The form of the experiment originated, we believe, with that admirable society, the London City Mission. It prospered in their hands; as almost all they touch, however outwardly despe-

* St Vincent-de-Paul was the reformer of foundling hospitals, not their founder. They are as old as Christianity, or nearly so; for they followed close upon the government prohibition of the exposure of infants. They were looked upon with such pious reverence in the middle ages, that we read of one of the brethren of the foundation *des Imitateurs de la Charité de Sainte-Marthe en sa Maison de Bethanie*, toward the end of the tenth century, who carried back the origin of that charitable congregation to the Father of the Faithful; declaring, that Abraham had established an hospital in Limbo, for receiving children who had died before they had been baptised! Nor are the evils of those establishments even now sufficiently understood. Mr Malthus observes, that Sir James Steuart, though fully aware of what he called vicious procreation, strongly recommended them. Yet, under their encouragement, the foundlings of France have trebled within the last forty years: while a third of the births of Paris is illegitimate. The foundling hospital of Paris alone receives 5000 every year. The mortality is frightful. Two thirds die during the first year. What is this, but to put, as it were, poisoned gloves on the hand of charity, and send it forth to do the work of Herod?

rate, appears to do. A Sunday school of this description was established at Windsor by a town missionary, not quite two years ago; where may be seen among the teachers—brought together by a Divine attraction to their work of mercy—a chimney-sweeper in his Sunday clothes, and one or two life-guardsmen in their uniforms. Dr Hawtrey, head master of Eton, has himself set up another there. What a touching contrast he must feel between the two extremes, as often as he passes from his Eton boys to his ragged scholars! A new hope for the poor, a new prospect of doing good, could not be lost on Dr Chalmers. The nature and object of his school are told by its locality. It is in the Westport of Edinburgh, within a few doors of the house of Burke—the wretch, whose name, from his transcendent infamy, is incorporated into the language. These schools were a great beginning. They broke the ground. They have familiarised us with the necessity and with the means. But something still was wanting; and it is this further something which Mr Guthrie has now come forward to proclaim. The only precedents which he mentions, are the industrial schools of Dundee and Aberdeen. There may be others. We are not aware of them.

Magnificent endowments, such as Christ's Hospital, Heriot's Hospital, and the like, are converted into the patrimony of the middle ranks. Private schools, maintained by benevolent individuals, act, at their very best, as aids and rewards to the decent poor. But, in all our towns of any magnitude, there is a lower class of children: one made up for the most part of illegitimate children; of children who have lost their parents; and of children whose parents have been infinitely worse to them than none at all. There are supposed to be a thousand such in Edinburgh alone. To them, the world, on which they have been cast, is indeed fatherless; for, what can they think of man? And what, if they should chance to hear of Him, what, in their agony, must they think even of God? Visitors of destitute sick societies — humble and hardworking city missionaries—Christian governors of prisons—superintendents of night asylums and houses of refuge—men who, like himself, are called on to explore, amid fever and famine, the depths of human misery (we are using Mr Guthrie's words), come across them often. You may find them sleeping in a stair, or on the floor of the police office, or pulling your coat at midnight to buy a tract of them, lest they should go home only to be beaten. Beyond this, their fellow-creatures seem to have agreed, by habit and common consent, to refuse to recognize their existence. Ragged Schools are but of yesterday; before which, to have got a chance of school, they must have gone to prison first.

Even at present, Ragged Schools have been opened in a few favoured places only. But, supposing them to be opened every where, what is the most that we can expect from them, in case of their being opened only to teach? Even misery has its degrees and shades. Below the depths, which they can sound and master, there is a still lower depth, which can only be reached and brought into subjection by a more potent spell.

It is here, at this crisis of the problem, that the Industrial Schools of Aberdeen and Dundee have taken the next step. They feed as well as teach. There is not only the alphabet, but the cup of porridge. What a providential step, if it should but answer! As far as it has gone, it has answered marvellously. Mr Guthrie had long looked wistfully to some such system as the only remedy; but 'until the experience of Aberdeen and 'Dundee had turned what was but a presumption into a fact, he 'had not the courage to venture on the proposal.' It is the main characteristic of the system, that it combines instruction in useful employment with education, and, above all, with food. The children are not taken from their homes; on the contrary, they go back every night, with the new influences which they may have acquired. In this, of course, there is great peril. The new influences and the old will meet in daily conflict. It may end, as the labour of Hercules, in the old story of Antæus: where, as often as the monster, though almost exhausted, came in contact with his mother earth, he recovered his former strength. We must be prepared for failures directly traceable to this cause. On the other hand, there are possible advantages in the children returning home, which justify a certain degree of hazard. It need not be made a condition of the experiment, though, if the experiment is to be made on any considerable scale, it must be made at present in this form, or not at all. There is, however, one condition indispensable to this great experiment, and only one: that is—the daily bread which we all are taught to pray for. To catch wild colts, they must see the corn. Without food, the children will not come, nor be let come; without food, they cannot afford to stay; without it, it is impossible that they should have the spirits or the strength to learn—or any body have the heart to try to make them. 'What man 'of common sense (asks Mr Guthrie) would mock with books 'a boy who is starving for bread? Let Christian men answer 'our Lord's question; let every one who is a parent think of it. 'What father, if his child ask for bread, would give him a stone?' 'And, let me ask, what is English Grammar, or the Rule of 'Three, or the A B C, to a poor hungry child—what is it but a 'stone?'

The alarming state of Ireland is bringing upon the horizon of that unhappy country, a cloud which, though, as yet, no bigger than one's hand, must soon cover the heavens, unless looked after, and blot out the light of day from the future as well as from the present. Extreme want permanently keeps a portion of our population in the same desperate condition, into which the dreadful visitation of wide-spread famine is threatening to plunge, suddenly and for a time, the great body of the Irish people. If their usual range of decency and comfort has always been so low as to render them comparatively reckless, what limit can be put to the destructive consequences of a calamity which, like the serpents of Laocoon, is crushing the father and the child together, in its terrific folds? The only hope, apparently, of retaining a spark of moral life in the children who may escape from it, will be by applying to their circumstances the principle of the plan which Mr Guthrie urges upon us for our outcast poor at home. 'I tremble,' writes Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, 'for the fate of the rising generation in this country. Misery 'has so worked upon this people, that, consumed by one only 'thought—that of food, they abstain from their old church-'going habits. Shame of appearing in bad clothes operates 'greatly in this; but, alas! the children no longer attend the 'schools in many places, and demoralisation is, I fear, advancing 'at the same rate as destitution. I have spoken to some people 'about this, and I really believe that the proposed extension of 'the poor-laws may be made to accomplish the double object of 'feeding destitute children, and at the same time of instructing 'them. The children would go to school if fed; and I have 'been assured by a gentleman, who takes a very active part as 'a poor-law guardian, that such a united system of feeding and 'teaching would be a great economy; for if children were thus 'looked after, their parents would not so much throng the work-'houses. The moral objection of withdrawing children from 'the superintendence of the parent, does not hold good where 'the parents give no superintendence. The rising generation 'are left to wander about in idleness, living, in fact, on the 'public charity, and it were much better that the public charity 'should be well bestowed.'* A few hours of hunger, fever, and despair, have demoralized the strongest natures—whole armies, whole cities. What then can we expect, if we make this the life of children?

It is not always easy to find out a judicious charity, and to

* Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas to Mr Trevelyan, Clonmel, Jan. 30.

reconcile our feelings with our reason. We have the comfort of believing that there is no contradiction here. Mr Guthrie conceives that his schools are common ground, where Dr Chalmers and Dr Alison may meet. We hope so too. The characteristic tendency of foundling hospitals and of liberal poor laws is, to reproduce and aggravate the evils which it was their object to repress. At the age at which Mr Guthrie receives his ragged friends, they are too old to expose his institution to the reproach of a foundling hospital, and too young for it possibly to generate the evils incident to parish pay. The relief afforded is of a kind that nobody can lean upon or reckon on. It corrupts neither the parent nor the child; on the contrary, it *must* improve the one—it *may* improve the other.

There is only one particular in addition, suggested by Mr Guthrie himself. It is not an indispensable one, but is one to which he attaches great importance. It is this. Instead of his subscribers paying in their money to the fund, and having done with it, he wishes every individual to pick out the child for whom he is to pay, and occasionally call and see how he is coming on. The child knows this, and his heart opens; he has a superior who cares for him; and thus a relationship is formed, which, if he only continue worthy of it, will not end in the schoolroom; but, on his launching into life, will see him safe over its first breakers into the open sea. Children used formerly to be kept in mind of the presence of God by the representation of a gigantic eye on the frontispiece of their primers. Their masters will teach them *that* the sooner, for their being humanised by knowing that the eye of an earthly benefactor is upon them too. We have rejoiced to hear—we hope truly—not only that the necessary funds are coming in, but that the *clientela* is forming fast.

The experiment is not a costly one. The average expense of the school at Aberdeen was L.6 a child for the year: and, so employed, it has cleared both town and county of begging children. In the three summer months of 1843, one hundred begging children were found wandering about the county, and were reported by the police. Juvenile mendicity is the natural and certain training for juvenile delinquency. Yet, God be praised! two years afterwards, they are reported gone—not as criminals to the prison, but as scholars to the school. The School of Industry had absorbed them all.

We heartily wish that as many of our readers as have a spare sixpence, would lay it out upon this pamphlet. They will find it no bad investment. Let them hang its pictures round their chamber of imagery, and sanctify their closet with its thoughts!

Towards the end there are a few plain questions proposed for our consideration; of the kind that were proposed by that great Querist, Bishop Berkeley, a hundred years ago, to the Irish people. We dare not trust ourselves with another word on Ireland. Alas! alas!—alas for neglected opportunities! Alas for all, whether individuals or nations, who will not take to heart in time, the things which belong unto their peace!

NOTE.

On p. 22, Mr. Oswald of Dunnikier is incorrectly described as having been a Glasgow merchant.

On p. 23, read Dr John—instead of Ebenezer—Erskine.

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Edinburgh: Printed by Ballantyne and Hughes, Paul's Work.